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SAN RAFAEL

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HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

BY

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY.

VOLUME I.

Nec mihi materiam [natalis terra] negabat,
Et pius est patriæ facta referre labor.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.
1876.

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Cambridge:
Presswork by John Wilson and Son.

HISTORY

OF

NEW ENGLAND

DURING THE STUART DYNASTY.

BY

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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Cambridge:
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TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

The title-page to this edition is embellished with an engraved copy of what was probably the seal of the Council for New England. When I was in England I took great pains to find an impression of that seal, but without success; which surprised me, the patents issued by the Council having been so numerous. An impression of the seal in wax is attached to the patent of Plymouth Colony issued in 1629; but it has been so broken and defaced, that the device is undistinguishable. Mr. Charles Deane believes that he has discovered this in an embellishment of the title-pages of two of the publications of Captain John Smith. I might do injustice to Mr. Deane's ingenious argument (which I understand will soon be published in a volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society), should I attempt to exhibit it. It will be found to have great force.

The Index to my work, in the enlarged form which it now bears, is a fruit of the judgment and skill of Dr. John Appleton, the learned Assistant-Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

J. G. P.

Cambridge, Massachusetts;
1865, July 21.

To JARED SPARKS.

My dear Sparks;

Seven times seven years ago this day, you, coming from Connecticut, and I, from Massachusetts, arrived at the Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire. For two years we were lodged beneath the same roof, and recited our lessons from the same form. Next we were classmates through the undergraduate course at Cambridge. Next we there pursued together our studies for the profession to which we expected to devote our lives. You went to a distant city; we kept up a constant intercourse of letters and visits. You came to live in Boston, and we met almost every day. I removed to Cambridge; you followed soon; and, since that time, our homes have been side by side. Friendships of such intimacy and duration are rare. It is not chiefly because the reading world so honors you, — still less is it from a wish to involve you in responsibility for any of my defects, — that, in coming before the public with an essay in a department of writing in which you have won a wide renown, I desire to associate your name with that of

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY.

Cambridge, Massachusetts;
September 7, 1858.

PREFACE.

I PROPOSE to relate, in several volumes, the history of the people of New England.

In this first volume I treat of the *Settlement* of New England, meaning by that word, not only the arrival of European colonists, but the framing and establishing of that social system, under which, through successive generations, their descendants have been educated for the part which they have acted in the world.

The founders of the commonwealths of which I write were Englishmen. Their emigration to New England began in 1620. It was inconsiderable till 1630. At the end of ten years more, it almost ceased. A people, consisting at that time of not many more than twenty thousand persons, thenceforward multiplied on its own soil, in remarkable seclusion from other communities, for nearly a century and a half. Some slight emigrations from it took place at an early day; but they were soon discontinued; and it was not till the last quarter of the eighteenth century, that those swarms began to depart, which have since occupied so large a portion of the territory of the United States.

During that long period, and for many years later, their identity was unimpaired. No race has ever been more homogeneous than this remained, down to the time of the generation now upon the stage. With a near approach to precision it may be said, that the millions of living persons, either born in New England, or tracing their origin to natives of that region, are descendants

of the twenty-one thousand Englishmen who came over before the early emigration from England ceased upon the meeting of the Long Parliament. Such exceptions to this statement, as belong to any time preceding that of the present generation, are of small account. In 1652, after the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, Cromwell sent some four or five hundred of his Scotch prisoners to Boston; but very little trace of this accession is left. The discontented strangers took no root. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, about a hundred and fifty families of French Huguenots came to Massachusetts, where, though their names have mostly died out, a considerable number of their posterity are yet to be found. A hundred and twenty Scotch-Irish families came over in 1719, and settled at Londonderry, in New Hampshire, and elsewhere. Great numbers of foreigners — especially of Irish, and, next to them, of Germans — are now to be reckoned in a census of New England; but it is chiefly within the last thirty years that they have come, and they remain for the most part unamalgamated with the population of English descent.

Thus the people of New England are a singularly unmixed race. There is probably not a county in England occupied by a population of purer English blood than theirs. It is a race still more specially to be characterized as representing a peculiar type of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century. A large majority of the early planters were Puritans. Some of the small English settlements in the eastern part of the country were composed of other elements. But, from the early time when these were absorbed by Massachusetts, their anti-Puritan peculiarities began to disappear, and a substantial conformity to the Puritan standard became universal.

Sequestered from foreign influences, the people thus constituted was forming a distinct character by its own discipline, and was engaged at work within itself, on its own problems, through a century and a half. Down to the eve of the war which began in 1775, New England had little knowledge of the communities which took part with her in that conflict. Till the time of

the Boston Port Bill, eighty-four years ago, Massachusetts and Virginia, the two principal English colonies, had with each other scarcely more relations of acquaintance, business, mutual influence, or common action, than either of them had with Jamaica or Quebec.

This people, so isolated in its pupilage, has now diffused itself widely. I am to tell the early story of a vast tribe of men, numbering at the present time, it is likely, some seven or eight millions. Exactness in such an estimate is not attainable; but it would probably be coming somewhere near the truth to divide the present white population of the United States into three equal parts; one, belonging to the New-England stock; one, the posterity of English who settled in the other Atlantic colonies; and another, consisting of the aggregate of Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, German, Swedish, Spanish, and other immigrants, and their descendants. According to the United States' Census of 1850, the six New-England States had in that year 2,705,095 inhabitants, of which number 305,444 were of foreign birth. It would, I suppose, be making a liberal allowance to refer the round number of half a million of the present inhabitants of those States to the modern immigrations from abroad. On the other hand, more than seven hundred and fifty thousand natives of New England — often persons not inconsiderable in respect to activity, property, or influence — are supposed to be now living in other parts of the Union.* The New-England race has contributed largely to the population of the great State of New York, and makes a majority in some of the new States further west. Considerable numbers of them are dispersed in distant parts of the world, where commerce or other business invites enterprise, though they do not often establish themselves for life in foreign countries. I presume there is one third of the people of these United States — wherever now residing — of whom no individual could peruse this volume without reading the history of his own progenitors.

* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, XXX. 637.

"The principles of New England," says a distinguished foreign writer, "spread at first to the neighboring States; then they passed successively to the more distant ones; and at length they imbued the whole Confederation." * To allude here to influences exerted by the people of New England on the fortunes of the nation of which it now makes a part, would be to anticipate later portions of my narrative. But there is one evidence of their efficiency, which admits of the simple and precise illustration of figures. The reader of this volume will see how poor was Massachusetts in her early years. Her soil is barren; and she has no natural staple commodity of great value in the markets of the world. Yet at the present time, a little more than two centuries and a quarter from the date of her foundation, her taxable property — exclusive of property belonging to institutions of religion, education, and benevolence — amounts to a thousand millions of dollars. Equally divided, it would afford more than eight hundred and eighty dollars each to every man, woman, and child within her borders. From the reserved fruits of the labor of eight generations "she could give a dollar to each of the thousand millions of the inhabitants of the earth, and still have all her schools, meeting-houses, town-houses, alms-houses, gaols, and literary, benevolent, and scientific institutions, left as nest-eggs to begin the world anew." † The value of the registered products of the labor of her people for the year ending June 1, 1855, — undoubtedly falling far short of the actual amount, — was two hundred and ninety-five million eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-one dollars.‡

The history and education of a race so numerous, so peculiar, so widely scattered, and constituting so large an element of the wealth and power of a great nation, present a subject well worthy of attention. When I began to think of it as offering a suitable

* De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Chap. II.

† Christian Examiner, LXV. 34.

‡ Statistical Information relating to certain Branches of Industry in Massachusetts, collected and published by the Secretary of the Commonwealth in 1856.

employment for what may remain of my life, it had already been long a favorite occupation of my leisure, and I had occasionally treated portions of it in the periodical publications of the day. In the more careful investigations into which I have now been led, I have been gratified to find confirmation of judgments which I had earlier expressed respecting some prominent features of the theme.

I persuade myself that I have been both diligent and successful in the search for information. Large supplies of original materials for my work lay close at hand in the libraries of the University at Cambridge, of the Boston Athenæum, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, on the part of each of those institutions, I have had every accommodation that could be desired. I was also liberally welcomed to the use of different private collections, among which I ought particularly to mention the valuable ones of my neighbor, Mr. Charles Deane, and of Mr. John Carter Brown of Providence. Mr. Deane's books were a constant resource to me; and Mr. Brown, to whom I am indebted for access to some not to be found elsewhere, carried his generosity so far as to request me to take to my own home as much of his choice and sumptuous collection, as my convenience might require.

In the spring of 1856 I went to England, for the purpose of obtaining a knowledge of some facts important to my purpose, and of satisfying myself on some questions that had arisen. Mr. Dallas, Minister from the United States, promptly interested himself in my behalf. At his instance, Mr. Labouchère, Secretary of State for the Colonies, obligingly gave the necessary directions for my admission to those public offices where much of my quest was to be made. Mr. Merivale, Under Secretary of the Colonial Department, promoted my investigations, and they were facilitated by the kindness of Mr. Reeves, Secretary to the Privy Council, and of Mr. Lechmere and Mr. Lemon, of the State-Paper Office. I would gratefully record my obligations also to Mr. Panizzi, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, and to Mr. Jones, Mr. Watts, and Mr. Major, of that institution,

for the useful attentions by which they enabled me to avail myself of its treasures. I employed most of the summer in the examination, in London, of records and other manuscripts, and in the consultation of rare books. A large portion of my memoranda, then obtained from the sources which I have indicated, and from others, relate to periods of the history more recent than that which is treated in the present volume. Many of the hours when the public establishments were closed, I was enabled, by the hospitality of the Athenæum Club and the Reform Club, to employ, advantageously for my object, among the standard books of their excellent libraries.

I have regarded it as the duty of an historian to rely most upon the evidence of those witnesses (provided they were otherwise trustworthy) who lived nearest in time and place to the events related; and I have not knowingly rested any statement on authority of an inferior description. Governor Winthrop's "History of New England," Governor Bradford's "History of Plymouth Plantation," and Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memorial," as edited respectively by Mr. Savage, Mr. Deane, and Judge Davis, are rich storehouses of information respecting the events of our primitive times. The thirty-four volumes of published "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society" comprehend numerous treatises, larger and smaller, of the highest value to the historical student. The less extensive published Collections of the American Antiquarian Society, of the Historical Societies of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York, of Mr. Force of Washington, and of Messrs. Farmer and Moore of New Hampshire, have materially increased the fund of historical wealth. Single tracts, to which I have had access, now extant in a small number of copies, whether printed or manuscript, have often served a useful purpose. The official Records of Plymouth and of Massachusetts, as recently edited by Dr. Shurtleff, those of Rhode Island, by Mr. Bartlett, those of Connecticut, by Mr. Trumbull, and those of New Haven, by Mr. Hoadly, are of course documents of the highest authenticity and import, and have been daily in my hands.

I have thought that the course of early events in New England required often to be interpreted by bringing to view their relations to earlier and contemporaneous transactions in the parent country. So far as I have recounted those transactions, I have been dealing with the commonplaces of history. But I have endeavored to secure myself against one-sided representations by constant reference to the views entertained by writers of various affinities, political and religious; and I have written with the works (among others) of Hume, Lingard, Hallam, Neal, and Mrs. Macaulay constantly before me. Whenever a questionable statement of any fact presented itself, I have referred to the Parliamentary History, and to the Journals of the Lords and of the Commons, as well as to the early books of general history, or to books belonging to some special department, or treating some particular topic, according to the nature of the case.

I have not failed to seek instruction and suggestions from those who have preceded me in this line of research. Besides writers who have treated of the origin and progress of New England as a part only of the more comprehensive history of the United States, others — especially Hutchinson, Belknap, and Trumbull — produced works in the last century which will have a durable value in respect to the history of single States; while, among our contemporaries, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Hollister, Mr. Baylies, and Mr. Barry, by their works respectively on the history of New England, of Maine, of Connecticut, of Plymouth, and of Massachusetts, have secured an honorable reputation for diligence in this field. A History of Rhode Island is announced, from the able pen of Mr. Samuel Greene Arnold of Providence. I regret that it has not appeared in season for me to compare the conclusions which I have reached in that department of inquiry, with those of so well-instructed and judicious a writer. The "Historical Discourse" of Callender — hitherto the principal authority on the subject — does not satisfy curiosity as to the course of events in the Narragansett settlements.

In treating such a theme, so far am I from any ambition of appearing to have gone on unaided, that I should deem myself blamable, had I not sought help in every accessible quarter, and, in particular, had I not applied at the best sources for that local and circumstantial information which sometimes is not to be had from books. From Mr. George Folsom, formerly of Maine, Mr. John Langdon-Elwyn of Portsmouth in New Hampshire, Mr. William S. Russell of Plymouth, Dr. King of Newport, Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Mr. Charles J. Hoadly, editor of the Records of New Haven, Mr. Sabine, formerly of Eastport, and the Reverend Alonzo H. Quint, formerly of Dover, I have received material assistance in the treatment of those portions of my subject with which these gentlemen, from their respective positions and from the course of their studies, were minutely acquainted. If I have fallen into error in regard to matters of fact on which I have consulted them, it must have been through misapprehension of their statements.

In the preparation of different parts of my work, I have had assistance from so many sources, that I cannot undertake to enumerate them all. My obligations to Professor Guyot, in respect to the Physical Geography of New England, I have acknowledged in another place. Professor Gray, Professor Cooke, Professor Wyman, and Mr. George B. Emerson, gave me information concerning different branches of its Natural History. Dr. J. G. Kohl, whose return to his own country the scholars of this do not cease to regret, contributed to my knowledge of the movements of the early voyagers to this continent. Count Pulszky (with whom in Europe I was so fortunate as to renew my acquaintance), and Mr. George Sumner, helped me to understand the adventures of Captain John Smith. At different stages in the prosecution of my work, I have found new occasion to appreciate the learning and judgment of Mr. Parsons, Dr. Francis, Mr. Bowen, Mr. Torrey, and Mr. Lowell, Professors in the University at Cambridge, and of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, and other friends, competent and ready to ren-

der me important aid. Mr. Charles Deane has been indefatigable in giving me the benefit of his large acquisition of knowledge respecting our early annals.

To no one am I indebted for more light than to that eminent archæologist, Mr. Samuel Foster Haven, of Worcester. Especially have I been aided by him in elaborating the view, presented in these pages, of the origin and purposes of the Company of Massachusetts Bay. So long ago as the year 1837,* as well as at different times since, I published my thoughts respecting the political relations of some of those early movements of the government of Massachusetts, which have generally been ascribed to religious bigotry. I have been greatly assisted in maturing them by Mr. Haven's treatise on the Massachusetts Company, in the third volume of the "Collections of the American Antiquarian Society," and not less by private correspondence with which he has honored me.

In making up the narrative from materials thus carefully brought together, it is little to say that I have aimed to be veracious and just. I should have been neither, if I had affected to conceal my veneration for the founders of New England. But I hope that I am not disqualified for writing of their conduct without undue bias in their favor. My ancestors, on the one side and on the other, were in Plymouth and in Massachusetts from the earliest moment of those Colonies; but they never acted any conspicuous part in the public business. Nor am I in danger of being induced by religious sympathy to judge the leading actors with too much indulgence. My interpretations of the Gospel differ widely from those which have ruled in the councils of the New England commonwealths, from the colonization down to a time within the memory of living men. With the belief which I entertain, I could not have been admitted to any church established by the Fathers, if, indeed, an attempt to propagate my belief would not have made me an exile from their society.

* North American Review, XLIV. 568 *et seq.*

It will not surprise me to learn that I am thought, in the composition of the work, to have indulged myself too freely in the interweaving of quotations. It is however of set purpose, that, especially in relating some parts of the story, I have adopted a method which mere considerations of rhetorical taste might not recommend. The peculiar language of the men whom I describe is a substantive part of their peculiar history. It displays the form and pressure of the place and time. The phrascology of the actors is to the reader a constant expositor and reminder of the complexion of the thoughts and sentiments that determined the course of affairs.

In the journey which I have been pursuing, I have observed some erring steps of writers who have trodden the same path before me. But it would ill become me to point them out with censure. I have learned too well how difficult it is to master such a multiplicity of details as lies within the compass of this narrative. I seem to myself to have used extreme diligence in the authentication of facts; but I shall be surprised if the accurate knowledge of some who will read what I have written shall not convict me of mistakes.

In the copper-plate Map of New England prefixed to this volume, the delineation of mountain topography records the personal observations of Professor Guyot, who, with that generosity which always actuates him, communicated them to me for this use. The names affixed to the principal ranges and peaks have, of course, been recently applied, differing in that respect from the names inserted along the coast line, which were in use at the close of the history related in this volume. The "photo-lithographed" copy of the Map of Captain Smith represents the first edition of it, published in London in 1616. The copy of William Wood's Map of New England is taken from the print inserted in his "New England's Prospect," issued in London in 1636, which is in the Library of Harvard College. John Underhill's "Newes from New England," which has furnished the lithographed plan of the attack on the Pequot fort, is also in that Library. But the plan is there mutilated, and the

defect has been supplied from another copy, belonging to Mr. John Carter Brown.

It only remains for me to avow my obligations to my almost lifelong friend, Mr. Charles Folsom, for the very important favor of a careful revisal of the sheets of this volume as they passed through the press. At every step his critical sagacity and practised judgment have stood me greatly in stead.

J. G. P.

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BOOK I.

THE SETTLEMENT.

HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

THE SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

On the eastern coast of North America, midway between the equator and the pole, is a tract of land properly described as a peninsula, from a physical conformation which has had important relations to its civil history.[1] The northern extremity of the Appalachian zone of elevated land is separated from the continent by the long bed of the St. Lawrence, and the deep and broad chasm which holds the waters of Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the river Hudson. The series of ridges and plateaus, which, rising from the sandy shore of the Gulf of Mexico, stretches nearly unbroken in a direction parallel to the Atlantic coast, is suddenly interrupted and cut down to its base by a valley sunk thousands of feet between the Katskill Mountains and the lofty chains and table-lands of the Adirondac region on one side, and the long belt of the Green Mountains on the other. The average width of

[1] This geographical feature, though imperfectly understood, was not overlooked in early times. "New England is by some affirmed to be an island, bounded on the north with the river *Canada*, so called from M. Cane; on the south with the river *Mohegan*, or Hudson River, so called because he was the first that discovered it." (Josselyn, New England's Rarities, pp. 4, 5; comp. his Voyages, p. 42.) Cushman (Discourse, *ad init.*) and Winslow (Good Newes from New England, 62), at Plymouth in 1621 and 1623, believed that it was an island; Wood, in Massachusetts in 1633, that it was an island or a peninsula (New England's Prospect, 1).

this depression is not far from twenty miles. At the north it expands into a broad prairie between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, while among the Highlands near West Point it is compressed to the diminished width of the Hudson where that river seems to have broken a link between the two parts of the Appalachian chain.

The insulation of this tract is all but complete. The tide runs up the St. Lawrence nearly five hundred miles, almost reaching the point where the river Richelieu, or Sorel, discharges the surplus waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain. The surface of Lake Champlain is only ninety feet above the ocean; the canal which now unites its waters with those of Hudson River running in an opposite direction, scarcely rises fifty more to its highest level; and at Troy and Albany, a hundred and fifty miles from the sea, the tide is met again, coming up from the south. Of that long depression of nine hundred miles from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Hudson, the tide-waters cover six hundred and fifty miles; while for the remaining two hundred and fifty the elevation above the ocean is not so great as is reached by ordinary structures reared by the hand of man. A level way was prepared by nature, along which the travel and the commerce of tranquil times have at length succeeded to the incursions of savage or of civilized war.

The area thus defined as one physical region, and measuring with the neighboring islands about a hundred and forty-five thousand square miles, is occupied by the British Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with part of that of Lower Canada; the six States of the American Union known by the collective name of New England; and a narrow section of the State of New York. New England, covering less than half of this surface, extends from the forty-first degree nearly to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and from the sixty-seventh degree almost to the seventy-fourth

Area of New England.

degree of west longitude. It is bounded by British possessions on the north, northeast, and northwest; on the southeast, east, and south, by the Atlantic Ocean; and on the west, by Lake Champlain and by the State of New York, which through nearly three degrees of latitude interposes a breadth of some twenty miles, mostly of lowland, between it and Hudson River. It has an area of about 65,000 square miles, of which about 31,700 belong to the State of Maine, 9,300 to New Hampshire, 10,200 to Vermont, 7,800 to Massachusetts, 1,300 to Rhode Island, and 4,700 to Connecticut. Maine occupies the northeastern corner. West of the southern half of Maine lie New Hampshire, touching the ocean for only a few miles, and the inland State of Vermont. South of New Hampshire and Vermont, along their whole extent, is Massachusetts, measuring the breadth of Southern New England from east to west, and stretching to a double width on the sea, which it fronts with its entire eastern border. South of Massachusetts are Rhode Island, exposed on its southern side to the Atlantic, and Connecticut, lying along the oval-shaped strait known as Long Island Sound. Long Island, with its low plains and sandy beaches, though by nature attached to New England, politically belongs elsewhere. The sea-coast, measured without allowance for interruption by the less considerable inlets, extends about seven hundred miles.

Only moderate elevations present themselves to the view along the greater part of the line of the New-England coast. Inland, the great topographical feature is a double belt of highlands, separated almost to their bases by the deep and broad valley of Connecticut River, and running parallel to each other from the south-southwest to the north-northeast, till, around the sources of that river, they unite in a wide space of table-land, from which streams descend in different directions. Thence, separating again, they take a northeasterly course

Ranges of highlands.

through the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick, till they come out upon the Gulf of St. Lawrence along both sides of the deep Bay of Chaleurs, which may be considered as the lower extremity of the long depression. At the foot of the eastern belt and following its curve lies a tract of lowland, gently sloping towards the shore with a surface broken by moderate elevations, and from being forty or fifty miles broad in Massachusetts, gradually spreading in Maine to nearly double that width. In Connecticut, the descent to the sea is by still easier steps.

To regard these highlands, which form so important a feature of New England geography, as simply two ranges of hills, would not be to conceive of them correctly. They are vast swells of land, of an average elevation of a thousand feet above the level of the sea, each with a width of forty or fifty miles, from which, as from a base, mountains rise in chains or in isolated groups to an altitude of several thousand feet more.

In structure, the two belts are unlike. The western system, which bears the general name of the Green Mountains, is composed of two principal chains, more or less continuous, covered, like several shorter ones which run along them, with the forests and herbage to which they owe their name. Between these a longitudinal valley can be traced, though with some interruption, from Connecticut to Northern Vermont. In Massachusetts and Connecticut it is marked by the course of the Housatonic, in Vermont by the rich basins that hold the villages of Bennington, Manchester, and Rutland, and further on by valleys of less note. The space between these mountain ranges and the Connecticut is mostly occupied by a rugged table-land measuring in height from a thousand to fifteen hundred feet. In Massachusetts, this is deeply furrowed by transverse valleys, through which torrents like the Westfield and the Deerfield rivers descend to the Con-

necticut. In Vermont, both heights and streams assume a more gentle character.

The mountains have a regular increase in elevation from south to north. From a height of less than a thousand feet in Connecticut, they rise to an average of twenty-five hundred feet in Massachusetts, where the majestic Greylock, isolated between the two chains, lifts its head to the stature of thirty-five hundred feet. In Vermont, Equinox and Stratton Mountains, near Manchester, are thirty-seven hundred feet high; Killington Peak, near Rutland, rises forty-two hundred feet; Mansfield Mountain, at the northern extremity, overtops the rest of the Green Mountain range with an altitude of forty-four hundred feet. The rise of the valley is less regular. In Connecticut, its bottom is from five hundred to seven hundred feet above the sea; in Southern Massachusetts it is eight hundred feet; it rises thence two hundred feet to Pittsfield, and one hundred more to the foot of Greylock, whence it declines to the bed of the Housatonic in one direction, and to an average height of little more than five hundred feet in Vermont, in the other. Thus it is in Berkshire County, in Western Massachusetts, that the western swell presents, if not the most elevated peaks, yet the most compact and consolidated structure. Nowhere else in New England has the locomotive engine to climb to such a height in order to reach the valley of the Hudson. Between Westfield and Pittsfield, the Western Railway attains an elevation of no less than fourteen hundred and seventy-five feet above the surface of the water in Boston harbor.

Increase in the height of mountains, towards the north.

The eastern belt has no continuous range of mountains. In Massachusetts, it is a broad, undulating surface, about a thousand feet high, broken by valleys of moderate depth. Numerous smooth and bare summits, like the crests of parallel waves, lift a space of arable land a few hundred feet above the general level. Here and there,

however, are isolated hills, like Watatick, near the centre of the plateau, and Wachusett, on its eastern edge, with altitudes respectively of eighteen hundred and over two thousand feet. In New Hampshire, the same general character is preserved, but the country is more broken, and the mountains grow higher and more numerous. On a line running, a little west of the centre, along an ascending series of peaks having no immediate connection with each other, the Great Monadnock, Cuba Mountain, Carr Mountain, and Moosehillock, respectively thirty-two hundred, thirty-three hundred, thirty-five hundred, and forty-eight hundred feet high, conduct to Lafayette Mountain, which measures fifty-three hundred feet. Beyond this begins the group of the White Mountains, separate like the rest, and in its highest peak, Mount Washington, with an elevation of sixty-three hundred feet, presenting the culminating point of the northern section of the Appalachian range. The regular increase of elevation from south to north, which characterizes the Green Mountain range, appears equally in the more easterly system, and the extreme heights of the two are in nearly the same parallel of latitude.

Beyond the White Mountains, while the peaks are lower, the table-land continues to rise, till it reaches an elevation varying from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred feet. In Maine, the swell expands and sinks, though not enough to lose its importance as the principal watershed. Along its path are scattered the few high mountains of Maine, as Mount Abraham, Mount Squaw, and Katahdin, which last is said to have an altitude of more than fifty-three hundred feet.

Such are the great geographical features which determine the direction of the water-courses, the amount and distribution of water power, and the capacities of different parts of the country for various forms of the industry of civilized man, in agriculture, commerce, and the man-

ufacturing arts. They materially influenced the early march of the settlements, and the establishment of the political centres.

Source and direction of of rivers.

The region along the northern border of Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine, where the two belts of highlands meet in a common table-land, supplies the springs of all the important streams of the peninsular country which has been described. The Connecticut and the Androscoggin seeking the ocean by a southerly course, the feeders of the Kennebec and the Penobscot running towards the east and southeast, those of the St. John towards the northeast, and those of the Chaudière and the St. Francis towards the northwest, all descend from these heights by rapid plunges into the lower country. With their valleys they take directions and characters according with those of the slopes to which they respectively belong. In New England, they thus arrange themselves in a threefold division.

The Connecticut.

To the general descent of the country from north to south corresponds the course of the Connecticut River. Its wide and deep valley separates not only two mountain ridges, but two solid masses of highland. A series of terraces breaks the level of its broad bed. Rarely presenting any sudden changes of direction, it obeys the nearly straight course of the parallel walls which confine its valley. Its most rapid descent is that of twelve hundred feet in the first quarter of its course, from its sources to the mouth of the Pasumpsic River, on the parallel of the White Mountains, where its surface is but four hundred feet above the sea two hundred miles distant. In eighty miles, from that point to the long and flat bottom between Windsor and Bellows Falls in Vermont, it descends only one hundred feet; thence it sinks a hundred and sixty feet to the plains of Deerfield; and at Springfield, eighty miles from its mouth, it is but forty feet above the ocean. The

smaller streams on the same slope, the Housatonic, the Naugatuck, and others, pursue in like manner the straight course forced upon them by the direction of the ridges which come out in the plains that stretch along the Sound.

The eastern rivers.

Under the combined influence of the eastern and the southern slopes, the Androscoggin, the Saco, the Merrimack, the Blackstone, and other streams, tend in an oblique direction towards the southeast. In Maine, where the highlands turn to the northeast, the compound declivity becomes a southerly slope, and the Kennebec, the Penobscot, and the Passamaquoddy seek the sea in that direction. Unlike the streams further south which hold the same course, those of Maine show considerable irregularity at different points in their progress. Not rolling their waters through a single great hollow, like the Connecticut, they rather stray from valley to valley, alternately following and breaking through the ridges which obstruct them, and indicating, by their frequent windings, the minor sinuosities of the ground they traverse. Their fall is also generally more precipitous. Where they issue from the highlands, at only a moderate distance from the ocean, their average elevation above it, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, is five hundred feet. Their rapids and shallows accordingly unfit them for inland navigation. Towards the east their size increases with the width of the belt of lowland in which their course is developed.

The western rivers.

The western declivity, fronting the valley of the Hudson and of Lake Champlain, is too short to allow the formation of any considerable river. Toward the south, little impetuous torrents, like the Hoosac, break through the hills into the Hudson. In Vermont, Otter Creek, Onion River, and other streams, take a longer and more tranquil way towards Lake Champlain. Outside of New England, at the north, the Ca-

nadian rivers St. Francis and Chaudière carry to the St. Lawrence a more abundant tribute.[1]

Lakes.

Almost everywhere in New England the masses of water find a sufficient vent, and there are within its borders few lakes of any great size. The largest, Moosehead Lake in Maine, partly drained by the Kennebec, and Lake Winnipiseogee in New Hampshire, which yields some of its waters to the Merrimac, are respectively about twenty-five and thirty-five miles long, and each is about ten miles across in its greatest width.

It will have been seen that the rivers of New England, though several are of considerable length, are of little direct use for internal commerce. The broad Connecticut is navigable for vessels of a hundred tons' burden only as far as Hartford, fifty miles above its mouth. The Charles and the Merrimac admit shipping, the former no further than seven miles, and the latter fifteen miles, from the eastern coast. The best water communications with the interior are in Maine. Heavy ships discharge their freights at Bangor, fifty or sixty miles from the mouth of the Penobscot; on the Kennebec, vessels of light draught ascend forty-five miles from the sea, to Augusta; while sloops or boats ply over long reaches of the Androscoggin, the Saco, the Piscataqua, and other rivers, where the surface is not broken by falls or rapids.

But the rivers of New England have rendered excellent service to its civilized inhabitants, independent of their liberal contributions of clear and wholesome water at all times, and of necessary food in the period of distress which immediately followed the immigration of English-

[1] In the above delineation of the physical geography of New England, I have made free use of a manuscript memoir by Professor Guyot, of Nassau Hall, in New Jersey, containing the results of original observations, which that distinguished geographer has kindly communicated to me for this purpose. I believe it is Mr. Guyot's intention to prepare it for publication in the Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

men. It is chiefly within the last forty years that profitable use has been made of the abundant facilities of water-power for factories; but from the beginning the prosperity and wealth of the English settlers were largely dependent upon those secure and capacious basins, at the outlets of some of the rivers, which are now resorts of the commerce of the world. The harbors of Portland, Boston, and Newport, accessible, ample, deep, with convenient landing-places sheltered from storms and defensible against an enemy, leave nothing to be desired for commercial accommodation. Portsmouth, Salem, Bristol, Providence, New London, New Haven, were in early times the starting-places of a vigorous maritime enterprise; while an endless number of such commodious havens as Eastport, Machias, Castine, Belfast, Thomaston, Wiscasset, Bath, and Kennebunk, in Maine, with the long ranges of fishing-towns on Massachusetts Bay, Buzzard's Bay, and Long Island Sound, stud the coast from New Brunswick to New York.

Harbors.

The shore is indented by numerous estuaries of greater extent. To regard that part of the ocean which bears the name of Massachusetts Bay as being enclosed within two promontories so distant from each other as Cape Ann and Cape Cod, requires some aid from the imagination. But spacious inlets like Narragansett Bay in Rhode Island, Buzzard's Bay in Massachusetts, Passamaquoddy, Frenchman's, Penobscot, Sheepscot, and Casco Bays, with many others of smaller size, in Maine, impart to a large extent of coast the privileges of proximity to the sea, along with a portion of the retirement and security of an inland site; while their capes push out the mariner's dwelling towards the scene of his toils.

Bays.

The atmospheric temperature in New England is variable, and heat and cold are both in extreme. The mercury has ranged in Maine from 98° of

Temperature.

Fahrenheit's thermometer in summer to 34° be low zero in winter. In Massachusetts and Connecticut its common annual limits are 98° above zero, and 15° below. In Massachusetts 102° perhaps indicates the extreme of heat which has been experienced, and 20° below zero the extreme of cold. Once in the present century the mercury at New Haven in Connecticut has fallen to 25° below zero. The mean temperature of the year in Massachusetts varies between forty-four and fifty-one degrees. Great changes are so sudden, that the mercury has been known to range, at Boston, through forty-five degrees within twenty-four hours.[1] In a day within the last forty years, it rose twenty-seven degrees between seven o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, and fell thirty-three degrees in the seven hours next succeeding. Nor was this anything more than a singular instance of such fluctuations. The common opinion that the climate has moderated since the time of the European settlements is probably erroneous.[2]

1815, Jan. 31.

1835, Jan. 5.

1847, April 22.

1821, Jan. 13.

Droughts, though not of unusual occurrence, are not often of great severity. At Cambridge, in Massachusetts, the average annual fall of rain is about forty-three inches; at Brunswick, in Maine,[3] about forty inches; and at New Haven, in Connecticut, forty-four inches. The extremes in Massachusetts have been a fall of fifty-four and of thirty inches. In Maine, in two different years, it is recorded that snow fell to the depth of five feet upon a level.[4] In twen-

Rain and droughts.

1850, 1846.

1757, 1763.

[1] In the evening of March 4, 1856, it fell eight degrees, from 39° to 31°, in five minutes.

[2] Remarks on the Climate of New England, by Mr. John C. Gray, appended to the First Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of Agriculture, 147 *et seq.* Dr. Enoch Hale's Memoir, in the Memoirs of the American Academy, New Series, I. 114 *et seq.* — Mr. Savage (Winthrop, History of New England, I. 119) favors the common opinion.

[3] According to Williamson (History of Maine, I. 99), the average fall in Maine is thirty-seven inches, of which about one third part is in snow and hail.

[4] Ibid., I. 100.

1825-1850. ty-five years the extreme range of the barometer at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, was two inches and sixty-four hundredths. The summer heats are often allayed by tempests of thunder and lightning. Tornadoes occur but rarely.[1] There is no appearance of volcanic formation.[2] But from time to time there have been earthquakes, which have created alarm without being destructive. The most considerable, in the same month with the great earthquake at Lisbon, was observed to extend from Halifax, in Nova Scotia, to Chesapeake Bay. It shook down a hundred chimneys in Boston. It was the last that did any damage.

1755, Nov. 18.

The great and sudden variations of temperature impair the salubrity of the climate, and in other respects the large features of geographical structure above described must be presumed to produce local modifications of its general character. The long winters of the highlands, their strong and dry northwest winds, and their cool summers, have an effect on the human frame different from that of the damp and chilly airs which, in company with the tides of icy water, descend upon the region that borders the eastern shore. The coast country of Rhode Island and Connecticut, out of the reach of the harsh currents, which are arrested or turned away by the projection of Cape Cod,[3] and accessible instead to the softer influence of southern tides and gales, may be supposed to present another class of conditions of health. Yet such diversi-

Local diseases.

[1] The most violent known to have occurred was that which passed through the towns of Waltham, West Cambridge, and Medford, August 22, 1851. An account of it by Professor Eustis is in the Memoirs of the American Academy, New Series, V. 169 *et seq.*

[2] Professor Hitchcock rejects the opinion that "there are traces of volcanic action at Gay Head," on the Island of Martha's Vineyard. (Report on the Geology of Massachusetts, 2d edit., p. 208. But comp. p. 431.)

[3] The importance of this influence appears in the fact that, to a great extent, the fishes and mollusks are different on the two sides of the Cape. The meteorological journals which I have consulted for the course of the winds at Boston and at Providence are both deficient in respect to a few days' observations. From that kept at Boston it

ties are subordinate to a general uniformity, in which New England gives to all her children the birthright of a fair prospect of health and longevity. The configuration of the surface forbids the stagnation of masses of water, and the tides of the neighboring ocean, the snow on the hills, and the winds which the rapid changes of temperature keep in motion, are perpetual restorers of a wholesome atmosphere. In the absence of marshes diffusing noxious miasmata, intermittent fevers rarely occur.[1] Among the fatal maladies pulmonary consumption numbers most victims. Diseases of the nervous system are next in frequency. Malignant epidemic fevers, especially of the typhoid type, are of occasional occurrence. The partial returns in Massachusetts of 80,995 deaths, in four years, showed 4,482 persons to have died at an age exceeding eighty. Of 20,798 whose deaths were registered in a recent year, ten were more than a hundred years old.

1852–1855.

1855.

In less than two centuries and a half a different climate and regimen on this continent have produced in the descendants of the English some remarkable physiological changes. The normal type of the Englishman at home exhibits a full habit, a moist skin, curly hair, a sanguine temperament. In the transplanted race the form is oftener slender, the skin dry, the hair straight, the temperament bilious or nervous.

The agricultural season is short. Winter lasts through nearly half the year. In Massachusetts, the mean temperature of the eight cold months is less than

Agriculture.

appears that the course of the winds for five years was as follows: —

North, 40.	Northeast, 270.
East, 135.	Southeast, 65.
South, 25.	Southwest, 515.
West, 155.	Northwest, 570.

At Providence the record of the same time shows that winds prevailed

Between north and east,	352 days.
Between east and south,	172 "
Between south and west,	597 "
Between west and north,	690 "

[1] But they were not uncommon in early times. (Holmes, Boylston Prize Dissertation on Indigenous Intermittent Fever, pp. 11–25.)

forty degrees. That of the four warm months is nearly seventy. In storms the aspect of winter is austere. In fair weather it is brilliant, with its radiance of snow and ice reflecting sun or stars through a transparent atmosphere. No verdure but that of evergreens resists the annual cold, and an unmelted mass of snow often covers the ground for months. The late and sudden bursting forth of the spring severely tasks the laborer, while the rapid growth which follows surprises the traveller from a lower latitude. In years of average vernal temperature in Massachusetts, the ground is ready for the plough by the first week in April. The average blossoming of the apple is on the 16th of May. Grass is cut for drying between the middle of June and the middle of July. Indian corn is ripe in September. By the first week of November the last fruits of the year are gathered in.[1] Some of the aspects of nature are of rare beauty. No other country presents a more gorgeous appearance of the sky than that of the New-England summer sunset; none, a more brilliant painting of the forests than that with which the sudden maturity of the foliage transfigures the landscape of autumn. No air is more delicious than that of the warm but bracing October and November noons of the Indian summer of New England.

Soil.

The soil generally is not fertile. There is a wide beach of sand along the coast; in the interior, rocks and gravel, with occasional veins of clay, cover a large part of the surface. The cultivation of more than two centuries has greatly improved the quality of those portions of the land which have convenient communication with markets. But most of the natural fruitfulness

[1] Here too, however, differences occasioned by the inequalities of surface come into the account. In the opening of spring, the valley of the Connecticut is, on an average, a fortnight in advance of the highlands on its borders; and snows cover the low lands as well as the hills of Berkshire weeks before it is seen, and after it has disappeared, in the meadows about Massachusetts Bay.

of the region was found in the valleys of the great rivers. The borders of the Penobscot, the Kennebec, the Connecticut, and other streams, enriched in past ages and still reinvigorated by the deposits of the annual overflow, exhibit a fecundity in strong contrast with the stony hill-sides. Massachusetts is the least fruitful of the six States. Maine, skirted by a barren shore, contains inland the largest proportion of good arable soil. The wide grazing lands of New Hampshire and Vermont send immense herds and flocks to the markets of the sea-coast.

There is no part of the country which is not well provided with fresh water. Numerous springs bring it to the surface, and an ample supply is everywhere to be procured by digging a few feet. Mineral wealth is still but partially developed. A little copper is found, some lead, some graphite, and considerable quantities of iron and of manganese. There are beds of an inferior description of anthracite coal. In Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, there are ample quarries of slate, and limestone abounds in Rhode Island and Maine. The granite and sienite of Eastern Massachusetts, the white marble of the western mountain range, and the sandstone of the Connecticut valley, are valuable materials for building, while the serpentine of Vermont and the variegated marbles of Connecticut have come into use for architectural embellishment. Here and there are medicinal springs, generally of a chalybeate quality. Salt is only to be had from sea-water.

Minerals.

The native grasses of the upland were rank, but so little nutritious that the European planters found it better to fodder their cattle on the salt growth of the sea-marshes;[1] and this consideration determined

Botany.

[1] "The natural upland grass of the country, commonly called *Indian grass*, is poor fodder, perhaps not better, if so good, as barley straw." (Hutchinson, History, I. 424, 426, 427.) The first settlers were deceived by its rankness,

the site of some of the early settlements. The tough, fibrous bark of an indigenous plant, a species of dog-bane, well served the purposes of hemp.[1] The woods were so vast that the early writers describe them as covering the country.[2] In fact, it was naturally all forest-clad, excepting the bogs and salt-marshes, and the mountain tracts above the limit of trees. An abundance of the oak, hickory, walnut, ash, elm, maple, pine, spruce, chestnut, cedar, and other forest-trees, afforded supplies for fuel, tools, weapons, utensils, and building.[3] The chestnut, hazlenut, beechnut, butternut, and shagbark made their contributions to the resources for winter supply. Wild cherries, mulberries, and plums increased the variety of the summer's diet. Wild berries, as the strawberry, the gooseberry, the raspberry, the blackberry, the whortleberry, the cranberry, grew in abundance in the meadow and champaign lands. Vines bearing grapes of tolerable flavor flourished along the streams.[4] A profu-

and thought of it much too favorably. (So Higginson, New England's Plantation, in Massachusetts Historical Collections, I. 118.)

1 "A kind or two of flax, wherewith they make nets, lines, and ropes, both small and great, very strong for their quantities." (Smith, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 120.) "We found an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp." (Mourt, Relation, 22.)

2 "Though all the country be, as it were, a thick wood for the general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians." (Higginson, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 117.) "The country generally is . . . . . extremely overgrown with wood." (Josselyn, New England's Rarities, 3.) "An uncouth wilderness, full of timber." (Early Records of Charlestown.)

3 Of indigenous evergreens, the noble white-pine was the characteristic tree of the region. There were two kinds of pitch-pine, four of fir or spruce, a juniper (commonly known as red cedar), a cypress (known as white cedar), and an arbor vitæ. Of deciduous trees, the principal were one kind of chestnut, nearly a dozen species of oak, one of beech, one of hornbeam, four of hickory, two of walnut, five of birch, four or five of poplar, one of larch, two of elm, three or four of ash and as many of maple, one of linden, one of the plane-tree (attaining a great size on the alluvial banks of rivers), one of tupelo or sour-gum tree, one of holly along the southern border, and, the most showy in blossom, the flowering dog-wood and the tulip-tree. The two last-named, with the hickories, the tupelo, and the sassafras, were types totally new to the colonists.

4 There were three kinds of grapes, one of them now considered worthy of

sion of flowering shrubs and of aquatic, forest, and field flowers, the wild rose, the richly perfumed water-lily, the rhododendron, the azalea, the anemone, the kalmia or mountain-laurel, the cardinal-flower, the fringed gentian, the aster, the golden-rod, brought their tribute to the pomp of the year. Among plants especially esteemed for their medicinal qualities were the lobelia, the sarsaparilla, the ginseng, and the sassafras. Cloven branches of resinous wood afforded a substitute for candles.

Fishes.

The sea and the rivers swarmed with fishes of kinds the most useful to man. The cod has been an important article of trade since New-England commerce began, as have the mackerel and herring in only a less degree. The salmon, the bass, the shad, the halibut, the trout, the eel, the cusk, the smelt, the tautog, the swordfish, the haddock, the pickerel, and many other inhabitants of the fresh and salt water, of inferior consideration with the epicure, still abound in their respective seasons. Of shell-fish, lobsters and several kinds of clams multiplied on the beaches and among the rocks of the sea-coast, and it is only of late years that the oyster has ceased to be common at the mouths of the southern New-England rivers. The unprolific whale, hunted for its oil, has been driven from its ancient haunts about New England to distant seas, till it seems to be drawing near to extermination.

Birds.

The summer brings a variety of birds prized for food. The most abundant is the pigeon, which formerly came in such numbers as to fill the air for miles.[1] Different wild species of the goose and duck resort to the sea-shore in the colder months for fish and aquatic

cultivation; two species of strawberry; several of raspberry and of blackberry; one or two of haws; one or two of gooseberry; two of cranberry; two or three of whortleberry, and several species of blueberry.

[1] "Pigeons, that come in multitudes every summer, almost like the quails that fell round the camp of Israel in the wilderness." (Hubbard, History, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XV. 25; Belknap, History of New Hampshire, III. 171.)

plants and insects. The quail and the red-breasted thrush (commonly known as the *robin*) make their nests in the uplands. The woodcock and the ruffed-grouse, or partridge, hide in the copses. Various species of the plover and of other birds of passage haunt the meadows and the marshes. The wild turkey, now rarely seen, throve on berries in the woods.[1] Of all the feathered tribes, the tiny humming-bird of New England displays the most delicate beauty; few are more gorgeous than the oriole, or golden robin, which comes from the Chesapeake to pass its summer in this region; the bluebird, the golden-winged woodpecker, the rose-breasted grosbeak, are among the birds conspicuous for their brilliant plumage. The oriole asserts equally his eminence in music. The hermit-thrush, or mavis, charms the woods at nightfall. The song-sparrow pours out its joyous melody all day long. The American starling, or meadow-lark, is pronounced by Wilson to be "eminently superior to the skylark of Europe in sweetness of voice, as far as his few notes extend."[2] From its close retreat the whippoorwill sends to a long distance its wild and plaintive song. The hawk and horned owl are formidable to poultry-yards. The blue-jay, the crow, and the blackbird annoy the husbandman by their inroads upon the just planted and just ripening grain, which they have defended against more destructive enemies.

Insects.

The moist heat of the region favors an exuberance of some kinds of insect life. The short summer campaign of the canker-worm leaves devastation behind in the orchards and on the most prized of the ornamental trees within the narrow limits which it infests; cut-worms and other caterpillars ravage the grain-fields; borers and other beetles deform the gardens. To the higher animals the insects are for the most part harmless, though during the heats of summer, especially at the

[1] Higginson, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 121. [2] American Ornithology, III. 20.

close of the day, and in moist places, the presence of the mosquito perpetually detracts from the comfort of man; and he has to take care not to disturb the wasp and hornet, which build their nests about his dwelling. The larger kinds of reptiles native to the soil have been disappearing with the increase of population. Of those sometimes still seen are the harmless black snake, six or seven feet in length, and the rattlesnake, whose bite, popularly esteemed to be surely fatal, has in fact been known to cause death when meeting with a morbid predisposition in the patient.

Reptiles.

The native quadrupeds of New England, as generally of all America, are of types inferior to those of the other hemisphere.[1] The bear, the wolf, the catamount, and the lynx or wild-cat, were the most formidable. The moose, which has disappeared except from the secluded portions of New Hampshire and Maine, was the largest, measuring five feet and a third in height, and nearly seven feet in the length of the body. The fallow deer, not quite exterminated at this day, was abundant in the woods. Of fur-bearing animals there were the beaver, the otter, the ermine, the raccoon, the musquash, the mink, the sable, and the martin, besides the fox and the squirrel, and others less prized.

Quadrupeds.

In such a territory and amid such circumstances dwelt, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, a few tens of thousands of men.

The nearest approximation to a knowledge of these people in their primitive condition is of course to be gained from such journals as exist of the early European voyages.[2] These supply only superficial information. The natives, when first

Observations of the first voyagers on the natives.

1 Guyot, Earth and Man, 193.

2 "These records of the past, like the stern-lights of a departing ship," show "the last glimmers of savage life, as it becomes absorbed, or recedes before the tide of civilization." (Ludewig's

seen, were observed to be "of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and, as it should seem, very healthful."[1] They were "in color swart, their hair long, their bodies painted." They had clothing of skins of the deer and the seal, with ornaments of quills, feathers, and plates of copper, and collars and ear-rings of that metal and of bones and marine shells. They were armed with bows and arrows. They stole at the first opportunity which offered itself, but were easily frightened into making restitution. The women and children were "clean and straight bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant," and behavior modest and coy. The first English visitor had reason to be satisfied with his reception, when "there presented unto him men, women, and children, who with all courteous kindness entertained him, giving him certain skins of wild beasts, tobacco, turtles, hemp, artificial strings colored, chains, and such like things as at the present they had about them." But within a fortnight they shot at two of the strangers who had strayed from their company, and gave other proofs of unfriendliness.[2] Their way of obtaining fire was to strike two stones together, and catch the spark upon touchwood. They had "strings and cords of flax." That they were "very witty" was thought to be indicated by "sundry toys of theirs cunningly wrought."[3]

These were dwellers about Massachusetts Bay and the Vineyard Sound. Observations made shortly after on the maritime country further east tended to show an identity of appearance and habits among the different tribes of New England. Some official persons (such they appeared to be) among the Indians about the Penobscot or the Kennebec affected a style of decoration more gaudy

Literature of American Aboriginal Languages, xi.)

[1] Gosnold in his letter to his father, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 71.

[2] Gabriel Archer, Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage, Ibid., 73 – 76.

[3] John Brereton, Brief and True Relation, Ibid., 88 – 93.

than that of their western neighbors, painting their faces "very deep, some all black, some red, with stripes of excellent blue over their upper lips, nose, and chin," and wearing "the white-feathered skins of some fowl round about their head, jewels in their ears, and bracelets of little white round bone, fastened together upon a leather string."[1]

The earliest French visitor to the Massachusetts Indians did not secure among them the usual welcome to his nation, but found occasion to report, "They are traitors and thieves, and one has need to take care of them."[2] Captain John Smith saw more of them than his predecessors, and with a more discerning eye, if with some propensity towards a too favorable representation; and readers of the present day regret that in this respect he has provided so little satisfaction for their curiosity. "The country of the Massachusetts," he says, "is the paradise of all those parts." "The sea-coast, as you pass, shows you all along large cornfields, and great troops of well-proportioned people." "We found the people in those parts very kind, but in their fury no less valiant."[3]

In attempting some delineation of the aboriginal inhabitants of New England, it is necessary to anticipate the observations of later years, when Europeans had become established in their neighborhood. And in using such authorities, it is essential to remember that, from step to step, while the opportunities for maturing an acquaintance with the Indian character and habits were extended, the character and habits were themselves becoming modified by the presence of the strangers; while the lineaments were subjected to study, the lineaments were effaced or changed, and the fidelity of the likeness to the prototype was rendered questionable.

[1] George Waymouth, True Relation, Ibid., 146.

[2] L'Escarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, II. 498.

[3] Smith, Description of New England, 26 (edit. 1616).

The American Indians a separate family of mankind.

Few American animals, if indeed any one, whether inhabiting the earth, the air, or the inland waters, can be referred to species known in the other hemisphere. Without entering into the question of an original diversity of human races, it is safe to say that superficial indications extend the rule from the inferior sorts to "the paragon of animals." Of the five families into which, according to the most current classification, physiologists distribute mankind, the North-American Esquimaux, who occupy the Arctic region as far down as the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, are of the Mongolian type; the same which, most widely diffused of all, covers far the greater part of Asia on the one side, and through Greenland touches the confines of Europe on the other. But leaving the region of the Esquimaux, we find the American continent from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn to be the native home of races differing indeed more or less from one another, but still with an agreement in generic characters, which distinguish them not less from the Mongolian family than from the Caucasian, the African, and the Malay. The symmetrical frame, the cinnamon color of the skin, the long, black, coarse hair, the scant beard, the high cheek-bones, the depressed and square forehead set upon a triangular conformation of the lower features, the small, deep-set, shining, snaky eyes, the protuberant lips, the broad nose, the small skull with its feeble frontal development,[1] make a combination which the scientific observer of some of these marks in the skeleton, and the unlearned eye turned upon the living subject, equally recognize as unlike what is seen in other regions of the globe.[2]

Of the seven groups of natives which, at the time of

[1] The contents of the Caucasian cranium have an average measurement of ninety-three cubic inches; those of the cranium of the North-American Indian, but eighty-four.

[2] "No other race of man maintains such a striking analogy through all its subdivisions, and amidst all its variety of physical circumstances." (Morton, Crania Americana, 63.)

Sevenfold division of the North American Indians.

the first authenticated European explorations, occupied the country enclosed by the Gulf of Mexico, the Mississippi, the great lakes, and the St. Lawrence, three, the Natchez, the Uchees, and the Catawbas, possessed but a small space of territory. The range of the Cherokees was wider; that of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, wider still. The combination of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks (Muskhogees), in the extreme southern region, was yet more extensive. But the largest domain of all was that of the family to which the French gave the name of *Algonquin*.[1] In the territory roamed over by the Algonquins was included that which extends along the Atlantic Ocean from Pamlico Sound to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and no other race than this occupied any portion of New England.

Twofold division of the New-England Indians.

A difference in dialect is the basis of a division of the New-England Indians into two classes, one consisting of those who inhabited what is now the State of Maine, nearly up to its western border; the other, of the rest of the New-England native population.[2] Of the Maine Indians, the Etetchemins dwelt furthest towards the east; the Abenaquis, of which nation the Tarratines were a part,[3] hunted on both sides of

[1] Mr. Gallatin's map, attached to his Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, &c., (in the second volume of Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society,) exhibits the territories belonging to these tribes respectively.

[2] Gallatin (Synopsis, 32); Williamson (History of Maine, I. 460). A comparison of Mr. Gallatin's vocabularies (Synopsis, 307, &c.) appears abundantly to confirm the statement. There are not wanting, however, high authorities on the opposite side. (See Pickering, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XIX. 236–239, and Duponceau, Ibid., Ap. VI., VII.) Gorges (Ibid., XXVI. 59) speaks of an Indian of his from Martha's Vineyard, and another from Maine, "who at first hardly understood one the other's speech, till after a while I perceived the difference was no more than that as ours is between the Northern and Southern people." Gookin says (Ibid., I. 149), "The Indians of the parts of New England, especially upon the sea-coasts, use the same sort of speech and language." But under the name *New England* Gookin did not include Maine. In the preceding chapter, entitled "Of the Principal Indians that inhabit New England," he says nothing of those east of the Piscataqua.

[3] Hutchinson, I. 404. Williamson

the Penobscot, and westward as far as the Saco, if not quite to the Piscataqua. The home of the Penacook, or Pawtucket, Indians was in the southeast corner of New Hampshire and the contiguous region of Massachusetts. Next dwelt the Massachusetts tribe, along the bay of that name. Then were found successively the Pokanokets, or Wampanoags, in the southeastern region of Massachusetts and by Buzzard's and Narragansett Bays; the Narragansetts, with an inferior and probably tributary tribe, called the Nyantics, in what is now the State of Rhode Island; the Pequots, between the Narragansetts and the river formerly called the Pequot River, now the Thames; and the Mohegans, spreading themselves as far as the river Connecticut. From the Mohegan hunting-grounds the country of the Mohawks was understood to begin. That powerful nation never had a permanent residence on New-England soil, but they were accustomed annually to send envoys to collect tribute from the nearest Eastern tribes. In the central region of Massachusetts were the Nipmucks, or Nipnets, and along Cape Cod the Nausets, who appear to have owed some fealty to the Pokanokets. Vermont, Western Massachusetts, and Northern New Hampshire were almost, if not absolutely, without inhabitants.

Native population of New England.

The estimates which have been made of the native population of New England at the time of the first English immigrations are discordant. A probable computation places the number not far from fifty thousand souls.[1] Of this aggregate, Connecticut and Rhode Island together may have contained one half, and

(I. 470) makes the Tarratines to belong to the Etetchemins. Gallatin (Synopsis, 33) regards the names *Tarratine* and *Abenaqui* as equivalent.

[1] Mr. Gallatin (Synopsis, 37) concludes "that the Indian population within the present boundaries of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut must have been from thirty to forty thousand souls, before the epidemic disease which preceded the landing of the Pilgrims." The statistics of Daniel Gookin, in 1674, (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 147–149,) would, if admitted, furnish the basis of an estimate more than doubling this number.

Maine less than two thirds of the other half. This was no occupation of a country which, not yet completely occupied, contains at this time three millions of men.

These people held a low place on the scale of humanity. Even their physical capacities contradicted the promise of their external conformation. Supple and agile, so that it was said they would run eighty or a hundred miles in a day, and back again in the next two, they sank under continuous labor. The lymphatic temperament indicated the same preponderance in them of "vegetative nature" which marked other animals of the same continent.[1] They scarcely wept or smiled. Their slender appetites required small indulgence. They could support life on the scantiest quantity of food, and the innutritious stimulus of tobacco seemed almost enough to supply its place; though at times a gormandizing rage seemed to possess them, and they would be as ravenous in abundance as they were capable of being abstemious under necessity. If they were continent, it can only be to coldness of constitution that this was due; but no instance is recorded of their offering insult to a female captive or soliciting her familiarity, and the coyness of their women repelled approach on the part of European visitors. If there was noticed a remarkable exemption from physical deformities, this was probably not the effect of any peculiar congenital force or completeness, but of circumstances which forbade the prolongation of any imperfect life. The deaf, blind, or lame child was too burdensome to be reared, and, according to a savage's estimate of usefulness and enjoyment, its prolonged life would not requite its nurture. A sort of compassion would early

Their physical characteristics.

[1] Guyot, Earth and Man, pp. 193–195. "There is even in the tropical man of the Old World, in Africa at least, a somewhat of native vigor, of vital energy, manifested by his sanguine temperament, by his gayety, by his lively affections, and by his muscular strength, which places him higher than the Indian of tropical America," &c. Ibid., p. 206.

relieve it from what would seem, under such disabilities, the misery of existence, or it would die prematurely from neglect, or from mere want of that skilful assiduity which parental affection in civilized society studies peculiarly to bestow upon peculiarly helpless offspring. Their demeanor, so grave when exposed to notice, was apt to be taken for an indication of self-respect, but was equally susceptible of being interpreted as betokening a mere stolid vacuity of emotion and thought.

Their dress.

Supplies for the essential wants of physical life — food, shelter, and clothing — were of the rudest kind. Undressed skins of deer or of other wild animals furnished the winter's attire; in summer, the men wore about the middle only a piece of deer-skin, from which the fur had been removed by friction. Moccasons reaching above the ankle, of thin dressed deer-skin or of the moose's hide according to the season, afforded some protection and support to the foot.

Their houses.

The *wigwam*, or Indian house, of a circular or oval shape, was made of bark or mats laid over a framework of branches of trees stuck in the ground in such a manner as to converge at the top, where was a central aperture for the escape of smoke from the fire beneath. The better sort had also a lining of mats. For entrance and egress two low openings were left on opposite sides, one or the other of which was closed with bark or mats, according to the direction of the wind.

Their food.

For food the natives had fish and game; nuts, roots, and berries, (and, in the last resort, acorns,) which grew wild; and a few cultivated vegetables. In the winter, they shot, or snared, or caught in pitfalls, the moose, the bear, and the deer; in the summer, still less trouble procured for them a variety of birds; in both seasons, at favorable times, the sea and the rivers afforded some supplies. Having no salt, they could not preserve

meat except by fumigation, or, for a short time, by burying in the snow. They had not the potato, but in the ground-nut, which they dug in the woods, nature had, to a limited extent, furnished a sort of substitute.[1]

Tobacco they cultivated for luxury, using it only in the way of smoking. For food, they raised maize, or Indian corn,[2] the squash, the pumpkin,[3] the bean now called Seiva-bean, and a species of sun-flower, whose esculent tuberous root resembled the artichoke in taste. It has been asserted, but without probability, that they had cucumbers and watermelons.[4] One tool sufficed for their wretched husbandry; a hoe, made of a clam-shell, or a moose's shoulder-blade, fastened into a wooden handle. Their manure was fish, covered over in the hill along with the seed. When the corn was sufficiently advanced, earth was heaped about it to the height of some inches, for support as well as to extirpate weeds, while the bean-vines were held up by the corn-stalk around which they twined. Their horticulture.

Fish were taken with lines or nets, the cordage of which was made of twisted fibres of the dogbane, or of sinews of the deer. Hooks were fashioned of sharpened bones of fishes and birds. Their fishing.

[1] What commonly goes by this name at the present time (otherwise called *pea*-nut) is a kind of bean, not a native of New England. The ground-nut is a tuber, varying in size from that of a musket-ball to that of a hen's egg, and when boiled or roasted is mealy and not unpalatable.

[2] Maize is not indigenous in New England, but somehow worked its way thither from its unascertained native country nearer the sun. According to Hutchinson (I. 420), there was a tradition that a bird brought it. Roger Williams (Key into the Language of America, Chap. XV.) reports the Indians as saying that "the crow brought them at first an Indian grain of corn in one ear, and an Indian or French bean in another, from the great god Kautontowit's field in the southwest, from whence they held came all their corn and beans."

[3] De Candolle (Géographie Botanique) denies both these vegetables to the New World. But the different testimony of Champlain as to Maine in 1604 (Voyage de la Nouvelle France, &c., pp. 73, 80, 84) appears decisive.

[4] Higginson (New England's Plantation, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 118) gives them the former; Josselyn, the latter. "The watermelon is proper to the country." (Account of Two Voyages, 74, comp. 130.) L'Escarbot (II. 836) says that in the time of Cartier they were cultivated in Canada, not that they were indigenous.

Flesh and fish were cooked by roasting before a fire on the point of a stake, broiling on hot coals or stones, or boiling in vessels of stone, earth, or wood. Water was made to boil, either by hanging the vessel over a fire, or by the immersion in it of heated stones. The Indians had not the art of making bread. They boiled their corn either alone into *hominy*, or else mixed with beans, in which case the compound was called *succotash;* or they ate the parched kernels whole; or with a stone pestle and a wooden mortar they broke them up into meal, which, moistened with water into a paste, they called *nookhik*.[1] With a little of this preparation carried in a bag at the girdle, and a similar frugal outfit of tobacco, they were provisioned for a journey. Corn was laid up for winter supply in holes dug in the earth, and lined on the sides, bottom, and top with bark. The Indian did not feed at regular hours, but whenever hunger prompted, or the state of his supplies allowed. He knew no drink but water, except when he could flavor it with the sweet juice for which in spring he tapped the rock-maple tree.

Their cookery.

After the cordage which has been mentioned, the best specimens of Indian skill in manufacture were baskets, mats, and boats. The last were of two kinds. One, made of birch-bark fastened over a light wooden frame, with seams skilfully and not untastefully secured, was not only convenient from its lightness when taken out of the water to be launched in another stream, but equally safe and easy to manage in that element, as long as it was kept clear of the collisions for which its frail structure was unfit. The other sort was a log, shaped and hollowed by the application first of fire, and then of rude stone tools acting upon the charred surface. A single Indian, it was said, probably with some exaggeration, would finish a boat of this kind, twenty or thirty feet long, in three weeks from his choice of the

Their manufactures.

[1] *Nookhik*, meal, (Eliot's Indian Bible,) was corrupted by the English into *nocake*.

tree to the end of the alternate burnings and scrapings by which it was first felled and then wrought into form.

His axe, hatchet, chisel, and gouge were of hard stone, brought to a sort of edge by friction upon another stone. The helve of the axe or hatchet was attached either by a cord drawn tight around a groove in the stone, or by being cleft while still unsevered from the tree, and left to grow till it closed fast round the inserted tool. Bows were strung with the sinews and twisted entrails of the moose and the deer. Arrows were tipped with bone, with claws of the larger species of birds, or with those artificially shaped triangular pieces of flint, which are now often found in the fields. Spears were of similar contrivance. Besides the stone hatchet as a weapon of offence, was the *tomahawk*, which was merely a wooden club, two feet or more in length, terminating in a heavy knob. Mats served as hangings for houses, and, with or without skins according to the season, as couches for repose, for which latter use they were laid upon wooden supports a foot or two from the ground. Vessels of basket-work, of baked earth, or of hollowed wood or stone, completed the scanty inventory of household furniture. Personal ornaments consisted of greasy paint laid in streaks upon the skin; of mantles and head-gear made of feathers; of ear-rings, nose-rings, bracelets, and necklaces of bone, shells, or shining stones; and of pieces of native copper, sometimes in plates, sometimes strung together so as to make a kind of fringe. The pipe, with its bowl of soft stone set upon a stem of hard wood two feet long, and often elaborately carved and ornamented, was a personal object of special consideration. The precious metals were unknown, as well as the preparation of the ores of those employed in the useful arts.

Their tools, arms, ornaments, and furniture.

The Indian of this region had taught no animal to re-

lieve his labor by its agility, cunning, or strength. Not only had he no working cattle; he had no flock nor herd, nor any poultry.[1] The only animal he had attached to himself was a sort of native dog, resembling a cross between the fox and the wolf.[2] It was probably only the lazy sharer of his cabin and playmate of his children, and not trained to be useful either as a sentinel or in the chase.[3]

Their want of domestic animals.

Generally he had only one wife, though no rule or fixed custom forbade polygamy. If, after trial, the connection proved unsatisfactory, it might be dissolved at the will of either party; nor was there anything disreputable in a frequent repetition of this proceeding. But so long as she shared his cabin, the wife was the husband's drudge and slave. She covered and lined the wigwam, and carried away its materials when it was to be set up in another spot. She bore home the game he had taken; plaited the mats and baskets; planted, tended, and harvested the corn and vegetables; and cooked the food. In the frequent migrations, she conveyed, fastened to a board on her back, the child, which, in consequence of her hardy habits, or of a kind dispensation of nature, she had borne, perhaps within a week, with little pain. Her toils were relieved by no sympathy, and requited with no tenderness; the leavings of the feast,

Their domestic relations.

[1] Of course he had no fleeces to wear. And of course he did not vary his diet with either milk or eggs, except the eggs of wild-fowl. It must have been of these that Waymouth saw the shells. (True Relation, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 133.)

[2] So it is described by Josselyn, who was a naturalist. (Account of Two Voyages, &c., 94.)

[3] Josselyn says (Ibid.) that the dogs were brought up to hunt, and he somewhere repeats the statement. But I have met with nothing of the kind elsewhere, and I think he was in error. When he was first here, in 1638, he had little time for observation, and before his second visit, in 1663, the settlers had largely introduced their own arts and customs. Nothing on the subject can be inferred from the alarm said to have been given by a dog at the attack on the Pequod fort. And such was the Indian's mode of warfare, that he would be more fearful of having his own approaches betrayed by his brute companions, than desirous to be secured by their vigilance against surprise.

the resting-place most exposed to the weather, were what fell to her share.

Both parental and filial affection were feeble and transient. Where there was no process of education to be carried on, and the favorable introduction of the young into life depended little on the care of elders, there was small occasion for solicitude or authority on the one side, or for reverence or gratitude on the other. After the young man was able to hunt and fish for his own living, the tie which bound him to the authors of his being scarcely continued to be recognized on either side.

Their burials.

It is not known that there were formal ceremonies of burial, any more than of marriage. Bodies were placed in the ground in a sitting or a recumbent posture; nor was it found that any tribe was distinguished from others by a uniform practice of its own in this respect. No method of embalming was in use. With the dead were sometimes interred his arms, his personal ornaments, and some articles of food.

Their trade and money.

No condition of society can be imagined so simple as to afford absolutely no occasion for an exchange of commodities. Wherever men meet, at least a rude barter will naturally take place. The hunter returning from the woods will give a bear-skin for a basket of corn. But before the arrival of the planters in New England some of the natives had advanced so far as to use a circulating medium for trade. In the absence of gold and silver, they adopted a currency of what was called *wampum* or *wampumpeag*. It consisted of cylindrical pieces of the shells of testaceous fishes, a quarter of an inch long and in diameter less than a pipe-stem, drilled lengthwise so as to be strung upon a thread. The beads of a white color, rated at half[1] the value of the black or violet, passed each as the equivalent of a farthing in transactions

[1] Williamson (History of Maine, I. 506) says just the reverse. But the statement in the text is that of Gookin (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 152), who had han-

between the natives and the planters. They were used for ornament as well as for coin, and ten thousand have been known to be wrought into a single war-belt four inches wide. They are said to have been an invention and manufacture of the Narragansetts, and from them to have come into circulation among the other tribes.

Their indolent habits.

Property, and the industry which amasses it and which it stimulates, are the instruments of civilization. With little that could be called property, and little desire for it, the New-England savage was the most indolent of men. An improvidence almost idiotic led to an almost utter sloth. When not engaged in war or hunting, he would pass whole weeks in sleep, or sitting silent with his elbows on his knees.[1] He had not energy to cleanse his wigwam, where was a conglomeration of odious filth, to which the condition of the persons of its occupants was far from presenting a contrast. A game of football, in which he was expert, or of quoits, or a wrestling-bout, or a dance in which women did not mingle, afforded some occasional variety. The fumes of tobacco yielded a sort of dreamy exhilaration. But his eminent resource was the same as that of all other people, civilized or savage, who seek escape from intolerable inactivity. He was a desperate gambler. He would stake his arms, the wrapping of furs that covered him, his stock of winter provisions, his cabin, his wife, finally his personal liberty, on the chances of play. Destitute of the means of drunkenness till he was tempted by the stranger, he plunged as soon as he had opportunity into desperate excess in drinking.

Their love of gambling and drunkenness.

dled the wampum as a currency. Comp. Morton (New English Canaan, Book I. Ch. XII.); Williams (Key, Ch. XXIV.).

[1] In 1644, the magistrates of Massachusetts took the engagement of some Indians to keep the ten commandments of the Decalogue. When they came to the fourth commandment, the proposal and the reply were as follows: "Not to do any unnecessary work on the Sabbath-day, especially within the gates of Christian towns. — *Answer.* It is easy to them; they have not much to do on any day, and they can well take their ease on that day." (Massachusetts Colonial Records, II. 56.)

What little there was in him of mental development or action was in harmonious relation with the conditions of his life. A narrow ingenuity effected something in the way of provision for his necessities and convenience. His European neighbors observed the skill of some of his devices for fishing, as that of the scoop-net, the cylindrical basket, and the waving of torches over the water to attract to the surface the larger fish, there to be struck by a spear. His snow-shoes for travelling in winter, and his method of dressing the skins of animals with the brains, were inventions found worthy of adoption. His habits as a hunter and a warrior demanded and provided a peculiar discipline for that class of the faculties which the phrenologists call *perceptive*. His quick sense readily detected changes in the appearance of surrounding objects, and discerned their bearing on the purpose of the hour. He tracked his game or his enemy by indications on the surface of the ground, in the motions of trees, in faint sounds without significance to another ear. No wonders of nature or of art stimulated his dull curiosity, or lighted up his vacant eye. But while his own countenance was rarely seen to express emotion, he was skilled to read the passions of others in their aspect.

Their inventions.

Beyond this little range, it is surprising to observe how destitute he was of mental culture or capacity. The proceedings of the second generation before his own were as unknown to him as the events of the ancient world. In ballads, songs, or some other rhythmical form of legend, most communities inherit some kindling traditions of the past. The New-England Indian had nothing of the kind, nor of any other poetry. He had no instrument of music, till he learned from his invaders to construct a rude drum,[1] and it was even hard to detect any measure in his songs of festivity or

Their music, dancing, and eloquence.

[1] Roger Williams, Key, Chap. III.

of war; they were not so much chants as howls and yells. If he drew lines and figures on trees and rocks, they might be for use in guiding him through the labyrinth of the forest, and possibly, in rare instances, for chronicles and memorials, but never were essays in a fine art. The nearest thing to a work of imagination of which he was observed to be capable was the *war-dance*, which was not an amusement but a solemnity, consisting of a grotesque dramatic representation of the proceedings of a campaign; the muster, the march, the ambush, the slaughter, the retreat, the reception at home, the torture and massacre of prisoners. There has been a disposition to attribute to the red man the power of eloquent speech. Never was a reputation so cheaply earned. A few allusions to familiar appearances in nature, and to habits of animals, constitute nearly all his topics for oratorical illustration. Take away his commonplaces of the mountain and the thunder, the sunset and the waterfall, the eagle and the buffalo, the burying of the hatchet, the smoking of the calumet, and the lighting of the council-fire, and the material for his pomp of words is reduced within contemptible dimensions. His best attempts at reasoning or persuasion have been his simplest statements of facts, themselves sometimes, no doubt, sufficiently affecting. But whatever may be thought of those most favorable specimens of his oratory in other parts of North America, which must be allowed to be for the most part of doubtful authenticity, certain it is that there is no recorded harangue of a New-England Indian which can assert a claim to praise. Occasions enough occurred for creditable exhibitions in this field. But the gift of impressive speech was not his.[1]

[1] The best Indian speech on record is Logan's complaint of the murder of his family by Colonel Cresap at the mouth of the Kenawha, as reported by Mr. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia." But, not to urge the uncertainty as to how much of it is Logan, and how much Jefferson, its pathos is simply that of the ill-treatment which it relates. Of Red Jacket, the famous

With such vital defects of understanding, we do not expect to find that he had accomplished anything in the way of scientific observation or discovery. Their science. The treatment of disease is a matter which forces itself upon attention. The Indians had learned the medicinal virtues of a few simples; they bound up wounds in bark with mollifying preparations of leaves; and they practised a cure of fevers by opening the pores of the skin with a vapor-bath. Beyond a few such methods their therapeutics consisted of the grossest nonsense and imposture. The nervous system, agitated by physical or moral stimulants, is capable of exerting a marvellous action, beneficial, neutral, or mischievous, as it may turn out, on the rest of the frame; and the *medicine-man* or *powow*, while he acquired the credit of having wrenched with his clamors and charms one patient from the jaws of death, could not be confidently charged with having consigned to them another by the same mummery. Of numbers the New-England native scarcely knew more than he could tell off on his fingers;[1] his frequently recurring rhetoric respecting the sands on the beach and the leaves in the forest was the natural shift of his arithmetical unskilfulness.

Seneca orator, one point for commendation was well selected by his eulogist:

"There 's one rare, strange virtue in thy speeches,
The secret of their mastery; — they are short."

As to traditionary legends, the beautiful verse of Longfellow does but robe their beggarly meanness in cloth of gold. Of what they owe to that exquisite poet, it is easy to satisfy one's self by collating the raw material of his work, as it stands in such authorities as Heckewelder and Schoolcraft. The results of the "Algic Researches" are a collection of the most vapid and stupid compositions that ever disappointed a laborious curiosity; but they were the best collection that, under the most favorable circumstances, was to be made in that quarter. Yet even of such poor products as these, the mind of the native of New England was barren.

[1] Wood, however, (New England's Prospect, Appendix,) gives their numbers up to twenty, John Eliot (Mass. Hist. Coll., XIX. 261) up to a thousand, and Roger Williams (Key, Chap. IV.) up to a hundred thousand. But this last numeration, attributed to the Narragansetts, is plainly incredible; and I cannot but regard both Williams's table, and Eliot's statement of the numeration of the Mohegans, as framed by themselves on analogies, known to them, of Indian etymology, rather than intended as representations of words actually in use.

Though he passed most of his life under the open sky, it was not ascertained that his observations extended to any grouping of the stars.[1] He had no approximate formula for the year. The lunar changes could not fail to be observed, and the months of vegetation were distinguished by their productions; but it is not known that the colder months were discriminated in any way, or that there was any division into weekly periods corresponding to the quarterings of the moon. Days were so many sleepings and wakings. In the absence of more minute divisions of the day, there were only those that were marked by sunrise, noon, and sunset.

Their civil state and government.

It cannot surprise the considerate inquirer to find inconsistencies in the testimony from different sources respecting the civil state and government of these savages. If little has been transmitted that is definite and trustworthy, the main reason is, that little of social order and organization that was definite and durable at any time existed. The Indian did not need much government, and his manner of life did not admit of his being much subjected to its control. In his solitary cabin each head of a family, a patriarch after the type of the Filmer school, was naturally the tyrant of his natural dependents. In his stealthy wanderings in the woods after game, he rarely met with other wanderers to molest him, or for him to molest. If he fell

[1] Waymouth's companion, Rosier, says, "They have names for many stars" (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 156); and perhaps he is right. But he is not so good an authority as he would have appeared to be but for some other statements. For instance, presuming on the small danger of being contradicted, he says (Ibid.), "They make butter and cheese of the milk they have of the reindeer and fallow deer, which they have tame, as we have cows." It is much more to the purpose that Winslow (Good Newes, &c., 60) says, "They know divers of the stars by name." But he gives no other instance than that of the *North Star*, which he says they call *the Bear*. The partial Williams (Key, Chap. XII.) says, "They much observe the stars, and their very children can give names to many of them"; and he adds that they give to the constellation of Ursa Major their own name for the bear, and that they designate the morning star and two others.

in with a lonely wigwam, it received him with hospitality (for hospitality is the universal virtue of lazy and unsettled people), and freely gave him a share in all that it possessed; and it possessed nothing to tempt his cupidity either to craft or to violence. An advanced state of society requires an elaborate system of laws and administration to protect life, liberty, reputation, and property. In the wilds through which he roamed, the Indian might be left to defend his own life with his own arm, and that of his kindred by fear of his vengeance, without danger of those disorders which would follow on acts of individual violence committed in crowds of men. There could be no motive for restraining his liberty except to make him serviceable, and this design would be manifestly too visionary to call for precautions. Sensibility to reputation is a factitious tenderness, not belonging to his social position or his range of thought. And of property, which occasions most of the litigations of civilized man, he had very little to require protection. Personal ownership of land was a conception which had not risen on his mind, and his few articles of movable wealth were such as would scarcely repay the trouble of a theft, and such as, if stolen, it would be less troublesome to supply anew than to reclaim.

Under these circumstances, there was small scope for the interior functions of government. An intricate apparatus was not needed for the adjustment of disputes which were alike of infrequent occurrence, and of trifling consequence, whether to the community or to the parties. Such as arose would be settled by time and accident, or by advice and arbitration; or they might be left unsettled without serious damage; or they would be fought out between the disputants. And in fact there is no evidence that the Indians of New England ever possessed what, in the loosest construction of the phrase, might be termed a code of laws, or any set of customs having the force of legal obligation.

But in respect to foreign relations, if of such communities that phrase may be used, the case was different. For the protection of life and of hunting-grounds against an enemy, it was necessary that there should be unity of counsel and of action in a tribe, and that there should be some central authority to exercise foresight and oversight for the common weal.

Their sachems and sagamores.

The New-England Indians had functionaries for such purposes; the higher class known as *sachems*, the subordinate, or those of inferior note or smaller jurisdiction, as *sagamores*.[1] How the rank of these chiefs was obtained, it would be fruitless to inquire, with any expectation of finding a uniform rule or principle of advancement. Associations of respect and confidence would naturally gather about the family of the ruling chief, and pride would be saved from offence, and rivalries which the state is interested to escape would be avoided, through a common understanding that an heir of his blood should at his death succeed to his authority. But such considerations would not countervail an obvious incapacity to govern. Administration may go on safely and prosperously among a civilized people, though its limited monarch be a child or a fool. The Indian polity had none of the machinery for such a fiction. Whenever it was manifest that the ruler was personally incompetent, it would be manifestly necessary that he should withdraw; and the ready resource would be to fill his place with a person next or near to him in similar advantages of birth and position. Personal popularity, however won, would naturally be an element in the choice; and, in some strong instance of notorious incapacity on the one hand, and of distinguished endowment on the other, it would not be

[1] This is the distinction commonly made (Hutchinson, Mass., I. 410). But Williamson (Maine, I. 494) reverses it; Dudley (Letter to the Countess of Lincoln) says, "*Sagamore*, so are the kings with us called, as they are *sachems* southward" (that is, in Plymouth); and Gookin (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 154) speaks of the two titles of office as equivalent.

surprising to find the line of hereditary prescription entirely overstepped. The difficulty or impossibility of governing such subjects, except with the advantage of their personal good-will, would deter aspirants from seeking an eminence grudgingly accorded; and in the want of a general and strong interest in the question of a succession where there were no important rights hazarded and no power of patronage to be seized, and the consequent difficulty of rallying a party for his support, the unacceptable candidate would have small inducement to prosecute his claim. Among the many wars of these savages, we hear of no civil war for a disputed succession.

The sachem was not necessarily the captain of his tribe in war. As far as there was command, it seems rather to have fallen by common consent from time to time to him who was recognized as the most capable and experienced warrior. To the sachem it would naturally belong to receive and send envoys, to collect intelligence, to convoke assemblies for consultation, to circulate information and directions. Whatever in theory or in pretension might be his authority, its exertion would practically be so dependent on the cheerful acquiescence of his people, that he would be careful to be mainly influenced by their wishes; and thus the spirit of a democracy would pervade the public counsels. As the honored depositary of a degree of power, some private controversies would naturally find their way to him; and his determination of them, if it did not coerce a settlement, would place the worsted party in a disadvantageous posture for further strife. He expected his maintenance from the free contributions of his subjects, and, when it was not offered, he asserted a right to take it by force. Sometimes sachems were of the female sex. If, as has been supposed, hereditary authority was by a permanent rule transmitted in the maternal line, this could at most have been only a peculiarity of some tribes.

Their languages.

Nothing in the natural history of man is more surprising than the completeness, artificial structure, and essential uniformity of the shapes of his language. From civilized to half brutal, from Greek to Bushman, from English to Esquimaux, every people converses with the same general apparatus of the same marvellous faculty of vocal expression. Christian missionaries had no sooner learned the dialects of the Cherokee and the Sandwich-Islander, than they digested them into grammars conformed to our analogies.

Comparative philology, in the present state of that science, recognizes three great classes of languages: the *monosyllabic*, the *agglutinating*, and the *inflecting*. Of the first class, which indicates the relations of ideas by the equivocal method of a mere juxtaposition of words in a sentence with their form unaltered, the Chinese is the type.[1] The inflecting languages, which indicate the modifications and relations of ideas by conjugations, declensions, and other like forms, and constitute a consummate vehicle of thought, are those which have been perfected in the use of the civilized nations of the Caucasian stock. The agglutinating languages[2] occupy a middle place between these two classes. Their peculiarity is that they express relations of ideas by stringing words together in one compound vocable. They are spoken in a large part of Asia, in a small part of Southeastern Europe, and by the aborigines throughout the American continent.[3]

The language of the New-England tribes,[4] full of con-

[1] Duponceau, Chinese System of Writing (in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society for 1838, pp. xxxi, xxxii.)

[2] Mr. Duponceau and Mr. Gallatin name them *polysynthetic*, and Wilhelm Humboldt *incorporating*.

[3] A special type of languages of this class has been found by the missionaries in Southern and Western Africa. I have this fact from Professor Felton, who mentioned it in his learned lectures before the Lowell Institute of Boston in 1854.

[4] The two great early authorities for the dialects of New England are Roger Williams's "Key" to the Narragansett language, and John Eliot's "Indian Grammar," which relates to the speech of the Massachusetts family. Eliot's

sonants, and harsh, like that of the rest of the Algonquins, proved in the analysis to possess every part of speech which we recognize, except perhaps the indefinite article, a want which it shared with the elaborate classical tongues. The adjective, however, generally appeared only as incorporated with the verb, or, to phrase this differently, there was a copious variety of verbs to express various qualities in the subject or object. The characteristic of the class to which this dialect has been referred so pervaded it, that it was not so much rich in compound words as composed of them; in Eliot's Indian Primer, there are words of fifteen syllables.[1] It was flexible and capacious to that degree that it had forms of the verb to express the causative, the frequentative, the reflexive, and other modifications of action. On the other hand, it wanted the substantive verb, and so could not convey the idea of existence, independent of some accompanying condition or circumstance. Like our own tongue, it designated the plural number of nouns by a suffix. It did not discriminate the gender of either nouns or pronouns; the words for *he* and *she* were the same, and the words for *him* and *her*. But in place of this distinction was one, which languages exact in the discrimination of gender have not, answering to the difference between sentient, or personal, and neuter, or inanimate; and this was denoted in both numbers by differences of termination, analogous to the inflections which mark the masculine and feminine in other languages. This distinction of verbal forms, however, did not without excep-

Their grammatical forms.

translation of the Bible is an immense storehouse of their language. A large vocabulary has also been handed down, prepared early in the last century, by Josiah Cotton of Plymouth. The "Observations" of Jonathan Edwards, the younger, on the Mohegan dialect, though belonging to so late a time as the last quarter of the last century, are of great authenticity and value from his peculiar opportunities of information.

[1] "This is wonderful in their tongue, that sometimes one syllable spreads the virtue of its signification through the whole sentence." (President Dunster, Letter to Professor Ravis, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXXI. 253.)

tion follow that of nature. The stars and some other inanimate objects belonged verbally to the *animate* class; an anomaly similar to what occurs in the application of masculine and feminine forms in inflecting languages.

Like ourselves, the Indians for the most part marked only one case with a special termination, though occasionally a vocative form also appeared. The most common relations they had no means of expressing abstractly. They could speak of a *hatchet*, as was necessary, because they might not know its owner; but not of a father, son, head, or hand, except as *my*, *your*, or *his* father, and so on. As in a Syriac idiom, before the noun, when introduced as the object of an action, its appropriate pronoun was inserted; as, "John loves *him* Peter." Though there were a past and a future tense, the present was often employed in their place, perhaps for the liveliness of its effect. With an imperfect resemblance to the dual of the Greek, Hebrew, and other languages, a *particular plural* was used, distinguishing few from many. As in the Shemitic languages, the root of the verb was in the third person singular of the indicative; but it was in the present, not the preterite tense. There were no relative pronouns.[1] The adjective had no degrees of comparison; its intricate combination with the verb stood in the way of such formations. There was an extraordinary absence of structural anomalies. There was an affluence of words indicative of distinctions between persons in the same relations of consanguinity; as between elder and younger brother, paternal and maternal uncle. And, what was more singular, each sex had a separate vocabulary for its own use in speaking of such relations. There was a diminutive form of nouns.

But, while the grammatical structure of languages ad-

[1] That careful scholar, the late Mr. John Pickering, says otherwise. (Mass. Hist. Coll., XX. 108.) But he inadvertently confounded the interrogative pronoun with the relative.

mits of an essentially uniform analysis, and the system of declension, conjugation, and syntax presents curious general analogies, as developed in dialects the most remote in time and place from each other, the character of their vocabularies will vary indefinitely, presenting in every case a faithful reflection of the complexion and extent of the people's thought. A nation has no names for ideas which it has not entertained; even Greeks and Romans, the sage nations of antiquity, had no equivalent for the word *virtue*, the most important in our dictionary. The puerile immaturity of the Indian's mind betrayed itself by the poverty of his language in the class of words which are the index, the result, and the instrument of mental generalizations. As he had not the cultivated reason which classifies, he had few or no names of *genera*, while he multiplied the names of species without regard to resemblances which to us seem essential and obvious. He attached to different kinds of oak denominations as different as those he gave to oaks and willows. The exigencies of discourse lead to the attempt to supply by metaphors the want of abstract terms; but metaphorical language can never be that of discussion and study. The Indian was no philosopher, and his dialects were miserably barren of abstract terms of every sort.[1] He had not so much as named time, space, or substance.

Their vocabulary.

The subject of their language is not without a bearing upon the credit of the transmitted accounts of what has been favorably styled the *religion* of the New-England Indians. The considerate inquirer will remark by what means the information was collected, so largely bequeathed to us by contemporary writers. All representations of the opinions of barbarous nations ought to be received with extreme caution; and, in the compass

Their religion.

[1] I have not overlooked what is said by Edwards on this matter (Mass. Hist. Coll., XX. 96, 118). But if any one has a doubt whether this was the loose expression of an enthusiast for his department of study, he will be satisfied by a little inspection of the vocabularies.

of human thought, there are no ideas more abstract than those of religion. Whatever information the European settlers obtained concerning the theories of the natives on this subject, reached them through the treacherous instrumentality of a language, not only, at best, imperfectly understood by the hearer,[1] but essentially unsuitable for explanations on such a subject, and, what was worse yet, unsuitable for conducting the speculations by means of which theories are framed. By and by, settler and native came to understand better each other's speech. But step by step, meanwhile, the original ideas of the natives had been modified by this intercourse; and, in proportion as they were more capable of explaining their meaning, their meaning itself, the subject of their explanation, had been adulterated and confused; while, from first to last, the observers and writers, themselves men of religious theories, whether Romanist or Puritan, would insensibly be guided by their respective predilections in their expositions of what the Indians told, and would compose a sense of their own out of the unmeaning or enigmatical communications which they received.[2]

The very first process of such an interpretation is illusory. The civilized man, having constructed or received some scheme of physics, metaphysics, or theology, imagines that every human mind must have some conceptions corresponding with it; and, when encountered by strange

[1] "As for the language, it is very copious, large, and difficult. As yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof." (Winslow, Good Newes, &c., 60.) This was written when Winslow had been in communication with the Indians two years and a half.

[2] Smith, who overlooked few things that came in his way, saw this, and reported his observations with proper allowance: "As I gathered from their niggardly relations in a broken language, during the time I ranged those countries," &c. (Generall Historie of Virginia, &c., 214, edit. 1626.) Elsewhere he forgets this becoming caution. "Some . . . . . report that the people are so brute, they have no religion; wherein surely they are deceived; for my part, I never heard of any nation in the world which had not a religion." (Ibid., 240.) Such was the sort of prepossession with which the strangers addressed themselves to the interpretation of what they heard and saw.

forms of thought, he proceeds to dispose of them by explanations founded on that unsafe hypothesis. If the Indian word *Manitou* appeared to denote something above or beside the common aspects and agencies of nature, it might be natural, but it would be rash and misleading, to confound its import with the Christian, Mohammedan, Jewish, Egyptian, or Greek conception of *Deity*, or with any compound of a selection from some or all of those ideas. In preaching to the Indians, Cotton of Plymouth was obliged to use the word *God* for the Supreme Being, for want of any equivalent sign in the language of his hearers,[1] and Eliot in his translation of the Bible was driven to a similar expedient.[2] It is on altogether too slender a basis of ascertained facts, that literature, alike of prose and of poetry, has built up a theology for

> "the poor Indian, whose untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind."

Such an Indian is mainly an imagination of European sentimentalists; in the current conception of him, he is as fabulous as the griffin or the centaur.[3]

[1] Specimens of his sermons are in the Mass. Hist. Coll., XXII. 249.

[2] Eliot, however, sometimes adopts the word *Manitou*, especially in combination with *Jehovah*. — "In the prayers and sermons made by the Indians in their own language, they were taught to use the word *Jehovah*, or the English words *God* or *Lord*. Roger Williams uses the Indian word *Manitou*, by which word they seemed rather to have expressed their admiration at anything which excelled, whether animate or inanimate." (Hutchinson, I. 421.) "It is probable the Indians run over a number of names to impose upon Mr. Mayhew, or to get rid of his importunity, and that, from this authority only, other writers have mentioned a plurality of gods." (Ibid., 422.)

[3] The sum of the statements in which there is a sort of agreement on this subject among a few authorities is, that the Indians believed, — 1. that there are a good and evil spirit (a god and a devil); 2. that they or some of them would live a happy life after death; and 3. that the place of that existence would be at the southwest. It is obvious how ready the inquirers were, as to the first two points, to put their own construction on what was said, or what was not said, by the other party, and how easy it was for them to exalt a eulogium of that southwest country, from which corn and beans had come, into a description of an extra-mundane paradise. (See above, p. 27, note 2.) Kautontowit and Mutcheshesunnetool, Keitan and Hobbomok, Tantum and Squantum, — these are pairs of names transmitted to us as designations of the good and evil spirit respectively. The last two appear oftenest. But so great is the uncer-

Several of the early French explorers of North America declared that tribes visited by them were absolutely without a notion of religion.[1] There is not wanting testimony of the same kind in relation to the New-England tribes.[2] The correct perception of some facts obvious to the senses was, at all events, not endangered by that inadequacy of oral communication which renders suspicious so much of the testimony on this subject; and it is quite certain that the savages of New England had no temples, no public ritual, nothing which can be called social worship, no order of priests. In short, of the machinery of religion they were destitute. And this fact is a pregnant one. Where there has been preparation of the understanding and affections, the religious sentiment, however subject to be quickened by forms and by sympathy, can unaided by

tainty of these representations, that one writer of almost the earliest English age (Levett, in Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 177) reverses their positions, and assigns to Tanto the *rôle* of Satan and the dwelling at the west. And yet elsewhere (Ibid., 175) he makes Tanto only the messenger of death.

[1] Such was the conclusion of La Salle's company, who had rare opportunities for observation: "On peut dire de tous qu'ils n'ont aucune religion; du moins de tous ceux que nous avons vû." (Joutel, Journal Historique, 225.) "Quant à nos Souriquois, et autres leurs voisins, je ne puis dire sinon qu'ils sont destitués de toute connaissance de Dieu." (L'Escarbot, Histoire de la Nouvelle France, II. 664. Comp. Ibid., 662. Champlain, Voyages de la Nouvelle France, 4.)

[2] "They are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God." (Winslow in Mourt's Relation, 61.) Later, Winslow retracted this statement: "Whereas myself and others . . . . . wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better." (Good Newes from New England, 52.) But his later judgment is subject to uncertainty from the causes explained above. The "better" that he was able to "gather," after two or three years of communication, was not the more authentic. He says also: "Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children." (Ibid., 55.) But this statement is likewise too vague to inspire confidence. What he took for sacrifices, and especially human sacrifices, are quite as likely to have been acts of an entirely different import; and when he comes to specifications, he lays the scene among the Narragansetts, of whom personally he knew nothing. — Morton says: "Methinks it is absurd to say they have a kind of worship, and not able to demonstrate whom or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part, I am more willing to believe that the elephants, which are reported to be the most intelligible of all beasts, do worship the moon. . . . . The natives of New England have no worship or religion at all." (New English Canaan, Book I. Chap. V.)

form sustain its life in the solitary breast. But that among a people in a low state of culture anything entitled to the name can exist without some provision for its public inculcation and expression, is a fact requiring to be established, before the existence of a religion among them can be made credible.

The early observers fell into the error of regarding the sorceries used among the natives as religious practices. In this there was a mere confusion of ideas. The *medicine-man*, or *powow*, was not a priest, but a reputed conjurer.[1] The causes of disease are mysterious. Its cure is effected by agents seemingly inadequate. Agitations of the mind often expel or relieve it. He who conquers it by his nostrums or his spells may plausibly lay claim to a control over the powers of nature. To the ignorant, the man who can cool a fever seems likely to be the man that can still a storm. The temptation to such a practitioner to make the most of his power of imposture is great. He may challenge reverence and tribute for himself as a ruler of the elements, and excite a sort of superstition to acknowledge his claim. We may frame a definition of *religion* such as to include fancies and practices like these. But the definition would be arbitrary, and the use unprofitable and inconvenient. So the murdering by the Indians of their captives has been interpreted as a religious sacrifice. But to slay enemies and to offer worship are not intrinsically the same act; there must be something to bridge the chasm that parts them, before the mind can recognize a relation between the two.[2]

[1] Wood, New England's Prospect, Part II. Chap. XII. — Morton, New English Canaan, Book I. Chap. IX.

[2] I have been brought to the conclusions which I present by a careful reading of the original authorities. They systematized too freely what they heard and saw, and some of their successors have been yet more adventurous. It is evident that Robertson (History of America, Book IV. § 7) was laboring painfully all the way through this part of his task. He began with a theory, and the materials for sustaining it failed. He has been much followed by later writers. Williams (History of Vermont, Chap. VII., VIII.) has but abridged him, constantly copying even his language.

So, between the idea of mere revival after death and the idea of immortality, the difference is no less than infinite; yet nothing is more common than to deal with them as if they were equivalent. The practice of burying with a man his arms and apparel was not an unnatural expression of the thought that his course was finished, and that the separation from him was complete. It seemed fit that along with his breathless body the other familiar appendages of his life — his weapons, his ornaments, his utensils, his clothes, the mat which had been his couch — should be put out of the way and out of sight. We may further ascribe something of sentiment to the proceeding, as, if we leave the marriage ring on the cold finger, it is not because we expect it will ever again be worn, but because of an aimless reluctance to break so dear an association. If, especially in the particular of the deposit of provisions in graves, the custom imports an intention to furnish the departed with supplies for the wants of another life, still it neither appears that the practice was uniform, nor that, when observed, it was indicative of anything beyond the indulgence of a fond hope or imagination. The natural difficulty of subsiding into the conviction that acts and experiences long blended with our own are at an end, easily slides into a dreamy thought, poorly entitled to the rank of a tenet of religion, that the vanished existence is not extinct.[1] But as to any belief in an interminable

[1] "One day we asked a mandarin, a friend of ours who had just offered a sumptuous repast at the tomb of a deceased colleague, whether in his opinion the dead stood in need of food. 'How could you possibly suppose I had such an idea?' he replied, with the utmost astonishment; 'we intend to do honor to the memory of our relations and friends, to show that they still live in our remembrance, and that we like to serve them as if they were yet with us. Who could be absurd enough to believe that the dead need to eat?'" (Huc, Journey through the Chinese Empire, II 213.) A learned friend, who lately made extensive examinations in the large Indian burying-place at Nantasket, informs me that he did not find remains of arms in any grave. In some there was with the skeleton a single utensil, as a stone pestle. Many contained a quantity of fragments of pottery, but in no instance did a careful excavation discover a whole vessel of any sort, nor did it seem possible that any one should have been entire when deposited in the ground. What use could it have been imagined that the

existence or in a universal retribution on the other side of the grave, the authorities, partial as at best they must be considered, are profoundly silent. The New-England savage was not the person to have discovered what the vast reach of thought of Plato and Cicero could not attain.

With the Indian, the social attraction was feeble. At the fishing season, he would meet his fellows of the same tribe by the shores of ponds and at the falls of rivers, and enjoy the most that he knew of companionship and festivity. But much of his life was passed in the seclusion of his wigwam and the solitude of the chase. The habit of loneliness and of self-protection made him independent and proud. His pride created an aptitude for the virtue which constituted his point of honor, and which he cultivated with assiduous attention. This was fortitude under suffering. In war, craft rather than valor stood high in his esteem. Stealth and swiftness composed his strategy. He showed no daring and no constancy in the field; but it was great glory to him to bear the most horrible tortures without complaint or a sign of anguish.

Their stoicism.

His brave endurance, however studied and scenic, or in whatever degree the symptom of a ruder nervous organization, presented the bright side of his character.[1] He

revivified dead could have for broken dishes? Not only has the imagination been at work in this matter, but at work on materials partly of its own creation. "The fanciful historians have said much respecting the savage's hope of felicity in fine fields beyond the gates of death, where he should meet his ancestors, and be happy in a state of immortality. . . . . But from any conversations had with the Indians here, or from anything which can be gathered from those who have been most with them, there is no reason to believe that the Northern savages ever had ideas of that nature." (Sullivan, History of Maine, 105.)

[1] De Maistre (Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg, I. 77), after quoting Robertson's admission, which Robertson often forgot, that it is necessary to distrust the representations of all ecclesiastics respecting the red men, as being generally too favorable, proceeds: "C'est un enfant difforme, robuste, et féroce, en qui la flamme de l'intelligence ne jette plus qu'une lueur pâle et intermittente. Une main redoutable appésantie sur ces races dévouées efface en elles les deux charactères distinctifs de notre grandeur, la prévoyance et la perfectibilité. Le sauvage coupe l'arbre pour cueillir le fruit, il dételle le bœuf que les missionaires viennent de lui confier, et le

was without tenderness, and very few instances are recorded of his appearing capable of gratitude. Cunning and falsehood, the vices of the undisciplined, the weapons of the imbecile, were eminently his. His word was no security. He could play the spy with a perfect self-possession; and a treaty could not bind him, when he supposed it might be broken without danger. Exceptions are to be allowed for in every portraiture of a class of men. Everywhere and in all times there are happy natures that rise above the moral standard of their place. But it remains true of the normal representative of this peculiar race, that his temper was sullen, jealous, passionate, intensely vindictive, and ferociously cruel. Good faith and good offices can never be wholly unavailing; but, if it was possible that the red men of New England should ever have become other than bad neighbors, certain it is that all their history shows them to have been a race singularly unsusceptible of the influences of a humane civilization.

Their inferior capacity for civilization.

fait cuire avec le bois de la charrue. Depuis plus de trois siècles il nous contemple sans avoir rien voulu recevoir de nous, excepté la poudre pour tuer ses semblables, et l'eau-de-vie pour se tuer lui-même. Encore n'a-t-il jamais imaginé de fabriquer ces choses; il s'en repose sur notre avarice." And more follows, of still greater strength. If this is not, as it certainly is not, the language of a calm philosophy, it is that of a writer of vast study and reflection.

"They that speak most favorably give but an indifferent idea of the qualities of their minds. Mr. Wilson speaks of them but with compassion, as the most sordid and contemptible part of the human species. Mr. Hooker says they are the veriest ruins of mankind upon the face of the earth. Perhaps the Indians about the Massachusetts Bay were some of the lowest among the American nations." (Hutchinson, I. 414.) If, on the one hand, we are remote from the passions of that day, on the other hand we are remote from its knowledge. Hutchinson's portrait of the natives is certainly dark. His invaluable materials for the formation of a judgment are in great part lost. The resentments which might have biassed it could hardly have been transmitted to his time. Callender (R. I. Hist. Coll., IV. 140) quotes a manuscript of Roger Williams, to show that Williams thought more unfavorably of the natives as he knew them better. (Comp. Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIX. 299, XXX. 27.)

CHAPTER II.

For an unknown length of time the country and people that have been described had been hidden behind the ocean from the knowledge of civilized man. It is doubtful whether they were ever seen by European eyes till nearly five years had passed after Columbus found his way to the West India Islands. But 1492. Oct. 12. the existence in the North of Europe of a traditional account of visits to the northeasterly parts of North America by Scandinavian voyagers, in the eleventh century and in the three centuries next following, has long been known to geographers;[1] and original documents relating to this interesting problem have recently been placed in the possession of the reading world.

It is no wise unlikely that eight or nine hundred years ago the Norwegian navigators extended their voyages as far as the American continent. Possessing the best nautical skill of their age, Alleged voyages of Northmen to America.

[1] "La mérite," says Humboldt (Examen Critique, II. 120), "d'avoir reconnu la première découverte de l'Amérique continentale par les Normands, appartient indubitablement au géographe Ortélius, qui annonça cette opinion dès l'année 1570"; and then he quotes words of Ortelius which, however, are not found in the edition either of 1575 or of 1584. Indeed, it is clear from his language (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, edit. 1584, p. 5) that as late as the latter date he had heard nothing of an ante-Columbian discovery. In the edition of 1592 (p. 6) he refers to reports of such a discovery as "quædam haud vulgo nota," and uses the words quoted by Humboldt; but he explains himself as having in view the fisherman's adventures reported by Antonio Zeno in the fifteenth century. (See below, p. 60.) — Belknap (American Biography, I. 52) credited his information of the discovery by the Northmen to Pontoppidan (History of Norway), Crantz (History of Greenland), and John Reinhold Forster (History of the Voyages and Discoveries made in the North), all writers of the last century. — Malte-Brun (Précis de la Géographie, I. 395) referred to the spurious chapters (see below, p. 52, note) in the Heimskringla.

they put to sea in substantial ships, having decks and well-contrived rigging. Iceland they had undoubtedly reached and colonized; and from Iceland, Greenland. From Cape Farewell, the southern extremity of Greenland, to the nearest point on the American continent in Labrador, the distance is no greater than the distance to Iceland from the point of departure in Norway. It is altogether credible, that the rovers who explored every sea from the Baltic to the Ægean should, by stress of bad weather or by favor of good, have been conveyed a distance of only three or four days' sail from land to land. When they had often prosperously made the passage from their homes to Iceland, they might well have had confidence for another like adventure, which would have brought them from Greenland to Labrador. And from Labrador, the exploration of as much more of the coast of North America as they might be disposed to visit would require only a coasting voyage.

The historical evidence upon this subject, which has been published from the manuscripts by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen,[1] is found

[1] Antiquitates Americanæ, sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America. — Samling af de i Nordens Oldskrifter indeholdte Efterretninger om de gamle Nordboers Opdagelsesreiser til America, fra det 10de til det 14de Aarhundrede. — Edidit Societas Regia Antiquariorum Septentrionalium. Hafniæ. 1837. 4to.

In 1697, Peringskiold published the "Heimskringla, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway," in the original Icelandic of Snorro Sturleson, who was born in 1178 and died in 1241. In 1705, Torfæus (Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, Præf.) pointed out that Peringskiold from some foreign source had interpolated eight chapters which were not to be found in any genuine manuscript of Snorro's work. These chapters appear in full in a manuscript called, from the place of its preservation, the Codex Flateyensis, and have been ascertained on good evidence to be a work composed within the last fifteen years of the fourteenth century. A translation of them is published by Laing in the Appendix to his version of the Heimskringla. Of the discovery of America, Sturleson had himself said no more than that "he [Leif] also found Vinland the good." (Laing's Heimskringla, I. 465.)

The Codex Flateyensis furnishes the first of the narratives lately published by the Danish antiquaries, the same which was interpolated into Sturleson's text by Peringskiold, and from which the sketch in the text is abridged. The second narrative in the Danish collec-

in extracts from compositions of some eighteen writers, most of them Icelandic. Their antiquity and genuineness appear to be well established, nor is there anything to bring their credibility into question, beyond the general doubt which always attaches to the relation of what is new and strange. If they are trustworthy, the following facts are to be adopted into history.

About a hundred years before the Norman conquest of England, one Biorne, or Biarne, sailed from Iceland for Greenland, in search of his father, who had gone thither. Overtaken by fogs, he lost his reckoning. When the weather became clear, he found himself sailing in a northeasterly direction, with low and wooded land on the larboard side. He kept on the same course nine days, and at the end of them arrived in Greenland, reaching it in a direction opposite to that with which the voyage had been begun.

Voyage of Biorne. 986.

The subject had been pondered several years, when Leif, with a single vessel and a crew of thirty-five men, sailed from Greenland in quest of the land reported to have been seen by Biorne. He found it, went on shore, and gave it the name of *Helluland*, from a word signifying *slate* in the Icelandic tongue. Embarking again, and proceeding southwardly along the coast, he came to a country well wooded and level, except as it was broken along the sea by a succession of bluffs of white sand. This he called *Markland*, in allusion to its *wood*. Sailing two days more with a northeasterly wind, out of sight of land, he reached an island, and passed westward along its northern side. He disembarked, built huts, and wintered on the mainland, which he named *Vinland*, or Wineland, in consequence of a re-

Voyage of Leif. 1000.

tion, the History of Thorfinn Karlsefne, goes over much of the same ground, but with some differences of detail. These two principal pieces are followed by extracts from different writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, of more or less interest as corroborating the main story.

port from one of his men, a German, that, wandering in the woods, he had seen abundance of grapes such as wine was made from in his native country.

On his return to Greenland, Leif gave over his vessel to his brother Thorwald, who set sail on an expedition to explore the new country further towards the south. He passed a winter in Vinland, and in the following summer found several uninhabited islands. After another winter, he sailed to the eastward and then to the north. Doubling a cape, which he called *Kialarnes* (keel-cape), and coasting along the shore of the bay within, he received a mortal wound from some natives by a woody promontory, which he called *Krossanes*, from the cross which he ordered to be set up at the head of his grave. His companions passed a third winter in Vinland, and then returned to Greenland.

Voyage of Thorwald. 1003.

1005.

The next expedition was planned on a larger scale. Thorfinn, surnamed *the Hopeful*, a person of rank and wealth, with a hundred and sixty men in three vessels, sailed from Greenland for Vinland for the purpose of establishing a colony. They touched at Helluland and Markland, saw Cape Kialarnes as they steered south, and, passing by a long beach of sand, came to a bay extending up into the country, with an island at its entrance. To the island, which was covered with the eggs of eider-ducks, they gave the name of *Straumoey* (stream-island), and to the bay, the name of *Straumfiördr* (stream-firth). Southwesterly from this island, they entered the mouth of a river, and passed up into a lake, upon whose banks wheat and vines grew wild. The natives, who came about them in canoes, were of a sallow complexion, with large, ill-formed faces and shaggy hair. There was no snow, and the live stock which had been landed wintered in the fields. After some conflicts with the savages, Thorfinn relinquished his project of colonization, and returned with his company to Greenland. Accounts of two more

Voyage of Thorfinn. 1007.

voyages to Vinland within the next three or four years make the last of these circumstantial narratives; but the communication between the countries is represented as having been not entirely discontinued before the middle of the fourteenth century. When other objects were abandoned, visits may have continued to be made to the American shore on account of its excellent materials for ship-building.

The name *Helluland* may have been given to what we call Labrador, or to Newfoundland; *Markland* may answer to Nova Scotia; and it has been supposed that *Vinland* denotes Rhode Island and the southeastern part of Massachusetts, that the island passed by Leif before reaching Vinland was Nantucket, and that *Kialarnes*, *Krossanes*, *Straumfiördr*, and *Straumoey* are respectively Cape Cod, Point Allerton in Boston harbor, Buzzard's Bay, and Martha's Vineyard. But the materials for an argument to identify these spots are insufficient; some of the particular statements are self-contradictory or inconsistent; and the descriptions of the climate and of the native inhabitants are hardly to be reconciled with what is now known of the climate and the aborigines of New England.[1] There is an important statement respecting the length of the day in Vinland at the winter solstice, which has been so interpreted as to identify its latitude with that of Rhode Island. But the meaning of the passage is very doubtful.[2]

[1] As to the natives, however, it must be owned that the Esquimaux, whom the description sufficiently well suits, may, eight hundred years ago, have dwelt as far south as Rhode Island, and have been driven into a higher latitude by invaders between the visit of the Northmen and that of Verazzano.

[2] The sentence contains two words of uncertain meaning, *eykterstad* and *dagmalastad*. If *dagmalastad* signifies, as was thought by Pontoppidan, the Icelandic breakfast-hour of nine o'clock, then the sentence imports that on the shortest day the sun rose in Vinland at that hour, determining its latitude to be fifty-eight degrees and a half, or the latitude, not of Rhode Island, but of the part of Labrador near Hudson's Strait, a region to which the description of the climate and productions of Vinland is still more inapplicable. The translation of Peringskiold, an expert in the Icelandic language, extracts from the words the sense that the shortest winter day in Vinland was of the length

The history of civilized New England does not call for a determination of the question as to a discovery

of ten or twelve hours, thus transporting that country to the tropics. The interpretation of Crantz and of Forster gives the sun a course of eight hours above the horizon, pointing to Newfoundland as the place of Vinland; and Torfæus hesitates between this hypothesis and that of six hours. The rendering adopted by Mr. Rafn, the learned editor of the Transactions of the Copenhagen Society, represents the sentence as declaring that, at the winter solstice in Vinland, the hour of sunrise is half past seven, and the hour of sunset half past four, corresponding nearly to the latitude of forty-one degrees and thirty minutes, which is the latitude of Newport. With an easy faith, perhaps due to his Danish birth, Malte-Brun (Précis de la Géographie, I. 394) has assumed the correctness of this last interpretation. It was, however, also approved by our eminent countryman, Mr. Wheaton (History of the Northmen, Chap. II.). And Baron Alexander von Humboldt (Kosmos, Band II. ss. 269 *et seq.*) concludes positively that Leif "came as far as 31° 30′ north latitude," and that Vinland "comprehended the coast between Boston and New York, and consequently included parts of the present States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut." On the other hand, Laing (Heimskringla, I. 167 *et seq.*) has largely exposed the weak points of the Icelandic narrative, though (Ibid., 154) he sustains the main fact of visits of Scandinavian vessels to America in the eleventh century.

Other elements which have been brought into the discussion, but which may perhaps be said to be now dismissed from it, are the inscription on a rock in the town of Berkeley (opposite to Dighton), on Taunton River, and the round stone tower near the Atlantic Hotel in Newport. The Berkeley inscription, viewed through the spectacles of the imagination, has been variously regarded as composed of Phœnician, Scythian, or Roman characters, mingled with sketches of men and animals; and some of the ostensible facsimiles of it which have been made at different times, and which, to the number of nine, are published by the Copenhagen Society, exhibit a very imperfect resemblance to one another. Mr. Rafn supposes that he finds here a record in Runic letters of an expedition of the Icelanders to the spot.

The inscription, made upon a hard greywacke rock, must no doubt have cost some time and labor; and the workman must have returned repeatedly to his task, as the tide leaves the sculptured face exposed only about three hours at a time. But it has been tortured altogether in vain for a confession that it is the work of civilized men. Mr. Schoolcraft has perhaps furnished the most probable clew to its origin and meaning. (Ethnological Researches, I. 112 *et seq.*, IV. 119 *et seq.* Comp. S. F. Haven, Archæology of the United States, p. 133, in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, VIII.) He placed two delineations of it in the hands of an Algonquin chief, without acquainting him with the state of the question. The chief professed to understand it, and explained it as a record of a battle between two parties of Indians. When I visited the spot in the summer of 1857, it was with the intention of causing an authentic representation of the lines to be made by the daguerreotype process; an intention which I relinquished on learning that I had been anticipated by Mr. Schoolcraft (Ibid., IV. 120).

If the depth of the incisions seems to

of that country by the Northmen, however interesting as a matter of antiquarian research. If a colony was

require the supposition of iron instruments, there is no proof of their having been made before the time when iron had been largely furnished to the natives by the English. The earliest record of any notice of the inscription is in 1680, after Philip's war, when Mr. Danforth had a drawing made.

The muse of Longfellow has determined that the round tower at Newport shall never be forgotten; else it would before now have lost the place in literature to which it was elevated by antiquarian zeal meeting the universal taste for the marvellous. Mr. Rafn, happy to believe it to be a relic of the Norwegian occupancy of Rhode Island, has been at pains, by engraved delineations, to furnish the readers of the Copenhagen Transactions with the means of comparing it with ancient structures existing in the North of Europe, to the end of proving their resemblance. (Transactions of the Society of Northern Antiquaries for 1836–39, p. 365.) The building is about twenty-three feet in diameter, and twenty-four feet and a half high, about half the height being taken up by eight Roman arches with their intervening piers, on which rests a circular wall pierced with four windows. Without doubt it is extraordinary that no record exists of the erection of so singular an edifice by early English inhabitants of Rhode Island. But it would be much more strange that the first English settlers should not have mentioned the fact, if on their arrival they had found a vestige of a former civilization, so different from everything else within their view.

The first notice of it, known to exist, is in the will of Governor Benedict Arnold, of Newport, dated December 20th, 1677. He therein directs his body to be buried at a certain spot, "being, and lying in my land in or near the line or path from my dwelling-house leading to *my stone-built windmill*, in the town of Newport, above mentioned." And elsewhere in the same instrument that description is used.

It is known that, in the last century, the building served as a grist-mill, and afterwards as a powder-house. Edward Pelham, husband of Governor Arnold's granddaughter, called it in his will, dated in 1740, "an old stone mill." A tradition in the Arnold family, vouched by the Governor's great-grandson, who died within the last ten or fifteen years, declares it to have been built by Governor Arnold. Peter Easton, an early settler at Newport, records in his journal, under the date of August 28, 1675, "A storm blew down our windmill." It is natural to suppose that Arnold supplied its place by the stronger edifice which, making his will two years afterwards, he called "my stone-built windmill."

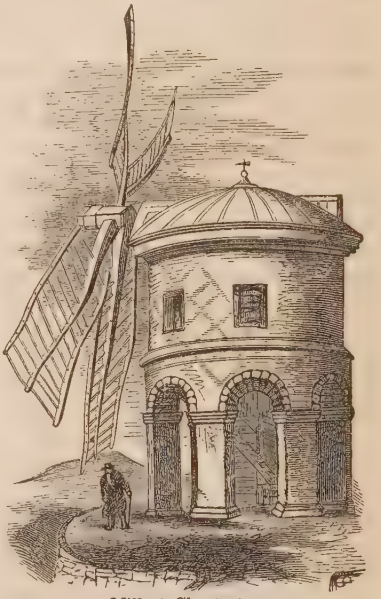
That he calls it *his*, does not prove that he built it. It is supposable that, finding an ancient Scandinavian fortress, or baptistery, or whatever else, he may have fitted a mill-wheel to it. But at all events nothing of this kind was done in the earliest times, for as late as 1663 Easton wrote in his journal, "This year we built the first windmill," the same that was blown down in 1675. In 1675, Governor Arnold was a man of sufficient substance to be able to please his fancy; and he was sixty years old, an age when men often incline to be sentimental in respect to some object connected with the memories of their youth. The family of Arnold is understood in Rhode Island, though I know not on what authority, to have come from Warwickshire; and it is a fact worthy of observation, that one piece of the Governor's property is specified

founded, it perished; if a communication with Europe was opened, it was disused, till it was renewed in another

in his will as his "Lemmington farm," the name being apparently commemorative of the well-known place of luxurious summer resort, two or three miles from the English town of Warwick.

We have here perhaps an explanation of what strikes every one as requiring to be accounted for, the singular architecture of a building intended for the humble use of a windmill for a hamlet of humble colonists. Why these stone piers and arches, and this heavy mass of masonry in the wall above?

In the parish of Chesterton, in Warwickshire, three miles from Leamington, on the property of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, stands a windmill of the same construction. I describe it from personal inspection, having visited it in the summer of 1856. I was informed by the obliging clergyman who directed me from Tachbrook to the spot, that he had been told there were others in the neighborhood, of similar architecture, though he was himself almost a stranger there, and had not seen such. This building at Chesterton, known in the vicinity as "the stone windmill," stands on an embankment three feet high, walled around and with a fosse outside. The tower, built of square hammered blocks of stone, is between twenty-three and twenty-four feet in diameter, and, as I judged, (for I had brought no instrument to measure it,) about twenty-six feet high beneath the dome-like wooden roof. Above four of the six Roman arches are square windows, in the same horizontal plane, in pairs opposite to each other. The piers, four feet in diameter, are square, except that they are curved on the inner and outer sides to the circular shape of the tower. The loft, to which the windows admit light, is reached from the area within the piers by a rude wooden staircase.



Mill at Chesterton.

To this the building in Newport bears a strong general resemblance, as is

Tower at Newport.

apparent from a glance at the accompanying delineations. It is known

quarter. Still less to the purpose would be a criticism of the curious tradition of the voyage of Madoc and his Welsh followers to this continent.[1] The story is not without important corroboration, furnished by recent observations of travellers among the Indian tribes. But if Welshmen settled in America, it was not in New England. If the Welsh features, complexion, and language are found anywhere on this continent, it is in Florida and among tribes west of the Mississippi.[2] Nor is it necessary to consider the mooted question of the au-

Alleged voyage of Madoc. 1170.

to have had, within a century, a hemispherical roof, and a floor above the arcade, though both have disappeared. The columns, with their bases and capitals, differ from those at Chesterton in being circular, and the whole masonry is in a ruder style, as might be expected from the inferior materials and skill afforded by a new settlement. Supposing the uncovered Newport mill to have lost in time a course or two of stones from the top, its diameter and altitude may have been precisely copied from the other. There is a tradition that the Chesterton mill was built after a plan of Inigo Jones, and the story is the more credited, as the design not only may have been an architectural *capriccio* to gratify some fanciful proprietor, but is said also to combine with architectural symmetry the utilitarian merit, by admitting a free passage of air through the arches, of avoiding an eddy, which makes a back sail and lessens the power of the wind. Jones was more than sixty years old, when Arnold, about twenty years old, came to America. If the Chesterton mill was standing at the time of Arnold's emigration, and if he came from Warwick, he had been acquainted with it as one of the wonders of the shire; and he knows little of human nature, who does not understand how the thriving man in the decline of his days should have been moved to renew, in the distant continent upon which Providence had thrown him, the likeness of a tenderly remembered object of his boyish admiration.

I will but further suggest, that Arnold did not live on as good terms with the Indians as some of his Rhode Island compatriots; and it is supposable that, in building a mill, he had in view at the same time to provide what might serve as a strong-hold in case of need, or what might at all events wear the appearance of preparation against mischief.

These facts seem to me to afford the most probable explanation of the origin of this singular building. The prints (that of the English mill slightly altered to conform it to my own observation), as well as many of the facts in this note, are taken from a little treatise entitled "The Controversy touching the Old Stone Mill," &c., published at Newport in 1851.

[1] Hakluyt, Book III. Chap. XXI. § 1. — Belknap, Amer. Biog., I. 58.

[2] Mr. Catlin (North American Indians, I. 126, II. Appendix, A.) became confident of what he at first only proposed as a conjecture, that he had found descendants of Welshmen among the Mandans. Mr. Haven has treated the subject sagaciously and learnedly (Archæology of the United States, pp. 26 *et seq.*).

thenticity of the relation of the Venetian brothers, the Zeni, since, at all events, no result of the discovery therein announced has taken a place in the later history.[1] If in the fifteenth century the Portuguese John Vas Cortereal,[2] or the Pole Szkolney,[3] reached the American shore, it has never been supposed to have been at a point further south than Newfoundland.

Voyages of the Zeni, circ. 1390, John Vas Cortereal, 1463, and Szkolney, 1476.

The achievement of Columbus did not fail to attract in England the notice which its conception and promise had solicited with so little fruit. Among the merchants whom the peaceful commercial policy of Henry the Seventh had invited to that country was John Cabot, a Venetian settled at Bristol, then, and almost down to the present century, after London the most considerable mart in England. To him and his three sons, one of whom, at least, Sebastian, was a native of Bristol, royal letters-patent were issued (the first English letters-patent for discovery), authorizing them, with such companions as they should select, to "sail to all parts, countries, and seas of the East and of the West and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with five ships, of what burden or quantity soever they may be, to seek out, discover, and find whatsoever isles, coun-

Discovery of North America by the Cabots.

1496. March 5.

[1] The relation of the voyage of the Zeni was first published in 1558, from imperfect manuscripts, and was adopted into Ramusio's Collection (Navigationi e Viaggi, Tom. II. pp. 230 *et seq.*) in 1574, and thence into Hakluyt's Collection of Early Voyages, &c. (III. 157). The claim of the story to credit has been in recent times more favorably viewed, since the discussions of it in 1808 and 1818 by the learned Venetian, Cardinal Zurla. Malte-Brun, who believed it, agrees with J. Reinhold Forster (History of Voyages, &c., 199 *et seq.*) in thinking that the *Estotiland* therein named was Newfoundland, and *Drogeo*, New England, and that the natives described by the fisherman, from whom Antonio Zeno is represented to have had his account, were "descendants from the Scandinavian colonists of Vinland." (Précis de la Géographie Universelle, I. 405.) On the other hand, our learned countryman, Mr. Biddle, (Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, pp. 328 – 333,) confidently concludes the whole story to have been an imposture.

[2] Humboldt, Examen Critique, I. 278.

[3] Ibid., II. 152.

tries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they may be, and in what part of the world soever they may be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians." Such regions were to be occupied, subdued, possessed, and governed by them for their own behoof, but in the name of the king of England. The vessels were to return to Bristol, and the king was to have one fifth part of the profits of the enterprise.[1]

In command of three hundred men in two ships, perhaps equipped and victualled wholly or partly at the royal charge, and perhaps attended by one or two other vessels,[2] Cabot sailed from Bristol, accompanied by his son Sebastian. The expedition touched at Iceland, and thence spread its sails for the mysterious West. Unexpectedly soon, for the adventurers hoped to come to a harbor in Cathay, on the eastern shore of Asia, their further course was arrested by the American coast of Labrador or of Newfoundland. This was more than a year before Columbus saw the American continent.[3]

1497. May.

June 24.

[1] The instrument is in Rymer (Fœdera, XII. 595), Hakluyt (Collections, III. 25), and Hazard (Historical Collections, I. 9). John Cabot was "Governor of the company of the merchants of Cathay in the city of London." (Strachey, History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia, 139. This important tract was edited in 1849, for the Hakluyt Society, by that accomplished geographer, Mr. R. H. Major, from a manuscript in the British Museum.)

[2] "This Gabato . . . . . procured him [the king] to man and victual a ship at Bristow, ... with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants." (Lord Bacon, History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, 188.)

[3] A manuscript in the British Museum (Additional MSS., 7099) is a copy by Mr. Craven Orde from original entries, preserved in the Remembrancer Office, of the privy purse expenses of Henry the Seventh. The last of the following entries for the month of August in the twelfth year of that monarch may record the king's bounty for the discovery of North America: —

"Aug. 9	[1497].	For garnishing of a Salette [helmet] . .	£	38	0 16
"	"	20 Jacquetts of the best sorte . . .		19	6 4
"	"	Browdering of the same Jacquetts . .		18	0 0
"	"	For the King's Horse Harnesse . . .		21	4 10
"	"	Garnishing of the King's sword . .		6	10 7
" 10	"	*To him that found the new isle* . . .		10	0 0."

I suppose that on the 10th of August the Cabots were still at sea, and that they did not reach England till October. Nor was so small a gratuity as ten pounds likely to be offered in any case to so thriving a citizen as John

In vain search of the northwestern passage, the Cabots proceeded northwardly as far as the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude. The cold, though in July, being such as to discourage the crews, they prevailed on their commander to reverse his course, and he ran down the coast as far as the thirty-eighth (perhaps to the thirty-sixth) degree of north latitude, whence, his provisions failing, and the prospect of an accomplishment of the special object of the voyage appearing as remote as ever, he resolved to return to England. He brought his vessels into port in safety, and three American savages were presented to the king as trophies of the exploit.[1] There is no reason to believe that the Cabots saw more of New England than some of its headlands, though they probably ran along the coast of Maine, and may have looked into Massachusetts Bay.

October.

The insurrection in favor of the pretended Duke of York being quelled, and the king again at leisure, a new patent was issued, authorizing John Cabot, "by him, his deputy, or deputies sufficient," to "take at his pleasure six English ships," of not more than two hundred tons' burden, and renew the experiment. He died presently after; but it has been supposed that the expedition proceeded, under the command of his son Sebastian. If Sebastian sailed, there is no doubt that he returned in safety, for he is known to have lived fifty years beyond this time. But the fact of a second expedition is so uncertain, and the accounts of it are so confused with those of the voyage which effected the first discovery of the North American continent, that, while some writers have maintained it to have been in the

1498. Feb. 3.

Cabot. It may be that, when the Cabots turned south after the discontents among their men, a vessel left them, and returned to England with her report of the great news, and that her commander received this present.

[1] "This year were brought unto the king three men taken in the new found islands by Sebastian Cabato, before named, in anno 1498; these men were clothed in beasts' skins, and ate raw flesh." (Stowe, Annales, 483, 484.)

second voyage that the exploration towards the southwest was made, others have comprehended the whole course of transactions in the expedition commanded by John Cabot.[1] Sebastian subsequently entered the service of the king of Spain. But in the well-nigh inextricable confusion of the accounts of his adventures, there appears some reason to believe that at a still later period he made a third voyage from England to North America. Circ. 1517.

The discovery by the Cabots laid the foundation of the claim of the British crown to its North American territory.[2] It could scarcely have been in ignorance of their exploit that the Portuguese admiral, Gaspar Cortereal, in command of a similar exploring expedition, sailed along the same coast six or seven hundred miles, probably between Hudson's Strait and Cape Race. He returned with glowing reports of the fruitfulness of the country in herbage and in trees fit for ship- Voyage of Gaspar Cortereal. 1500–1501.

[1] Mr. Biddle, who, at all events, has expended more diligence upon the subject than any other writer, maintains the paradox, that, in the first voyage, John Cabot, unacquainted with nautical affairs, and only mentioned in the patent because the king meant to have a money-guaranty for his own investment, was but the subordinate, or the irresponsible companion, of his forward son (Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 49 *et seq.*). The king, however, in the second patent, authorizes John to take six ships, "and them convey and lead to the lands and isles of late *found by the said John* in our name and by our commandment." (Original Patent, found by Biddle in the Rolls Chapel, as quoted by him, Memoir, &c., p. 76.) Sebastian may have "frisked beneath the burden of fourscore," when in 1556 (Hakluyt, I. 306) "he entered into the dance himself, among the rest of the young and lusty company," on the sailing of Stephen Burrough's ship from Gravesend. But even on that supposition he was only twenty-one years old at the time of the first expedition from Bristol, an age altogether too immature for the conduct of such an enterprise. Humboldt (Examen Critique, II. 445) places his birth in 1477. Mr. Patrick Frazer Tytler has discussed Biddle's theory of the insignificance of John Cabot (Historical View of the Progress of Discovery, Appendix). A proper treatment of the questions arising out of the voyages of the Cabots would occupy a volume rather than a note. New and important light will be thrown upon them by the work impatiently expected from the able hands of Dr. J. G. Kohl, on early voyages to the western continent.

[2] "Old John Cabot, the father, from whom only, indeed, we have our earliest claim and interest (as we may right well) to this country." Strachey, 140.

building, and with a number of captive Indians, whom he sold as slaves.[1]

Voyage of Verazzano. 1524.

An expedition to be followed by consequences much more important was that of the Florentine, John Verazzano. Embarking for North America in the service of France, he kept the shore in view at intervals from the thirty-fourth to near the fiftieth degree of north latitude. He entered Hudson's River more than eighty years before Hudson, and for fifteen days lay at anchor in the harbor of what is now Newport.[2] The natives, who came about him in canoes, and were freely admitted on board, were well formed, with regular features, clear complexions, and long hair carefully dressed. What attire they had was of skins. The women were modest, and never visited the vessels. The seamen gratified their visitors with presents of beads and other trifles, and the parties separated from each other mutually pleased. Verazzano sailed up Narragansett Bay, and recorded his admiration of its beautiful scenery. Steering thence towards the northeast, and keeping the coast of Maine in sight for the distance of fifty leagues, he cast anchor next in some harbor apparently of Nova Scotia. Here he found the landscape uninviting, and the inhabitants inhospitable. But partly by stealth, partly by intimidation, he succeeded in making an exploration of the interior country for some miles. He kept on his course among the islands to the northeast, till his provisions began to fail. After a six months' absence he arrived at the port of Dieppe, to report to his master

May 5.

July.

[1] Purchas, Pilgrims, I. 915.

[2] The full narrative of Verazzano's voyage, addressed by him to Francis the First, was published by Ramusio (Navigationi et Viaggi, III. 420 *et seq.*). A translation by Mr. J. G. Cogswell, from a manuscript copy in the Magliabecchian Library at Florence, has lately been published in the Collections of the New York Historical Society (New Series, I. 39 *et seq.*). It presents considerable verbal variations from that used by Ramusio.

Had the stone tower, so dear to the Northern Antiquaries, been standing in 1524, it is to the last degree extraordinary that Verazzano should not have mentioned it.

the important achievement of a survey of scarcely less than two thousand miles of the North American coast.

Before Verazzano's voyage was known in Spain, Stephen Gomez, in a caravel of sixty tons' burden, fitted out at the joint expense of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and some merchants, sailed from Coruña in quest of the Northwest Passage. Having made the coast of Newfoundland, he steered southwardly, and coasted along "a pretty large extent of country,"[1] "as far south as the fortieth degree of latitude."[2] It is probable that he ran across from Cape Sable to Cape Cod, and then through Long Island Sound to Hudson's River, named by him *Rio de San Antonio*, and that he finally left the coast at the Capes of the Delaware.[3]

1524, or 1525

A large field for industry, and a tempting source of profit, had been opened to the adventurers of Europe. Small fishing-vessels from Biscay, Brittany, and Normandy had been only three years behind Cortereal. Denys, a Frenchman, had made a chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and of the adjoining coast. Aubert, or Hubert, of the same nation, had sailed up the river of that name. The Banks of Newfoundland were visited by fishermen, who may have pursued the cod and mackerel so far as to gain some acquaintance with the convenient harbors of Massachusetts Bay. Only twenty years had passed after the first voyage of the Cabots, when fifty ships, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, were employed in this business. Jacques Cartier, sailing up the St. Lawrence to *Hochelaga*, now Montreal, and building a stockade on the hill at Quebec, inaugurated what was to become the vast domain of France on this continent.

Visits of fishermen and others.

1506.

1508.

1517.

1535.

1540.

[1] "Buen pedaço de tierra." Gomara (Historia de las Indias, Cap. 40).

[2] Herrera, Historia de las Indias Occidentales, Dec. III. lib. iv. cap. 20; lib. viii. cap. 8.

[3] The object of his expedition re-

It was half a century after Cabot had found North America for England, before English legislation gave any token of a sense of the value of the acquisition. A fruit-
1527. less exploring expedition, conducted with two vessels, was the only proof that the attention of Henry the Eighth was ever turned in that direction.
1548. At length an act of Parliament, in the first year of King Edward the Sixth, encouraged the fishery at Newfoundland by protecting those engaged in it from exactions which had been practised by the admiralty "in the few years now last past."[1] The impulse given to English affairs in all departments from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth did not fail to manifest itself in this form of enterprise. But when there were
1577. fifty English vessels on the Newfoundland Banks, there were as many from Portugal, twice as many from Spain, and thrice as many from France.[2]

With the last half of the reign of that sovereign began an extraordinary development among her subjects of a passion for distant exploration and settlement, kept up for half a century against the discouragement of an almost unbroken succession of disasters and defeats. Mexico, Peru, Chili, and the West India Islands, conquered and colonized by Spain, were pouring immense wealth into the mother country, through the channels of trade as well as by the direct transportation of the precious metals. London and Bristol could not behold unmoved the strange prosperity of Cadiz; and nothing better pleased the English people of the coast than the prospect of a war with the

quired him to look into the inlets. The best inferences respecting his movements are to be derived from a map published four years afterwards by the cosmographer of the Emperor.

[1] The act is in Hazard, State Papers, I. 22, 23.

[2] The English ships, however, were of a better class and better manned, and, if Hakluyt was correctly informed (III. 171), they exacted a sort of tribute for affording protection and keeping the peace. See on this whole subject the important "Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas," prepared in 1853, by Mr. Lorenzo Sabine, for the Treasury Department of the United States.

great Catholic power, involving the plunder of rich galleons and the sack of American treasuries. But the genius of maritime adventure could not be always warlike. The same impulse which led Hawkins and Drake by rough ways to fame and fortune in the south, sent Frobisher on a more perilous errand to solve the problem of the polar seas. His wild adventures, begun with a renewed search for a northwest passage to Asia, and continued and ended with a quest for gold ingots under the Arctic Circle, do not connect themselves with the subject of this narrative. But a different fruit of the zeal for maritime exploit which revived in the palmy days of the virgin queen was the voyage of the heroic Sir Humphrey Gilbert,[1] the first which was undertaken with a design of permanent occupation of American territory by Englishmen.

Gilbert, a friend and half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, had been his fellow-soldier in the Protestant armies of France, and had served in the English Parliament. He was versed in geographical and commercial knowledge, and was known as a writer by a "Discourse to prove a Passage by the Northwest to Cathaia and the East Indies." With views more comprehensive than were indicated by this treatise, he had cordially embraced with Raleigh the scheme of British colonization in North America. The queen gave him a patent conveying privileges similar to those conferred by her grandfather on Cabot.[2] He was empowered to discover, possess, and govern all remote heathen and barbarous countries not occupied by any Christian people. He and his heirs and assigns were to be proprietors of such countries, on paying homage therefor to the crown of England, and one fifth part of any precious metals which might be found. They were to have admi-

Gilbert's project of a settlement.

1578. June 11.

[1] "Vir acer et alacer, belli pacisque artibus clarus." (Camden, Annales, 367.)

[2] It is in Hakluyt (III. 174) and Hazard (I. 24–28).

ralty jurisdiction over the neighboring seas; and all persons were forbidden to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which they should occupy within six years.

Gilbert's first attempt miscarried, through the inconstancy of some of the associates whom he had engaged, and the loss of one of his ships at sea. Renewing his preparations with large pecuniary sacrifice, he set sail a second time, with two hundred and sixty men, embarked in five vessels. He approached the American coast on the fifty-first parallel of north latitude; and, shifting his course, entered in a few days the harbor of St. John's in Newfoundland, where he found no fewer than thirty-six vessels of different nations. Pitching a tent on the shore, he commanded the presence of all merchants and ship-masters, English and Continental. There, his commission being read and interpreted, a turf and a twig were delivered to him in token of investiture, and proclamation was made of his authority to hold and govern the country for two hundred leagues around. He promulgated three laws; the first establishing the Church of England; the second declaring it treason to call in question the queen's title; the third making the utterance of words disrespectful to her Majesty a misdemeanor punishable with loss of ears and forfeiture of goods. A pillar was erected, to which were affixed the royal arms graven on lead, and grants of land were made in severalty for stages for the curing of fish.

1583. June 11. July 30. Aug. 3. Aug. 5.

The search for precious metals was unavailing. The company were generally unused to hardship. Many sickened. Some died. Some deserted with one of the vessels. Some hid in the woods, till they should have an opportunity to escape.[1] Before a month was out, it was plain

[1] The story in the most authentic shape is from the hand of Edward Hayes, captain of the Hind, which was in company with Gilbert's vessel when she went down. (See Hakluyt, I. 679, III. 143, 184–208; Purchas, III. 808; Harris, I. 583.)

that the heart of the enterprise was broken. Whether in search of provisions or for further discovery, Gilbert put to sea from St. John with three of his vessels, leaving the other to bring away the sick. Off Cape Breton, one of the squadron was lost, with all but fourteen of her crew. Discouraged by this disaster added to the earlier adverse events, the admiral resolved to return to England. With the constancy which belonged to his character, he chose for his place the place of greatest danger, and refused to leave the less seaworthy vessel, which was but of ten tons' burden, and "overcharged with netting and small artillery." In a violent storm she went to the bottom, with all her company. He was sitting on her deck, calmly engaged in reading, the last time he was seen from the companion ship. The last words which had been heard from him were, "We are as near heaven by sea as by land." — And so ended the first attempt at British colonization on this continent. It was destined to have successors in its brave promise, and in its dismal fate. It wanted an element of force which the world could not yet supply. Rank, wealth, royal patronage, were embarked in it. But the one thing needful was not there.

Aug. 20.

Sept. 9.

The English claim to Newfoundland having been thus formally authenticated, Sir Bernard Drake visited it with an English squadron, and made prize of some Portuguese ships, with their cargoes of fish, oil, and furs. John Davis, in command of two barks, in the service of a private association of certain noblemen and others, discovered Gilbert's Sound, Cumberland Straits, the Cumberland Islands, and Lumley's Inlet. George Waymouth conducted another profitless quest for the Northwest Passage. Silvester Wyat sailed up the Gulf of St. Lawrence for a cargo of whales' fins and oil.

1585.

Further explorations.

1588.

1593.

1594.

But as yet New England had been almost overlooked.

Before the seventeenth century, there was no exploration, properly so called, of any part of that country, nor apparently any project for its colonization. Though Verazzano had landed, and not improbably others, Gosnold was not only the first Englishman, but the first European, who is known to have set up a dwelling on the soil of New England.

After Gilbert's death his patent was renewed to Sir Walter Raleigh.[1] The failure of Raleigh's attempts to colonize Virginia does not require to be related in this history. Among those who had sailed in his service in that enterprise was Bartholomew Gosnold, a mariner of the West of England. Under his command, with the consent of Sir Walter Raleigh,[2] and at the cost, among others, of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton,[3] the accomplished patron of Shakespeare, a small vessel, called the *Concord*, was equipped for exploration in "the north part of Virginia," with a view to the establishment of a colony. At this time, in the last year of the Tudor dynasty, and nineteen years after the fatal termination of Gilbert's enterprise, there was no European inhabitant of North America, ex-

1584. March 25.

Voyage of Gosnold.

[1] See Raleigh's patent in Hakluyt (III. 297) or in Hazard (I. 33 – 38).

[2] "By the permission of the Honorable Knight, Sir Walter Raleigh." (Title-page to Brereton's Brief and True Relation.) The three original authorities on the subject of this voyage are a short letter written by Gosnold to his father upon his return to England; "The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage . . . . . delivered by Gabriel Archer, a Gentleman in the said Voyage" (the same person who was afterwards so troublesome to Smith in Virginia); and the "Brief and True Relation" of John Brereton, "one of the Voyage." These documents are in the twenty-eighth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, the two former being reprinted from Purchas's "Pilgrims," the last from the edition published at the time. Belknap, misled by Purchas, ascribed the "Brief and True Relation" to Rosier, who afterwards sailed with Waymouth; but it is in the form of a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, and is subscribed with Brereton's name at length. Strachey evidently wrote with Brereton's book in his hands; but he adds matter, probably obtained by oral information.

[3] Strachey (Historie of Travaile, &c., 153). Belknap says (Amer. Biog., II. 101), "At whose expense he undertook the voyage to the northern part of Virginia, does not appear."

cept those of Spanish birth in Florida, and some twenty or thirty French, the miserable relics of two frustrated attempts to settle what they called New France.

Gosnold sailed from Falmouth with a company of thirty-two persons, of whom eight were seamen, and twenty were to become planters. Taking a straight course across the Atlantic, instead of the indirect course by the Canaries and the West Indies which had been hitherto pursued in voyages to Virginia, at the end of seven weeks he saw land in Massachusetts Bay, probably near what is now Salem harbor.[1] Here a boat came off, of Basque build, manned by eight natives, of whom two or three were dressed in European clothes, indicating the presence of earlier foreign voyagers in these waters. Next he stood to the southward,[2] and his crew took great quantities of codfish by a headland, called by him for that reason *Cape Cod*, the name which it retains. Gosnold, Brereton, and three others, went on shore, the first Englishmen who are known to have set foot upon the soil of Massachusetts. They fell in with a young Indian,[3] and observed the unbroken extent of the deep sand-heaps. Sounding his way cautiously along, first in

1602. March 26.

May 14.

[1] The description agrees with this part of the coast. Brereton says (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 86) that they made land in the latitude of 43°, which is that of the mouth of the Piscataqua. But Waymouth found Gosnold's chart to be erroneous in this part of the delineation.

[2] Archer says they steered *west* (Ibid., 74). But this could not have been. Archer's account, owing not improbably to errors in the printing, is extremely confused.

[3] He "had certain plates of coppe hanging to his ears." (Archer, Ibid., 74.) Of the natives afterwards seen, "one had hanging about his neck a plate of rich copper, in length a foot, in breadth half a foot, for a breastplate; the ears of all the rest had pendants of copper." (Ibid., 75. Comp. Brereton, Ibid., 91.) Notices to the same effect abound in the early voyages. Where the aborigines of New England could have supplied themselves with plates of copper, remains a question. Perhaps they were small pieces of virgin ore, picked up here and there. Perhaps they had worked their way from hand to hand, from the region of the Great Lakes. More probably they were the fruit of traffic with recent foreign visitors. The last is Mr. Haven's opinion (Archæology of the United States, 108, in Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, VIII.).

a southerly and then in a westerly direction, and probably passing to the south of Nantucket, Gosnold next landed on a small island, now called *No Man's Land*. To this he gave the name of *Martha's Vineyard*, since transferred to the larger island further north, the western extremity of which, now known as *Gay Head*, he designated as *Dover Cliff*, in allusion to its resemblance to the chalk bluff bearing that name on his native shore. The island on which the landing was made, was, says Archer,[1] "most pleasant, for we found it full of wood, vines, gooseberry-bushes, hurt-berries, raspberries, eglantine, &c. Here we had cranes, herns, shoulers, geese, and divers other birds, which there, at that time, upon the cliffs, being sandy with some rocky stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw deer. Here we rode in eight fathoms, near the shore, where we took store of cod, as before at Cape Cod, but much better. This island is sound, and hath no danger about it."

May 22.

South of Buzzard's Bay, and separated on the south by the Vineyard Sound from Martha's Vineyard, is scattered the group denoted on modern maps as the *Elizabeth Islands*. The southwesternmost of these, now known by the Indian name of *Cuttyhunk*, was denominated by Gosnold *Elizabeth Island*. It was "overgrown with wood and rubbish; viz. oaks, ashes, beech, walnut, witch-hazel, sassafrage, and cedars, with divers others of unknown names. The rubbish is wild pease, young sassafrage, cherry-trees, vines, eglantine, gooseberry-bushes, hawthorn, honeysuckles, with others of the like quality. The herbs and roots are strawberries, rasps, ground-nuts, alexander, surrin, tansy, &c., without count."[2] Here Gosnold found a pond two miles in circumference, separated from the sea on one side by a beach thirty yards wide, and enclosing "a rocky islet, containing near an

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 76.

[2] Archer, Ibid., 77. Comp. Brereton, Ibid., 88, 89.

acre of ground, full of wood and rubbish." This islet was fixed upon for a settlement. In three weeks, while a part of the company were absent on a trading expedition to the mainland, the rest dug and stoned a cellar, prepared timber, and built a house, which they fortified with palisades, and thatched with sedge.[1] May 28.

Proceeding to make an inventory of their provisions, they found that, after supplying the vessel, which was to take twelve men on the return voyage, there would be a sufficiency for only six weeks for the twenty men who would remain. A dispute arose upon the question whether the party to be left behind would receive a share in the proceeds of the cargo of cedar, sassafras, furs, and other commodities which had been collected. A small party, going out in quest of shell-fish, was attacked by some Indians. With men having already, it is likely, little stomach for such cheerless work, these circumstances easily led to the decision to abandon for the present the scheme of a settlement; and in the following month the adventurers sailed for England, and, after a voyage of five weeks, arrived at Exmouth. June 18. July 23. The first attempt at European colonization in New England was made within what is now the State of Massachusetts, and this was its present issue. Gosnold lived five years longer, to take within that time an important part in the movement which brought about the permanent occupation of Virginia.

1 "To this spot I went on the 20th day of June, 1797. ..... The protecting hand of Nature has reserved this favorite spot to herself. Its fertility and its productions are exactly the same as in Gosnold's time, excepting the wood, of which there is none. Every species of what he calls *rubbish*, with strawberries, pease, tansies, and other fruits and herbs, appear in rich abundance, unmolested by any animal but aquatic birds. We had the supreme satisfaction to find the cellar of Gosnold's storehouse, the stones of which were evidently taken from the neighboring beach, the rocks of the islet being less movable and lying in ledges." (Belknap, American Biography, II. 114, 115.) Another party of antiquaries identified the spot in 1817. (North American Review, V. 313.)

The expedition of Gosnold was pregnant with consequences, though their development was slow. The accounts of the hitherto unknown country, which were circulated by his company on their return, excited an earnest interest. Among others, Richard Hakluyt, a prebendary of Bristol cathedral, already known as a learned cosmographer and author of a copious account of English exploits in navigation,[1] engaged actively in the scheme of further exploration in New England, or *North Virginia*, as, after Raleigh's designation, it still and for some years longer continued to be called. The consent of Raleigh, which his patent right was thought to make necessary, was promptly given. The sum of a thousand pounds sterling was raised by several of the civic governors and principal merchants of Bristol; and under the command of Martin Pring, or Prynne, two small vessels, one of fifty tons' burden, the other of twenty-six tons', with a crew of forty-four men and boys, sailed from Milford Haven early in the following year, the first year of James the First. They were provisioned for a voyage of eight months; the lading, which consisted of clothes, hardware, and trinkets, designed to procure a return cargo of sassafras,[2] being intrusted to Robert Salterne, who had been a companion of Gosnold in the preceding year.

Voyage of Pring. 1603. April 10.

Pring approached the North-American coast between the latitudes of forty-three and forty-four degrees, and, steering to the southwest, made some examination about the mouths of the Saco, Kennebunk, York, and Piscataqua rivers. Not finding in this region the

June 7.

[1] There was a family taste for these studies and undertakings. "Mr. Richard Hakluyt, the elder, sometime student of the Middle Temple," had written, as early as 1585, a treatise entitled "Inducements to the Liking of the Voyage intended towards Virginia in 40 and 42 Degrees of Latitude." This must have had reference to a renewal of, and improvement upon, Gilbert's enterprise. It was appended, with several other tracts of similar purport, to the second edition of Brereton's letter to Raleigh.

[2] Sassafras was in great esteem for its medicinal virtue, being supposed to be a powerful diuretic, besides possessing other useful properties.

commodity of which he was in quest, and seeing "goodly groves and woods, and sundry sorts of beasts," but "no people,"[1] he turned his course first to *Savage Rock*, where Gosnold had had his first interview with natives the year before, and then to the islands south of Cape Cod, where he found convenient anchorage in a harbor which appears to have been that of Edgartown in Martha's Vineyard. The natives here being numerous, he built a hut with rude defences, and proceeded to collect his lading in the woods. The diminution of his force, by the departure of the smaller vessel when her cargo was made up, was followed by some threatening demonstrations on the part of the Indians, which induced him to hasten his embarkation; and he arrived at Bristol in early autumn, after a passage of seven or eight weeks, and an absence from England of less than six months. Some specimens, carried home by him, of the ingenious manufacture of the natives, among others a birch canoe seventeen feet long, helped to sustain the curiosity which had been awakened respecting this strange race of men.[2]

Aug. 9.

Oct. 2.

The peace with Spain, which immediately followed the accession of King James to the throne of England, made the seas more secure for English voyagers. Pring's adventure had been only for discovery and traffic, with no design of settlement. Meanwhile Lord Southampton had not lost sight of the larger scheme which Gosnold had failed to carry out. At a charge shared between him and his brother-in-law, Lord Arundel of Wardour, a vessel with a crew of twenty-eight men, under the command of George Waymouth,[3] who had

Voyage of Waymouth. 1605. March 31.

[1] Belknap suggests that the reason of this was, that Pring was here at the season when the natives were absent at their fishing stations up the rivers. (Amer. Biog., II. 126.)

[2] For Pring's voyage see Purchas, IV. 1654 *et seq.*

[3] James Rosier, "a gentleman employed in the voyage," wrote "A True Relation" of it, extracts from which

been on the coast twelve years before, was despatched from the Thames, ostensibly perhaps for the discovery of the long-sought Northwestern Passage.[1] A six weeks' voyage brought Waymouth in sight of the island of Nantucket. Shifting his course to the north, he entered the Kennebec or the Penobscot River,[2] and, in a shallop "brought, in pieces, out of England," ascended it to a distance of "not much less than threescore miles." He kidnapped and carried away five of the natives.[3] Except for this, and for some addition to the knowledge of the local geography, the voyage was fruitless. But the

May 14.

were published by Purchas (Pilgrims, IV. 1659). The whole tract is in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (XXVIII. 125).

[1] So says Belknap (Amer. Biog., II. 135), and after him the exact Holmes. Yet I have not observed their authority for the statement. If this design was professed, it was probably but a precaution against the jealousy of the French, whose hope of an occupation of the country began now to be disclosed. This jealousy is cautiously referred to in Rosier's Preface. He had delayed, he says, to publish the journal which Lord Wardour had employed him to make, "because some foreign nation, being fully assured of the fruitfulness of the country, have hoped hereby to gain some knowledge of the place;..... and this is the cause that I have neither written of the latitude or variation most exactly observed by our captain with sundry instruments." The true purpose of the voyage, as Rosier understood it, is manifest elsewhere: "Because we found the land a place answerable to the intent of our discovery, namely, fit for any nation to inhabit, we used the people with as great kindness as we could devise, or found them capable of." (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 138.) "We supposing not a little present private profit, but a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's holy Church by planting Christianity, to be the sole intent of the honorable setters forth of this discovery," &c. (Ibid., 153.)

[2] It was the Penobscot, according to that interpretation of the journal of the voyage which has been approved in this country since Belknap wrote. But Strachey (159) understood the river to be the Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, and this opinion has recently been revived. (McKeen, in Maine Hist. Coll., V., Art. 4.) The Kennebec agrees best with Waymouth's observation of the latitude. I may add, that the subsequent choice of the Kennebec by Gorges and his friends, as the site of a plantation, affords a presumption on this side, so much of the information upon which they proceeded having been derived from Waymouth.

[3] "I opened the box and showed them trifles to exchange, thinking thereby to have banished fear from the other, and drawn him to return; but when we could not, we used little delay, but suddenly laid hands upon them; and it was as much as five or six of us could do to get them into the light horseman [the boat], for they were strong, and so naked as our best hold was by their long hair on their heads." (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 145.)

beauty and convenience of the river had enchanted the strangers. "Many who had been travellers in sundry countries and in the most famous rivers, yet affirmed them to be not comparable to this they now beheld." It seemed "the most rich, beautiful, large, and secure harboring river that the world affordeth." Though, by such of them as had made personal observation, the Orinoco, the Rio Grande, the Loire, and the Seine were allowed to be "great and goodly rivers," yet it was "no detraction from them to be accounted inferior to this." After a stay of less than five weeks, they left the coast, and a voyage of the same length brought them to Dartmouth, where they had set sail from England.

June 16.

July 18.

Meantime, New England was in imminent danger of passing into the hands of French masters. While the discovery by Cabot was the basis of the claim of England to the possession of North-American territory, the voyage of Verazzano was relied upon as establishing a similar title for her hereditary rival on the other side of the Channel. A conspicuous member of the Protestant party of France, the Sieur de Monts, had obtained from King Henry the Fourth a patent for the principality of *Acadie*, defined as the American coast from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude, with provisions for the government of the country and the control of trade within those limits.[1] Setting sail in the following spring with four vessels, having Pontgravé and De Poutrincourt for his lieutenants and Champlain for his pilot,[2] De Monts made some explorations in and about Nova Scotia, in the course of which he examined an inviting harbor of the Bay of Fundy, on the north side of that peninsula;

Danger of a French occupation of New England.

1603. Nov. 8.

1604. March 7.

[1] Hazard (I. 45) reprints the patent from L'Escarbot (Histoire de la Nouvelle France, 432). L'Escarbot, a lawyer, went out with De Poutrincourt as his man of business.

[2] Charlevoix, Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France, I. 173, 174.

the same post which, under French and English sway, has borne at different times the names of Port Royal and Annapolis. Dissatisfied with the rigorous climate of that region, he embarked the next summer for an examination of the shores of Maine and Massachusetts, and was upon that coast nearly at the same time with Waymouth.[1] He proceeded as far as Cape Cod, but the unfriendly disposition of the natives and the inadequacy of his force combined to discourage him from a further prosecution of the undertaking. In the ensuing year, after his return to France, it was renewed by his companions. Pontgravé, following in his track, lost a vessel by shipwreck, and scarcely saved her men and stores. De Poutrincourt went later, and sent a party on shore at Cape Cod to erect a cross and take possession in the name of his sovereign.[2] The savages attacked his men, killed two, and wounded others. Bad weather, now coming on, obstructed further movements, and made his situation dangerous; the French returned to Port Royal, and the enterprise was not resumed. New England was to be impressed with the history of another family of men.

1605.

1606.

October.

Yet another fruitless attempt to establish a colony in that country was made on a large scale. Among the persons engaged in it, Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was the most considerable, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges among the most active.

Little is known of Gorges previous to the time when that agency of his began, which has made his name so prominent in New-England history.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

[1] Probably Waymouth had left the neighborhood a week or two before De Monts came to it.

[2] L'Escarbot, Liv. IV. Chap. 7; Champlain, Voyages, Liv. II. chap. 6, 7. The *Cap Blanc* of L'Escarbot and Champlain was the extremity of Cape Cod, where now is Provincetown. *Malabar* appears to have been Nauset Harbor, and *Cap Fortune* the southeasterly point of Chatham.

His birthplace, or at least his home, was in Somersetshire.[1] His Italian baptismal name is no sign of a foreign extraction. It had somehow come to be much used in England in those times.[2] Gorges, or Gorge, was the name of an old family in the West Country. In the fourteenth century, Eleanor, daughter and heiress of Ralph de Gorges, married Sir Theobald Russell. Their eldest son, the ancestor of Sir Ferdinando, took the name of his mother's family, and it is from a younger son that the ducal house of Bedford is descended. Sir Ferdinando had probably some connection by marriage with both Popham and Raleigh.[3]

Of the little which is recorded of the early life of Gorges, not all is to his credit. He was a partner in the conspiracy of the Earl of Essex, then conveyed intelligence of it to Sir Walter Raleigh, and, on the Earl's trial, testified against him. The consequences of this proceeding followed Gorges, as well as Raleigh, to his latest hour. They had frequent occasion for favor in whatever quarter it could be had, but the popular leaning was always against them. For the English people found a strange fascination in Essex, and never forgave any who had harmed him except the queen, who, they be- 1601.

1 "Sir Ferdinando Gorges of Ashton Phillips in Somerset." (Josselyn, Voyage, &c., p. 197.) Few things would be more gladly welcomed by the student of New-England history than the discovery of the papers of Gorges, which it is not extravagant to suppose may, undreamed of by their possessor, be now feeding the moth in the garret of some manor-house in Somerset or Devon, or in some crypt of London, which vast city has always been the receptacle, often the final hiding-place, of such treasures. Gorges had among his papers all sorts of materials for the history of English North America, from the first discovery down to the civil war; memoirs, journals of voyages, charts, charters, minutes of arguments, letters, sketches of projects, lists of partners, — everything to illustrate the events and their causes, and to display the actors.

2 Sir Ferdinando Fairfax is a familiar instance; but the instances were frequent.

3 Raleigh's mother was of the Devonshire family of Champernowne. Popham's daughter married one of that name, and the Champernowne who came to Sagadahoc was a nephew of Gorges (Hazard, I. 458).

lieved, at heart loved him with an affection beyond their own.

Gorges served in the royal navy during the war with Spain. At the peace, the king made him Gover-
1604. nor of Plymouth. Here he was living the listless life of an officer in garrison, when Waymouth returned from his voyage to North America. The active mind of Gorges now found an object which occupied it nearly to the end of his days. With his uncommon talent for business and indefatigable love of labor, he would hardly have failed to find a sphere of activity at home, had he not been obstructed by the bad repute of those transactions which have been referred to. The soldiers and seamen of the late war had liberty to take service abroad; but Gorges was one of those who "thought it better became them to put in practice the reviving recollection of those free spirits that rather chose to spend themselves in seeking a new world, than servilely to be hired but as slaughterers in the quarrels of strangers. This resolution being stronger than their means to put it into execution, they were forced to let it rest as a dream, till God should give the means to stir up the inclination of such a power able to bring it to life."

Means were not easily forthcoming to Gorges, for Puritanism had a special fondness for Lord Essex, and the money-bags of the city were in Puritan keeping. When
1605. Waymouth brought to Plymouth his Indian cap-
July. tives, he inspired the Governor with the hope of enlisting for his darling scheme allies more able to promote it. "This accident," Gorges says, was "the means under God of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations." He took three of the natives into his house, caused them to be instructed in the English language, and "kept them full three years." By degrees he obtained information from them of the "stately islands and safe harbors" of their native country, "what great rivers ran up

into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had, and the like."[1]

His representations to Sir John Popham[2] engaged that eminent person to exert his influence with his friends in high quarters to obtain authority for a renewal of operations in North America. At the same time with this movement in the West of England, "certain noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and merchants in and about the city of London" were desiring to renew the attempts which had been abortively made under the auspices of Raleigh in Virginia. A joint application was easily arranged, and they obtained from the king an incorporation of two companies, called respectively in the patent the First and the Second Colony.[3] The suit was facilitated at court by considerations of the expediency of finding harmless employment for the numerous active spirits left at leisure by the recent peace.

Incorporation of the Virginia companies.

1606. April 10.

Both companies were to be under the supervision of a body, called the *Council of Virginia*, consisting of thirteen members, appointed from time to time by the crown, and exercising their authority agreeably to royal instructions.

[1] "Briefe Narration of the Original Undertakings," &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 50, 51.

[2] Popham had been released by Gorges when placed in his custody by Essex at the time of that nobleman's mad attempt upon London. (Hume, A. D. 1601.)

[3] The instrument is in Hazard, I. 50. In justification of this grant, it is common to say (as in Holmes, Annals, I. 122) that Raleigh's rights had been forfeited by his attainder. But Raleigh had made an assignment of them, or at least admitted others to a partnership, in 1589 (the grant is in Hazard, I. 42), and his subsequent attainder could not vacate the rights thus conveyed. It is not improbable that, in the desperate state of their affairs, all his partners and assigns may have voluntarily come into the new scheme, or have surrendered their rights under the old. Possibly, with a freedom too common in these prerogative transactions, that clause in Raleigh's patent (Hazard, I. 36) which gives a power of government to such of his assigns as should become inhabitants within six years, may have received a violent construction, such as to make it mean that the patent had conveyed no title except to such lands as should be discovered and *possessed* within that time. On that construction, the rights which Raleigh and his assigns had obtained by possession had been long lost by non-user. Virginia had been abandoned nearly twenty years.

Each colony was in like manner to be governed for the king, and agreeably to his ordinances, by a council of his appointment, residing on the spot. To the First, or London Colony, was assigned the territory of South Virginia, extending from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of north latitude, with a breadth of fifty miles inland. The Second, or Plymouth Colony, under the management of "sundry knights, gentlemen, and other adventurers, of the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and of the town of Plymouth, and of other places," was to plant in North Virginia, anywhere within the same distance from the shore, and between the thirty-eighth and the forty-fifth parallels of latitude. To prevent interference as to the territory granted to both alike, it was provided that neither company should make a settlement within a hundred miles of land previously occupied by the other. Colonists and their descendants were to have all the rights of British subjects. The companies might expel intruders, coin money, impose taxes and duties for their own use for twenty-one years, and, for seven years, import goods from other parts of the British dominions, free of duty. On the other hand, they were held to pay into the royal treasury twenty *per centum* of the products of gold and silver mines which might be discovered, and from copper mines one third of that rate. Neither the name of Gorges, nor that of Sir John Popham, appears among the patentees. Hakluyt was one of the persons incorporated in the London Company. Of the Plymouth Company, George Popham, brother of the Chief Justice, and Raleigh Gilbert, son of the earlier navigator and nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, were original associates.

A vessel despatched from Bristol by Sir John Popham made a further survey of the coast of New England, and returned with accounts which infused vigorous life into the undertaking;[1] and it was now prosecuted with eager-

[1] "Captain Prin . . . . . brings with him the most exact discovery of that

ness and liberality. But in little more than a year "all its former hopes were frozen to death." Three ships sailed from Plymouth with a hundred settlers, amply furnished, and taking two of Gorges's Indians as interpreters and guides. After a prosperous voyage they reached the mouth of the river called Sagadahoc, or Kennebec, in Maine, and on a projecting point[1] proceeded to organize their community. After prayers and a sermon, they listened to a reading of the patent and of the ordinances under which it had been decreed by the authorities at home that they should live. George Popham had been constituted their President, Raleigh Gilbert was Admiral, and Harlow, Robert Davis, Best, Scammon, James Davis, and Carew were invested respectively with the trusts of Mas-

1607. May 31.

Aug. 8. Attempted settlement on the Kennebec.

coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withal to this present, which, with his relation of the country, wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice, and us all that were his associates, that, notwithstanding our first disaster, we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect." (Gorges, Briefe Narration, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 53.) This "first disaster" was the capture by the Spanish of an exploring ship which had been sent out by Gorges, as Prin's was by Popham. In the State Paper Office, in a parcel entitled "America and West Indies, 459," there is a letter of Gorges to his captain, whose name was Chalons, in which (March 13, 1607) he advises him not to be hasty in accepting satisfaction for losses in his recent voyage (comp. Belknap, I. 349), assuring him that he will do better to wait. I understand Popham's captain to have been the navigator who had been in New England three years before. Purchas (V. 1827) and Harris (Voyages, I. 851) say that Thomas Hanham commanded Popham's vessel, and that Martin *Prinn* sailed with him. Hanham was one of the Plymouth Company, named in the patent. Later writers speak of a Captain *Prynne*. Gorges's authority is the best, though his different spelling may be thought to leave some question respecting the identity of Prin. Strachey (163) seems to have been ill informed respecting these transactions.

[1] Probably Cape Small Point, in what is now the town of Phippsburg (Folsom, Discourse, in 1846, before the Maine Historical Society, 28). "At the mouth of Sagadahoc, in a westerly peninsula," says Purchas (I. 939), who published in 1616. It has been supposed (Williamson, History of Maine, I. 198), but without sufficient evidence, that the adventurers disembarked on Stage Island, and subsequently removed to the mainland before winter. On Stage Island, in 1778, Sullivan (History of Maine, 170) saw what he thought to be ancient cellars and wells, and the remains of a fort and of chimneys of English bricks.

ter of the Ordnance, Commander of the Forces, Marshal, Secretary, Governor of the Fort, and Revenue Officer. Lilliput had its type in the stately littleness of Fort St. George.

The adventurers dug wells, and built huts. More than half of the number became discouraged, and returned with the ships to England. Forty-five remained through the winter, which proved to be very long and severe. In the midst of it their storehouse took fire, and was consumed, with great part of the provisions. And when the President sickened and died, and, presently after, a vessel despatched to them with supplies brought intelligence of the death of Sir John Popham, and of Sir John Gilbert, — the latter event calling for the presence of the Admiral, Gilbert's brother and heir, in England, — they were ready to avail themselves of the excuses thus afforded for retreating from the distasteful enterprise. All yielded to their homesickness, and embarked on board of the returning ship, taking with them a small vessel which they had built, and some furs and other products of the country. Statesmen, merchants, and soldiers had not learned the conditions of a settlement in New England.[1]

"The country was branded by the return of the plantation, as being over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by Englishmen." Still the son of the Chief Justice, "Sir Francis Popham, could not so give it over, but continued to send thither several years after, in hope of better fortunes, but found it fruitless, and was necessitated at

[1] Of Popham's colonists Sir William Alexander says (Map and Description of New England, p. 30), that they were easily discouraged, because they "went thither, being pressed to the enterprise, as endangered by the law or by their own necessities, no enforced thing proving pleasant; discontented persons suffering whileas they act, they can seldom have good success, and never satisfaction." Strachey (History of Travaile, 162–180) has a detailed journal — the only one, I suppose, in existence — of the transactions of this colony. That part which is subject to a comparison with other authorities contains some manifest inaccuracies. But they relate to transactions previous to the sailing of the fleet.

last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone." Sir Francis Popham's enterprises were merely commercial. Gorges alone, "not doubting but God would effect that which man despaired of," persevered in cherishing the project of a colony. Chance having thrown in his way a native who had been kidnapped from Martha's Vineyard, and "been shown in London for a wonder," he sent him out in a trading-vessel as another medium of communication. The savage, who, to secure his return, had told seductive stories of a gold mine which he could point out, no sooner touched the shore than he absconded, though Gorges had given strict orders that he should be closely watched, beside "clothing him with long garments fitly to be laid hold on, if occasion should require."[1]

1614. June.

The coast still remained open to the occupation of Englishmen. Henry Hudson had visited it in the service of the Dutch East India Company; but though he landed on Cape Cod, it had not detained him from his explorations in Delaware Bay and the river which bears his name. A party of French, who had intrenched themselves on Mount Desert, near the mouth of the Penobscot, had, after a few weeks' occupancy, been dislodged by Argal, Governor of Virginia, on a chance visit of his to that neighborhood.

Hudson's visit. 1609. August.

The French on the Penobscot. 1613.

Meanwhile, by strange experiences in other parts of the world, an extraordinary man had been preparing himself for co-operation with Gorges; and a movement was made towards New England not less energetic than any that has been described, though destined to scarcely better fortune. John Smith sailed from London for this coast with two ships, fitted out by some private adventurers.

Captain John Smith. 1614. April 1.

The history of Smith is of that description that its

[1] Gorges, Briefe Narration, &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 56, 60.

place would seem to be rather among the legends of a mythical age, than in the annals of the prosaic seventeenth century. He was of a good family in Lincolnshire. His father's death, when he was thirteen years old, left him competently provided for, and at the same time interrupted a plan which he had meditated. "His mind being even then set upon brave adventures," he had "sold his satchel, books, and all he had, intending secretly to get to sea." His guardians apprenticed him to a merchant, from whose service he soon found his way to France; his friends "liberally gave him, but out of his own estate, ten shillings to be rid of him."

1592.

An English neighbor fell in with him at Orleans, and furnished him with money for his journey home. But he had another use for it; and, going to Holland, he took service in the Netherlands army. After three or four years thus disposed of, he returned to Willoughby, his native place, and, "being glutted with too much company, wherein he took small delight, he retired himself into a little woodland pasture, a good way from any town, environed with many hundred acres of other woods. Here by a fair brook he built a pavilion of boughs, where only in his clothes he lay," and employed himself in studying the science of war, and practising military exercises.

His next appearance in public was in some connection, which he does not explain, with Tattersall's in London, to which establishment he was attracted by his passion for horses. "Desirous to see more of the world, and to try his fortune against the Turks," he bent his course towards the Imperial camp, which he found before the fortress of Lymbach in Hungary. On the way, he had met with various adventures. He had been robbed of all his effects by his companions on the passage to France. "In a forest, near dead with grief and cold," he had been found and relieved by a peasant. He had refilled his empty purse by a share in

Smith's adventures in Europe.

the prize-money of a rich Venetian argosy captured by the French vessel in which he had embarked from Marseilles for the Levant. He had hardly saved his life by swimming to an island, after being thrown into the Mediterranean by a company of pilgrims whom he had joined, and who attributed a storm which had overtaken them to their having received a heretic on board.

Arrived at the army, Smith speedily recommended himself by the ingenious management of a telegraph,[1] establishing a communication with the garrison which there was an endeavor to relieve. Next he invented two or three new sorts of fireworks, one of them called "fiery dragons," which did good execution. Lymbach was relieved, the Turks withdrew, and Smith was made a captain of horse.

The belligerent hosts being intrenched opposite to each other, three Turkish champions, "to delight the ladies," successively challenged some cavalier of the Christian army to mortal combat. The adventure fell by lot to Smith, who encountered them one after another, and cut off their heads. Made prisoner by a Tartar prince, with many of his countrymen, after a bloody battle, he was sold in a slave-market near Adrianople. A Pacha bought him for his mistress, "the young Charatza Tragabigzanda." Taking compassion on him, and fearing that he might be sold out of her reach, she sent him for safe-keeping to her brother in a fortress by the Black Sea. A letter bespeaking for him indulgent treatment produced the opposite effect. The Pacha suspected his sister of a tenderer sentiment than pity, and wreaked his displeasure on the captive. "He caused his drubman to strip him naked, and shave his head and beard so bare as his hand, a great ring of iron, with a long

Smith in Asia.

[1] Smith's method was hardly an invention. He was probably indebted for it to his early classical reading. It is the same as that described in the fragment of the tenth book of Polybius (cap. 43–47).

stalk bowed like a sickle, riveted about his neck, and a coat made of Ulgries hair, guarded about with a piece of an undressed skin. There were many more Christian slaves, and near an hundred *forçados* of Turks and Moors, and he, being the last, was slave of slaves to them all. Among these slavish fortunes there was no great choice; for the best was so bad, a dog could hardly have lived to endure, and yet, for all their pains and labors, no more regarded than a beast."

Smith was not a man to despair in the worst of times. Day by day he performed his task, took his beatings, made his observations, and mused on the means of escape. "All the hope he had ever to be delivered from his thraldom was only the love of Tragabigzanda." But "God beyond man's expectation or imagination helpeth his servants, when they least think of help, as it happened to him." Profiting by the opportunity of an unwitnessed interview, "he beat out the Tymor's brains with his threshing-bat, for they have no flails, and, seeing his estate could be no worse than it was, clothed himself in his clothes, hid his body under the straw, filled his knapsack with corn, shut the doors, mounted his horse, and ran into the desert at all adventure, two or three days thus fearfully wandering he knew not whither. And well it was he met not any to ask the way, being even as taking leave of this miserable world. God did direct him to the great way of Castragan, as they call it, which doth cross these large territories."

He got back among Christians, and indulged his ruling passion by long wanderings in Russia, Poland, the Austrian and other German states, France, and Spain. "Being thus satisfied with Europe and Asia, understanding of the wars in Barbary, he went from Gibraltar to Guta [Ceuta] and Tangier." Here he acted the part of only a peaceable traveller, being disinclined to take his usual stirring part in affairs, "by reason

Smith in Africa.

of the uncertainty, and the perfidious, treacherous, bloody murders, rather than war, amongst those perfidious, barbarous Moors." While his further plans were undecided, he made a visit on board of an English man-of-war in the harbor of Saffee in Morocco. Its hospitality detained him into the evening, when a storm arose, which made it necessary to slip the anchors and put to sea, and did not cease till the ship was miles away upon the Atlantic. After a short absence, enlivened by a desperate engagement with two Spanish ships of war, the vessel returned to her port, and Smith soon sailed for England.[1]

[1] The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith, Chap. I.–XX. — I presume I am not the first reader who has been haunted by incredulity respecting some of the adventures of Smith. How far we have his own authority for statements printed under his name, is a point remaining to be ascertained. I was not able to learn in England that any autograph of his is in existence. Of course this is not a decisive fact as to his having been a writer, for almost the same thing could be said of Shakespeare. But hack-writers abounded in London at the time. Smith was just such a person as, for the salableness of his narratives, would naturally fall into their hands, and into the hands of their masters, the booksellers. They would be disposed to give large room to the element of the marvellous in his stories; and how strictly they would confine themselves to his representations would partly depend on the degree of control which he could exert over them, and the degree of responsibility which he felt for the veracity of what they published. That he was not himself proof against a traveller's temptation to exaggerate, is rendered but too probable by the engravings which illustrate his books, and which it is natural to suppose must, if anything, have passed under his eye. Among their other remarkable representations, those which exhibit him as taking the kings of Pamunkee and Paspahagh prisoners with his own arm show those monarchs as taller than himself by more than a head. He seizes the giants by their long hair, which he is scarcely able to reach.

The subscriptions to some of the tracts, "J. S." and "John Smith writ this with his own hand" (General Historie of Virginia, &c., 39, 248, *et al.*), are no more likely to be his own certificate of authorship than an artifice of book-making. Nor can much more credit be claimed for such a statement as that in which Smith, or the writer who personates him, says, "We spent our time about the isles of the Azores, where, to keep my perplexed thoughts from too much meditation on my miserable estate, I writ this discourse, thinking to have sent it to you of his Majesty's Council by some ship or other." (Ibid., 224.) Dedications are more trustworthy declarations. According to the Dedication (to the Earl of Pembroke) of the "True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith," it was he himself who "compiled this true discourse," and "envy had taxed" him "to have writ too much and done too little"; and the Dedication of the "General History of Virginia, New

A fugitive slave was to be the founder of Virginia. At the time of Smith's return to his native country, the interest excited by the recent voyage of Gosnold, and by other

England, and the Summer Isles" to "the Illustrious and most noble Princess, the Lady Frances, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox," is full to the same effect.

In part the treatises brought together in Smith's volumes are professedly accounts of the voyages of other persons, related in their own words, and inserted bodily into the narrative without notice of a transition. After stating, for instance, the occasion of the voyage of Amidas and Barlow, when Smith was but five years old, he, or the compiler who represents him, presently proceeds without notice to transcribe their journal, "*We* passed by the sea-side," &c., and so to the end. (Generall Historie, 2.) The same course is pursued with Grenville's voyage the year after (Ibid., 5), and with various others. Frequently at the close of a narrative is given the name of its author, as, "Written by Mr. Ralph Lane, Governor" (Ibid., 9); "Written by Thomas Heriot, one of the Voyage" (Ibid., 12); "Written by Master John White" (Ibid., 16); "Written by John Brereton" (Ibid., 18); "Written by James Rosier" (Ibid., 20), &c. The third book of the Generall Historie, though a narrative of proceedings in which Smith was a prominent actor, and, in great part, of his personal adventures, professes (Ibid., 41) to have been compiled by "William Simons, Doctor of Divinity." The fourth book (Ibid., 105) embodies the "examinations" of the same person. The fifth book, on the Bermudas, incorporates the relations of different writers. The sixth book relates to New England, and here, appended to the narrative of Smith's own observations and transactions, is an abstract (Ibid., 231 *et seo.*) from the journals of Bradford and Winslow, as published in London in 1622, in Mourt's Relation. The progress of things in New England is recorded (Ibid., 247) in a brief sketch down to the year 1624. And a later work, "Advertizements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England," continues the narrative to 1630, the year of the emigration, under Winthrop, of "a great company of people of good rank, zeal, means, and quality."

A comparison of Smith's narrative with the authentic history of the Southeast of Europe leads to conclusions on the whole favorable to its credit. The route from Capo d'Istria on the Adriatic, by "Lubbiano" (Laybach) and "Grates" (Grätz), to Vienna, is correctly described. (True Travels, &c., Chap. III.) Smith enlisted in the regiment of Henry Volda, Count of Meldri, whom he calls a Transylvanian, and who was probably a Wallachian. Kanisa was surrendered to the Turks on the 20th of October, 1600; and, as Smith went immediately after to the army (Ibid., Chap. IV.) which was engaged in the attempt to relieve "Olumpagh" (Lymbach, on the Mur), the time of the commencement of his service is ascertained to have been early in November of that year. The time of the siege and battle of "Stowlle-Wesenburg" (Stuhl-Weissenburg) was from September 9 to October 15, 1601. Smith's description of them (Ibid., Chap. V.) is entirely accordant with history. The author says that the Earl of "Rosworme" (Russworm) found "means to surprise the *Segeth* and suburb of the city." Now the key of the position was an island under the town, on which one of its suburbs was built; and *sziget* is the Hungarian word for *island*, a fact which Smith, hearing in the camp about the importance of *sziget*, did not know. Here is a strong

causes, was taking form in the application for the patent of the Council for Virginia, and in the arrangements for American colonization which

His connection with the London Company.

indication that the narrator was an eye-witness, ignorant of the Hungarian language.

"Duke Mercury" is Philip Emanuel of Lorraine, Duc de Mercœur, who figures in French history in the time of Henry the Fourth (Sully, Mémoires, Liv. XI., XII.). After the raising of the siege of Kanisa, November 18, 1601, a perplexity occurs in the narrative. Smith, enlisted in the regiment of Meldri, is in the service of the Emperor Rudolph, king of Hungary, in a war against the Turks. But suddenly he re-appears as a soldier of Prince Sigismund Bathory of Transylvania, the enemy of the Emperor, and the ally of Turks and Tartars. Smith says (Ibid., Chap. VI.) that Meldri was sent with his regiment to Transylvania, to reinforce the imperial general, George "Busca" (Basta); but the Count, being a Transylvanian (Ibid., Cap. VII.), persuaded his troops to "assist the Prince" (Sigismund Bathory, the Emperor's enemy) "against the Turks" (with whom he was at peace), "rather than Busca" (the imperial general, Basta) "against the Prince." The truth is, that Meldri went over with his mercenaries from the Emperor to the Prince, and was made his Quartermaster-General; and, while in fact the Count was in the service of the ally and tool of the Turks against the Emperor, either Smith or his editor appears to wish to have it appear that he continued to fight the Turks, unless we prefer to think that Smith's editor merely blundered, from ignorance of the relations of the subject.

The Transylvanian names which occur in the narrative cannot be so well identified as the Hungarian. By the land of *Zarkam*, "where there were some Turks, some Tartars, but most banditoes, renegadoes, and such like," (Ibid.,) is probably to be understood the Zeckler-land, one of the three divisions of Transylvania, the Magyar-land and the Sachsenland being the others. Of the names of the three champions killed by Smith (Ibid.), only the first is Turkish. The other two sound as if Wallachian.

The subsequent events, the submission of Prince Sigismund to the Emperor, and the overthrow of Moyses Tzekely, are correctly related (Ibid., Chap. VIII.), and it is highly probable that (Ibid., Chap. X.) Basta sent the treacherous regiment against the Wallachians beyond the Carpathian range, to take their chance of being cut up or of conquering the country.

Some chronological statements raise a doubt. Count Meldri went to Transylvania in November, 1601. Prince Sigismund concluded the armistice with Basta, the Emperor's general, March 1, 1602. Thus Smith's narrative compresses the siege of Regal and the adventures in Zarkam into three or four winter months, at a period when winter campaigns were rarely undertaken. Perhaps, however, instead of the date of Sigismund's armistice, we should assume that of his formal abdication, which did not take place till the 1st of July, down to which time Tzekely, and Meldri under him, might have been making war against the loyalists, notwithstanding the truce.

There is a similar scant allowance of time for Smith's captivity and wanderings. The battle at "Rottenton" (Rothen Thurm), where, south of Hermanstadt, the capital of the Saxon-land, is the pass into Wallachia, took place November 18, 1602. In that action Smith

were presently made by the London and the Plymouth Companies. Smith, then twenty-seven years old, sailed with the first squadron despatched by the London Company, in whose service his genius and heroism won for him a name eminent in the catalogue of the founders and benefactors of states. His history for the next three years is the history of the establishment of *the Ancient Dominion.*

1606. Dec. 19.

When he came again to America, it was to a more northerly latitude. He claims to have then "brought New England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain."[1] If this is too strong

His voyage to New England.

is related to have been taken prisoner. (Ibid., Chap. XI.) On the 9th of December, 1603, he was at "Lipswick" (Lobkortz) with Prince Sigismund, who then and there (though no longer a sovereign) is said to have given him a passport, and a coat of arms (to be seen in Smith's book) which quartered the lilies of France. In this last period of less than thirteen months, he had been sold near Adrianople, and sent to Constantinople, and thence by the straits of Kertsch and Theodosia to a hold of the Tartars on the Don. After passing some time there in servitude, he had escaped, and travelled through Southern Russia, Moldavia, Transylvania, "high Hungary by Fileck [which does not lie in the way], Tooka [Tokay], Cassovia, and Unduoroway [Unter Arva], by Ulmicht [Olmütz] in Moravia, to Prague in Bohemia." (Ibid., Chap. XI., XII., XVII.) So long a journey within the time specified cannot be called impossible. But it argues marvellous despatch. Many of the names can be identified, both in Turkey and in the Crimea.

On the whole, the reader perhaps inclines to the opinion that John Smith was not the sole author of his books, but that they passed, for embellishment at least, through the hands of some craftsman, who was not perfectly possessed either of Smith's own story, or of the geography or public history to which it related.

[1] "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captain Smith, how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wild woods; how he was taken prisoner by the savages, by the king of Pamaunke tied to a tree to be shot to death, led up and down their country to be shewed for a wonder; fatted, as he thought, for a sacrifice for their Idol, before whom they conjured him three days with strange dances and invocations, then brought him before their Emperor Powhatan, that commanded him to be slain; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Jamestown, relieved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possess those large dominions; how he discovered all the several nations upon the rivers falling into the Bay of Chisapeacke; stung near to death with a most poisoned tail of a fish called stingray; how Powhatan out of his country took the kings of Pamaunke and Paspahagh prisoners, forced thirty-nine of those kings to pay him contribution, subjected all the savages;

a statement of the success of his endeavors to that end, at all events they were of extreme importance. While his ambition contemplated no less than the ultimate founding of a colony, the object of the partners with whom he had engaged for a voyage, after the relinquishment of his connection with the London patentees, was, he says, "to take whales, and also to make trials of a mine of gold and copper." In the last resort, a freight of fish and furs was relied upon to defray the expenses of the undertaking. Sailing with two ships from the Downs, he made the land at Monhegan, an island lying twenty miles southwest from the mouth of the Penobscot, and already a rendezvous for fishermen. Not meeting with success in the search for whales, Smith, with eight men in a small boat, left the ships and the rest of the party to be employed in fishing, while he ranged the neighboring coast to the southwest in quest of furs. He availed himself of the opportunity to "draw a map from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor, with the soundings, sands, rocks, and landmarks";[1] and he was the first to give to the country the name of *New England*, in the place of *North Virginia*, by which name it had hitherto been known. While he was absent on this survey, Hunt, the master of one of the vessels, kidnapped a number of the savages, whom he carried to Spain and sold as slaves.[2]

1614. March 3. April 30.

how Smith was blown up with gunpowder, and returned for England to be cured; also how he brought our new England to the subjection of the kingdom of Great Britain; his fights with the Pirates, left alone amongst a many French men of War, and his ship ran from him; his sea-fights for the French against the Spaniards; their bad usage of him; how in France in a little boat he escaped them; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himself, when thirteen French ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of Ree, the general and most of his men drowned, when God, to whom be all honor and praise, brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped; you may read at large in his general history of Virginia, the Summer Iles, and New England." (True Travels, &c., 58.)

[1] Generall Historie, 207.

[2] "One Thomas Hunt, the master of this ship (when I was gone), thinking to prevent that intent I had to make there a plantation, thereby to keep this abounding country still in obscurity, that only he and some few merchants

His later enterprises.

On his return to England, Smith was permitted to present a copy of his map and of a journal of his voyage to the king's second son, afterwards King Charles the First, who, at his solicitation, gave names, principally of English towns, to some thirty points upon the coast.[1] The map was published, with the names attached. Only those of Plymouth, Charles River, and Cape Ann have permanently adhered to the objects they were thus selected to designate. The names of Boston, Hull, Cambridge, and some others, were subsequently adopted, but in connection with different localities from those to which Prince Charles had affixed them.

August.

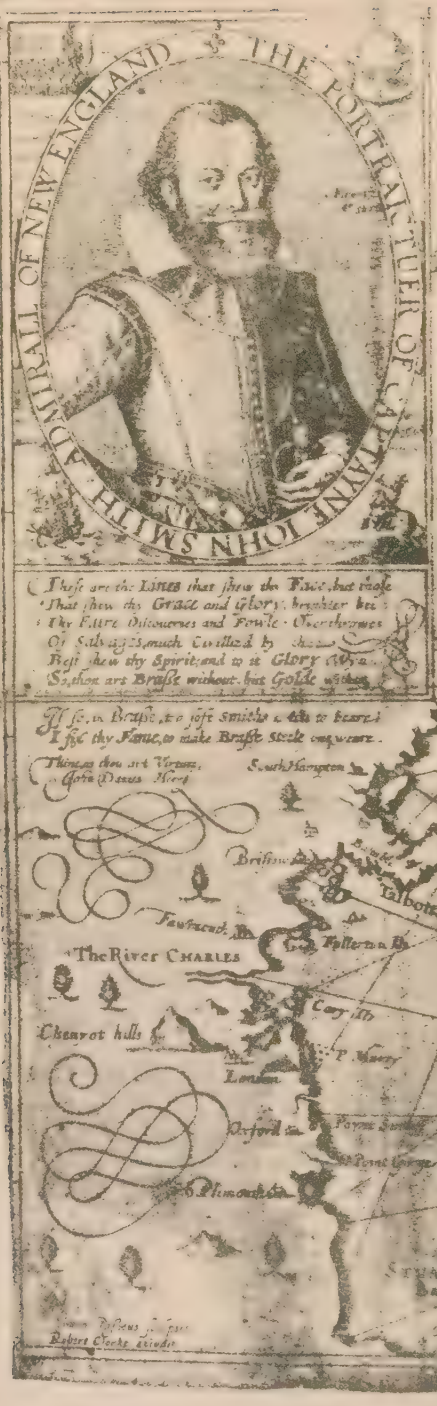
Arriving at Plymouth, Smith was immediately approached by Gorges, who engaged him in the service of the Plymouth Company. To this service, though solicited again by the London Company, he adhered, on the plea that he was pledged; a consideration which was probably enforced by his sense of the ill-treatment he had received from the latter body in respect to his proceedings in Virginia, though he generously or prudently abstained from crimination.[2]

"Much labor," he says, "I had taken to bring the Londoners and them to join together, because the Londoners have most money, and the Western men are most proper for fishing; . . . . . yet by no means I could pre-

more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade and profit of this country, betrayed four and twenty of those poor savages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly, for their kind usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gain sold those silly savages for rials of eight." (Generall Historie, 205.) According to Mourt's Relation (33), Hunt's captives were twenty from Plymouth and seven from Cape Cod.

[1] Generall Historie, 205. The accompanying map is a fac-simile, on a reduced scale, of that published by Smith in the first edition of his Description of New England (1616).

[2] "I find still my refusal incurred some of their displeasures, whose love and favor I exceedingly desired. . . . . It is their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike, for, having engaged myself in this business in the West Country, I had been very dishonest to have broken my promise, nor will I spend more time in discovery or fishing, till I may go with a company for a plantation. For I know my grounds." (Ibid., 206.)


THE PORTRAITURE OF CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH ADMIRALL OF NEW ENGLAND
These are the Lines that shew the Face, but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory, brighter bee:
Thy Future Discoueries and Fowle Ouerthrowes
Of Salvages, much Custlier by shewe
Best shew thy Spirit, and to it Glory giue,
So, thou art Brasse without, but Golde within.
If so, in Brasse, to fore Smiths a like to beare,
I fixe thy Fame, to make Brasse stocke euywhere.
Thomas Thou art Virtues,
Iohn Dauies Heire
NEW EN
The most remarkable
by the high and mighty
Prince of great Britaine
Sadlers hall
Smiths Ile
Cape Anna
Talbotts Bay
The River Charles
Cheyrot hills
Oxford
Plimouth
Cape Iames
Stuarts Bay
Barwick
Robert Vaughe Excudit

For Palfrey's

iard, 94

Photo-Lithographed by L.H. Bradford.

vail, so desirous they were both to be lords of this fishing."[1] The Plymouth Company remained embarrassed and discouraged by the ill-success of their undertaking seven years before; and it was not without "a labyrinth of trouble" that he was enabled to set sail again for New England with two ships, the one of two hundred, the other of fifty tons' burden. They had not proceeded far to sea, before they were separated in a storm. Captain Dermer, in the smaller vessel, proceeded on his voyage, but with too little force to accomplish anything beyond obtaining a freight, which he brought to England within a few months. Smith's ship was dismasted, and, returning into port, was pronounced unseaworthy. Never disheartened, he set sail again with thirty men in a bark of sixty tons, but was taken by a French squadron, and after a long cruise, in which he was made serviceable by his captors in engagements with Spaniards, was set free with empty pockets at Rochelle.

1615. March.

August.

After a series of other adventures and exploits, such as trod in each other's steps from first to last of his strange career, he made his way back to Plymouth, and prepared once more to set sail with three vessels. But adverse winds kept him in port, till other obstacles occurred, and the expedition never put to sea. He travelled about the South and West of England, distributing books and maps,[2] and endeavoring to awaken an

1617.

[1] Generall Historie, 221.

[2] Ibid., 220. "I caused two or three thousand of them to be printed, one thousand with a great many maps both of Virginia and New England." — "The coast [of New England] is yet still [1624] but even as a coast unknown and undiscovered. I have had six or seven several plots of those northern parts, so unlike each to other, or resemblance of the country, as they did me no more good than so much waste paper, though they cost me more. It may be it was not my chance to see the best." (Ibid., 207.)

I have not made diligent search for maps delineating the New-England coast, of an earlier date than that of Smith's visit to it in 1614. Maps which I have seen are of the years indicated as follows: —

1500. A copy of the map of John

interest in his darling enterprise. "A great many maps" he "presented to thirty of the chief companies in London at their halls." But "all availed no more than to

de la Cosa of this year was published by Humboldt (Examen Critique, Tome V.) from the original in the collection of the late Baron Walckenaer. It is a delineation of the eastern coast of the American continent, and exhibits not ill the chief features of the West-India Islands and the Spanish Main. An incorrect representation of a country northwest of the Azores bears the name *Mar Discubierto por Yngleses*. Such as it is, it denotes New England. It must have been derived from some draft, or perhaps only some description, of the discoveries of the Cabots.

1520. The American Antiquarian Society has Peter Apian's Map of the World bearing this date, and professing to be made after the representation of the cosmographer Ptolemy, and the explorations of Americus Vespucius and others. The equator and the parallels of southern, as well as of northern latitude, are represented by large curves, convex towards the south. North and South America are divided from each other by a strait, and North America is represented as not a tenth part as large as Africa. This map, which was published by Camers (the Italian Vellini) in his edition of Solinus, is that in which the name *America* is seen for the first time. (Le Visconte de Santarem, Recherches sur Améric Vespuce et ses Voyages, 169.)

1529. The Spanish map of Diego Ribero, published at Weimar in 1795. It exhibits the eastern coast of America, from Labrador to Cape Horn, with the portion of the western coast extending ten degrees on each side of the equator. I am indebted for a sight of it to Dr. Kohl. As to New England and the parts adjacent, which it calls the *Land of Stephen Gomez*, it records the observations of that navigator (see above, p. 65). Its *Cape of Many Islands* is probably Cape Cod. The best part of its delineation in this region is the part between that cape and Hudson River.

1554. Francisco Lopez de Gomara's "Historia General de las Indias" (Antwerp, 16mo) contains a rude chart of both coasts of South America, and of the eastern coast of North America. It is on a small scale, and inaccurate; tolerably good as to South America, of no value for New England.

1560. A map of the world published at Venice, in which the outlines of North and South America are well drawn. America, Europe, and Africa occupy the centre of the sheet; about three quarters of Asia being represented on the right side, and one quarter on the left.

1566. A Venetian map of North America, of inferior correctness and execution. The two maps last mentioned are in the British Museum.

1675. The map of the New World, published by Ortelius in this year, and repeated in the later editions of his book, exhibits no indications of improved knowledge as to New England.

1577–80. The Dutch map of J. Hondius was compiled to illustrate Drake's voyage in these years, and Cavendish's voyage in 1586–88. The Hakluyt Society republished it in 1854 with their edition of Drake's "World Encompassed." The purpose of the map did not direct attention to the delineation of North America, and no pains were bestowed upon it.

1582. Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" contains two maps; one engraved from "the forme of a Mappe sent 1527 from Sivill in Spain to Dr. Ley," ambassador from Henry the Eighth to the Spanish

hew rocks with oyster-shells."[1] The suspense attending the fruitless solicitation, he says, "was to me a greater toil and torment, than to have been in New England about my business with bread and water, and what I could get there by my labor; but in conclusion, seeing nothing would be effected, I was contented as well with this loss of time and charge as all the rest."[2]

court. It has in the northwestern corner an outline of a coast, drawn by mere guess, with the note, "Terra hæc ab Anglis primum fuit inventa." The other, dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney by Michael Lok, of London, was partly made up from "an old excellent mappe" given by Verazzano to Henry the Eighth, and in the year of Hakluyt's publication was "in the custody of Master Locke." An island on it, called *Norumbega*, corresponds to New England, but the resemblance is very faint.

1587. Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr's book "De Orbe Novo" (Paris) contains a map of North and South America of singular beauty and finish of execution, and of remarkable correctness for the smallness of the scale. There are two copies of the book in the British Museum. The map is in the copy belonging to the Grenville Collection. A note in Mr. Grenville's handwriting is, "I should not know where to find another copy of the map."

1589. The edition of Hakluyt's Navigations, &c. of this year contains a map, very well executed, of the western and southern coasts of the old continent, of South America, of the eastern coast of North America, and of the western coast as far as the latitude of 50 degrees. In respect to the part comprehending what is now the United States, it is less correct than some earlier delineations.

I know of no map, including New England, published between 1589 and 1612, when L'Escarbot illustrated his History with a delineation of New France. In 1613, Champlain prefixed another to his "Voyages." Both are on a small scale, and indicate a very rude knowledge of the geography of the region. The map published by Hondius, also in 1613, in his edition of Mercator's Atlas, is scarcely anything more than a copy of that of Ortelius. Smith's map excels in correctness anything of the kind of earlier date.

[1] Advertizements, &c., 25.

[2] Generall Historie, 230. — Smith finds a place for taste and sentiment, as well as for love of profit, among the motives with which he plies his readers. "Here nature and liberty affords us that freely which in England we want, or it costeth us dearly. What pleasure can be more than, being tired with any occasion ashore, in the planting vines, fruits, or herbs, in contriving their own grounds to the pleasure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ships, and other works, &c., to recreate themselves before their own doors in their own boats upon the sea? . . . . . What sport doth yield a more pleasing content than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea, wherein the most curious may find profit, pleasure, and content?" (Ibid., 219.) — In the State Paper Office ("America and West Indies," 441) is a MS. copy of a letter, of twelve pages, from John Smith to Lord Bacon, which has not been published, so far as I know. According to a memorandum upon it,

Several years more passed before his death; but it does not appear that his designs respecting New England were ever renewed, though his later publications, after he learned that "some hundreds of Brownists" had gone "to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignorances caused them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery, with an infinite patience,"[1] show his affection to it to have been still alive. Smith valued himself on being "not so simple to think that ever any other motive than wealth will ever erect there a commonwealth, or draw company from their ease and humors at home, to stay in New England."[2] In this case, more simplicity proved to be superior wisdom. No trading adventurers were so capable and resolute as to be able to plant that soil.

1631. June 21.

"Under color of fishing and trade," the indefatigable Gorges sent out Richard Vines with a party, to make observations on the country, and cultivate acquaintance with the natives, while the ship's company should be engaged in collecting a cargo. Vines remained with his companions at a camp on the river Saco, through a winter.[3] One important piece of intelligence was the fruit of his expedition. A great part of New England was almost depopulated by war and

Vines at Saco. 1616–17.

it was "written in 1618." Annexed to it, in double columns, is the list of Indian and English names of places in New England, which had been printed in the "Description of New England." It sets forth the flattering prospects of that country, and solicits Lord Bacon's approval. "Truth is more than wealth, and industrious subjects are more available to a king than gold." "Had I but the patronage of so mature a judgment as your Honor's, it would not only induce those to believe what I know to be true in this matter, who will now hardly vouchsafe the perusal of my relations, but also be a means to further it to the utmost of their power with their purses. And I shall be ready to spend both life and goods for the honor of my country and your Lordship's service, with which resolution I do in all humility rest, at your Honor's service," &c.

[1] True Travels, &c., 46.

[2] Generall Historie, &c., 219.

[3] I suppose the first winter of Vines's residence in Maine to have been that of 1616–17; yet it is singular that Gorges (Briefe Narration, Chap. X.) places the account before that of transactions of 1614 and 1615. (Comp. Chap. XII., XIII.)

pestilence. "The country was in a manner left void of inhabitants." It was afterwards found that the plague had swept from Penobscot River to Narragansett Bay.[1]

"This course," says Gorges, "I held some years together, but nothing to my private profit; for what I got one way I spent another; so that I began to grow weary of that business, as not for my turn till better times."[2] He did not weary of it, however, but continued to watch for opportunities of better promise. Rocraft, the commander of one of his expeditions, disobeying his orders, went to Virginia, where he was killed in a brawl, and his vessel was shipwrecked. The voyage of Dermer, Smith's former associate, who was to have joined Rocraft, was scarcely more prosperous. It has an interest from the fact that, returning from Virginia, whither he had sailed along the coast from the Kennebec, he traversed part of the country not long after to be occupied by the Colony of Plymouth. He was at Nauset on Cape Cod,[3] where he had an encounter with the natives; at Namasket, now Middleborough, where he met the two chiefs of the Pokanoket tribe, afterwards well known to the Plymouth colonists; and at the spot which he recognized as "that place from whence Squanto, or Tisquantum, was taken away, which in Captain Smith's map is called Plymouth," and at which Dermer wished "that the first plantation might be seated,

1619.

Dermer at Plymouth. 1620. June.

[1] What was the nature of this frightful epidemic has never been ascertained. It has been thought to have been the yellow fever; but this opinion is not approved by the medical science of the present time. Gookin, who wrote in 1674, and who places the sickness in 1613 or 1614, says (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 148), "I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths, who say that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow (describing it by a yellow garment they showed me), both before they died and afterwards." It was reasonably thought extraordinary at the time, that none of Vines's company, living in the midst of the sickness, were attacked by it.

[2] Briefe Narration, &c., Chap. X.

[3] The name *Capę Cod* is equivocal, being used for the whole peninsula, sixty miles long, as well as for the headland in which it terminates.

if there came to the number of fifty persons or upward."[1] The expression of his hope preceded its fulfilment by only five months. Dermer noticed the ravages of the recent pestilence. "I passed along the coast, where I found some ancient plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void." He was severely wounded in a skirmish with the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, and soon afterwards died in Virginia.[2]

[1] Letter of Dermer, of June 30, 1620, in Deane's Bradford, 96.

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, &c., Chap. XV.

CHAPTER III.

A RELIGIOUS impulse accomplished what commercial enterprise, sustained by money and court favor, had attempted without success. Civilized New England is the child of English Puritanism.

The spirit of Puritanism was no creation of the sixteenth century. It is as old as the truth and manliness of England. Among the thoughtful and earnest islanders the dramatic religion of the Popes had never struck so deep root as in Continental soil.[1] They had been coerced into unquestioning conformity as often as the state of public affairs had made it necessary for the Crown to court the Church; but the government of princes strong in the goodness of their title and in the popular regard had often been illustrated by manifestations of discontent with the spiritual despotism which had overspread Western Europe.

Free spirit of the early English Church.

A succession of Saxon versions of the Bible, from almost the beginning of the Heptarchy to the Norman Conquest, attests the demand of the times for Scriptural knowledge; and, in the Anglo-Saxon ritual of the Mass, the Gospel and the Epistle were read in the vernacular tongue.[2] Under the early princes of the

[1] Hume describes England as "the kingdom which of all others had long been the most devoted to the Holy See." (History, Chap. XXX., A. D. 1532.) But his "long" must be interpreted of the time which began with the Lancastrian dynasty. Elsewhere he says, that "the ancient and almost uninterrupted opposition of interest between the laity and clergy in England, and between the English clergy and the court of Rome, had sufficiently prepared the nation for a breach with the Sovereign Pontiff." (Chap. XXXI., A. D. 1534.)

[2] Lingard, Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, Chap. VI. § 2.—Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, Book X. Chap. III.

Norman line, the Church, as the natural ally of the people against their lords, easily conciliated the popular sentiment to an acquiescence in its claims. But, on the other hand, the occasional contumacy of the kings in their relations to the papal power laid up a lesson for the people's use in later times; while cases were not wanting in which English ecclesiastics themselves, on questions of the privileges of their order, were found practising a doubtful submission to the successor of St. Peter.[1] William the Conqueror had come near to a quarrel with the Holy
1076. See, when he forbade his bishops to obey its citation to Rome, and required spiritual causes to be tried in the hundred or the county courts. With the right on his side and the good wishes of his people, Henry the Second appeared to have a fair prospect of ultimate success in his struggle with the clergy, when he lost his
1170. advantage by the murder of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The progress made by the lay judges, in the time of the rash but feeble Henry the Third, in narrowing the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals, emboldened the spirit of the people, while it extended their legal securities. The barons of Edward
1301. the First had no scruples as to repelling, in the most positive language, the claim of supremacy set up at Rome in the dispute about the crown of Scotland;[2] and his *Statute of Mortmain* was an efficient measure of protection against priestly and monkish cupidity.

National revolutions, religious or political, are never sudden. When they appear to have been so, it is because the agencies that had been preparing them have been at work, where they are most powerful, beneath the surface.

[1] The larger and better portion of the clergy had wives in the reign of Henry the First, and this with the monarch's approval. (Lyttelton, History of the Life of King Henry the Second, III. 42, 328.) There were married priests in England as late as the fifteenth century. (Wilkins, Concilia, III. 277.)

[2] Rymer, Fœdera, II. 873.

A mine does swifter execution than a battery, and takes more time to construct. The English mind, in the first three centuries after the Norman Conquest, was not eminently apt for speculation of any sort; but it had had some training to practical wisdom, and its constitutional love of reality and right had not been broken down. The movement connected in history with the name of Wickliffe had its origin in the reflections and resentments of earlier times. The scandal and discontent occasioned by priestly and monastic licentiousness and arrogance had naturally been aggravated by the jealousy felt by Englishmen of Continental interlopers. A palpable cause of offence was supplied when it was known that year by year immense sums were drawn from England into the coffers of Italian ecclesiastics.[1] The local clergy, who bore a large share of the burden, themselves sympathized in the disaffection. The rough hand of Edward the First redressed some of the existing abuses. The hostility to church usurpation excited by his courageous policy was strong enough to live through the distractions which followed in the reign of his son. And the spirit of the nation had been raised to its highest tone by the victories of Edward the Third in France, when Wickliffe came forward to direct against the false doctrine of the Church of Rome the indignation which had been provoked by its rapacious and domineering practice. The circumstances and sentiments of the time secured him a hearing. Rather, the time had educated him to utter its own voice.

Discontent with ecclesiastical abuses.

Wickliffe.

With all his energy and talent, Wickliffe, like Cranmer in later times, was not more the leader than the follower of the king, court, and people, in the movement which is called by his name. He was still an obscure young scholar at Oxford when the famous *Statute of Provisors* asserted for the English Church, in an

1351.

[1] Matthew Paris, Historia, I. 666 – 668, 698 – 702.

important particular, independence of the see of Rome.[1] He was known only for the courage with which he had conducted a local controversy with some monks, when, on a demand from the Pope for an annual tribute which had been promised by King John, the Lords and Commons in Parliament, in the fortieth year of Edward the Third, unanimously disallowed the claim, and pledged to the monarch the resources of the nation "to resist and withstand, to the utmost of their power."[2] A tract published by Wickliffe on the question, while it presently made him famous, had its influence on his subsequent career. Like Luther afterwards, by increasing opposition he was impelled to extended inquiries, and by these to new discoveries and convictions. Determined by political considerations, the favor of the court harmonized with that good-will of the people which is sometimes won by a bold assault upon social wrong; and Wickliffe went on for ten years in a course of study and of controversy, which brought him with each succeeding year to a wider departure from the orthodox standard. He asserted the sufficiency of the Scriptures as a rule of faith. He denied the Pope's supremacy, the real presence in the eucharist, the validity of absolution and indulgences, and the merit of penance and monastic vows. He protested against the ecclesiastical ceremonies, festival days, prayers to saints, and auricular confession. Finally, he denounced the canonical distinction between priests and bishops, and the use of set forms of prayer.

1366.

Wickliffe had found an effectual security in the friendship of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who, in his father's declining years, had administered the kingdom. With the fall of that prince from power at the accession of his young nephew, the Reformer was thrown more upon the protection of the people, the native clergy, and the Parliament; a defence which did not fail him, though

[1] Parliamentary History of England, I. 118. [2] Ibid., 130.

his occasional timidity gave painful indications that he did not properly confide in its steadiness. The House of Commons, by a large majority, threw out a bill to suppress his translation of the Bible.[1] The University of Oxford sustained him in his refusal to appear before the primate to answer to a charge of heresy. A bill which had passed the Lords, requiring sheriffs to execute process issued by the bishops against heretics, was lost in the Lower House. And a yet more significant step was taken, when, unwillingly yielding to a petition from the Commons. King Richard revoked the licenses which, on the failure of the proposed law, he had granted to the bishops for the same purpose. 1382.

Meanwhile, Wickliffe's numerous writings, many of them in the English tongue, circulated everywhere, and were read with avidity by all sorts of people.[2] There was no doubt of the tendency of opinion in England towards religious reform. Nor was its leader even now without support from the most exalted personages. Among his friends, if not thoroughly his disciples, were the queen, and the king's mother, widow of the Black Prince. The recent Great Schism in the Church, occasioned by the disputed papal election, had already been not without effect in weakening the Church's hold on the reverence of the faithful. There had begun to be an English literature, and it was on Wickliffe's side. Piers Ploughman's *Vision*, *Tale*, and *Crede* are full of satire on the super-

1 "The whole Bible was long before his [Wickliffe's] days by virtuous and well learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read." (Sir Thomas More, Dialogues concerning Heresyes, &c., Book III. Chap. IV.) Some English versions of the Psalms made before Wickliffe's time are still preserved in manuscript. (Wickliffe's Bible, edit. Oxford, 1850, Preface, iii.–vi.)

2 "As a writer of those times tells us, when you met two persons upon the road, you might be sure that one of them was a Lollard." (Gilpin, Life of John Wickliffe, p. 54.) The *ifs* of history are insoluble; but it seems as if, had the life of Edward the Third been prolonged, or had his eldest son survived to come to the throne, the English Reformation might have had an earlier date, and have proceeded more wisely and more radically.

stitions of the Church and the lives of the clergy.[1] Chaucer, courtier as he was, is believed to have been Wickliffe's personal friend. Nothing could have better served the Reformer's purpose than that free dealing of the poet with the Church, the clergy, and the friars, which at the same time indicated and influenced the direction of the cultivated intelligence of England.[2]

Through many dangers and some shifts, Wickliffe reached the peaceful end of a life of sixty years. The chord which he had not struck alone, but only with an eminently cunning hand, did not cease to vibrate when his touch was withdrawn. It was nine years after his death when the *Statute of Præmunire* prohibited under heavy penalties the bringing of papal bulls into the kingdom for the translation of bishops and for other specified purposes.

1384.

1393.

Religious policy of the Lancastrian kings.

The influence of the court took a different direction, when the unsteady throne of an unlineal house required to be propped by the spiritual power. At his accession, Henry the Fourth thought it prudent to make proclamation that he would protect the ecclesiastical unity and purity against the Lollards; and one of the first acts of his legislation, visiting heresy with severe penalties, testified the variance in

1403.

[1] A passage in the Vision (vv. 6217–6263) is a sort of prophecy of the Reformation.

[2] Chaucer's treatment of this subject may be one feature of his imitation of his masters, the Trouvères. But it cannot the less be regarded as a reflection of a style of thought of those Englishmen for whom he wrote. The reader who is curious to know how the poets dealt with the clergy in those days will do well to look also at the Latin poems of Walter Mapes of the twelfth century, and at Wright's Political Songs, published, as were Mapes's poems, by the Camden Society. Two of these songs, in Latin, (pp. 27 and 44,) belonging to the beginning of the thirteenth century, a song in Norman French (p. 137) of a little later period, and a poem (p. 323) "on the evil times of Edward II.," written in the beginning of the reign of his son, may be referred to as characteristic specimens. Of the collection of poems attributed to Mapes, the editor says (xxi.), "They are not the expressions of hostility of one man against an order of monks, but of the indignant patriotism of a considerable portion of the English nation against the encroachments of ecclesiastical and civil tyranny."

his opinions, or in his politics, from those of his father.[1] In the following reign, Lord Cobham forfeited his high favor at court by avowing in the royal presence his conviction that the Pope was "the great Antichrist foretold in Holy Writ," and ultimately paid the price of his heroism at the stake.[2] In the infancy of the "meek usurper" who next succeeded, an idle vengeance was taken by the burning of the great Reformer's bones. But it was not without strenuous opposition from a watchful House of Commons that any one of the three Lancastrian Henrys, father, son, and grandson, studied to win ecclesiastical support by encroachments on the liberties of Englishmen.

The period of the Wars of the Roses was too much agitated with military violence and political vicissitudes to permit questions of religion to retain their recent prominence in the public view. But the Church did not fail to derive advantage from a perilous juncture of affairs which tempted both parties to court its favor; and the crafty prince who inaugurated the new dynasty took care not to hazard the displeasure of the priest on whose bull he relied to heal his defective title. Meanwhile the seed planted in earlier times had not perished, but shot firm root in a congenial soil; and when the self-will of Henry the Eighth dictated the secession from Rome, the movement was sanctified and secured by an honest religious sense widely diffused among his subjects.

The reformation from Popery in England would not

[1] This act provided that, upon sentence against heretics by the bishop or his commissary, the mayors, sheriffs, or bailiffs should "in some high place burn them to death before the people." This was the first law for burning in England. There is much doubt, however, whether it ever had the assent of the Commons.

[2] "We cannot but consider Lord Cobham as having had a principal hand in giving stability to the opinions he embraced. He showed the world that religion was not merely calculated for a cloister, but might be introduced into fashionable life; that it was not below a gentleman to run the last hazard in its defence." (Gilpin, Life of Lord Cobham, p. 153.)

be properly described as the work of the king and court. What that resolute monarch might have done in the face of obstacles greater than actually confronted him, it would be bootless to inquire. But the principle of more considerable changes than those which took place under his auspices had long been germinating. Nothing came to the birth in the sixteenth century that had not lain in embryo, in Wickliffe's time, under the common heart of England.[1]

The reformation from Popery.

When, after the convulsions which swept the house of Tudor to the throne, affairs had settled into their former channel, the Commons moved sooner than the king. When the second monarch of that line wrote the book against Luther which earned for the sovereigns of England the title of "Defender of the Faith," his immediate aim was the security of his own subjects against the spreading heresy to which he saw them earnestly inclined. Eight years later, when the impediments thrown by Rome in the way of his divorce had prepared him for a different policy, the action of Parliament in passing several bills unfriendly to the clergy[2] indicated the temper on which he could rely in that quarter, should he resolve to pursue his quarrel with the Pope; and an enactment which cut off a large source of supply to the Papal treasury from the English Church, and commanded disregard of any censures with which the Pontiff might resent that measure, afforded further proof of the determined spirit which had been aroused. Parliament readily seconded, or anticipated, the king's wishes in prohibiting appeals to Rome in cases belonging to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts; in subjecting monasteries to his visitation; in providing for the appointment and

1530.

1532.

1533.

1534.

[1] That important work, Froude's "History of England from the Fall of Wolsey," &c., published since this chapter was written, luminously exhibits (Chap. VI.) the state of religious sentiment in England before the Reformation.

[2] Parliamentary History, I. 507.

institution of bishops without the Papal sanction;[1] and in other measures of similar import and of equal boldness. The clergy generally were not behind the rest of the people in zeal for these reforms. And when allegiance to Rome was sundered by the act of Parliament which declared the sovereign of England to be the head of her Church, the popular sympathy and approval sustained that momentous measure.

In looking back upon these events, it is unavoidable to see that, in the public sentiment which preceded, accompanied, and was stimulated by the emancipation from the authority of Rome, one great element was the desire to become acquainted with, and to be directed by, the sincere truth of the Gospel. But it is no matter of surprise, if the politicians about the throne neither strongly sympathized with this desire, nor knew how to estimate its force. For one who regarded the passing change from the point of view of Cranmer, the king's most trusted counsellor, the policy of that eminent prelate was not dishonest. To conciliate all sorts of men to the new order of things was a reasonable and a rightful aim; and if he erred in overrating the continued influence of the Romish Church on the public mind, and the consequent importance of obtaining favor by as large concessions to the Romish doctrine and ritual as would be consistent with the practical reforms accounted indispensable, the error was a natural incident of the prejudices of a churchman's education. At all events, relief from the control and the exactions of the Papal See was substantially all that was obtained, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, in the way of religious reformation.

In the last years of that reign, the reformation receded rather than stood still; but the severity of the laws found necessary to keep it in check shows the restlessness and wide diffusion of the impatience for further reform.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 524–527.

A royal edict, registered by the Convocation, declared
1536. the real presence in the consecrated elements, and the obligation of penance, of auricular confession, of the invocation of saints, of the use of images, and of the ecclesiastical vestments and observances in
1540. general. The *Statute of the Six Articles* condemned to forfeiture of estate, and to death by burning, whosoever should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation; and denounced imprisonment and confiscation for the first offence, and death for the second, against such as should "in word or writing speak against" the celibacy of the clergy, the communion in one kind, vows of chastity, private masses, or auricular confession.[1] A
1544. later law forbade the using or keeping, in the king's dominions, of the Scriptures in Tindal's recent translation, and of "all other books contrary to the doctrine set forth" in a Body of Divinity published by royal authority under the title of "The Erudition of a Christian Man."[2] "All spiritual persons who preached or taught contrary to the doctrine set forth in that book," were for the first offence to be permitted to recant; for the second, they were to bear a fagot; and for the third, to be burned.[3]

Nor was it left doubtful whether the brutal king meant to execute his heinous threats. A gentleman named Bainham, accused of Lutheran opinions, after being scourged and put to the rack under the eye of Sir Thomas More, was burned at Smithfield. Bilney, a priest, expiated the same offence by the same fate. Three hurdles conveyed to the place of execution each a Catholic and a Protestant, the former to be hanged for adherence to the supremacy

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 538–540. — Burnet, History of the Reformation, I. 259, edit. 1681. — Cranmer was at first strongly opposed to this ferocious measure. (Ibid., 265.)

[2] This was a fruit of the labors of "a select number" of clergymen, acting "by virtue of a commission from the king confirmed in Parliament." (Ibid., 286.)

[3] Ibid., 322. Parliamentary History, I. 557.

of Rome, the latter to be burned for dissent from its doctrines. The second year preceding the death of Henry, Ann Askew suffered at the stake for a denial of transubstantiation.

The strong tendency of thought in England towards a reformed religion, embarrassed as it was in its natural progress, had still been materially developed by the events of this reign. Whatever had been left undone or adversely done, emancipation from the Papal sway had been attained. The accession of Edward the Sixth opened a brighter prospect. Guided by those calculations which, under the most absolute governments, politicians never fail to make of the direction of the popular sentiment, and assured by their reliance on the devout Protestant inclinations of the child in whose name they ruled, the Duke of Somerset and his coadjutors proceeded confidently with a different work from any in the contemplation of the late monarch; and under their better auspices the reformation became too strong to be overcome by the stakes and scaffolds of the one, or the corrupting state caresses of the other, of the next two following reigns.

Progress of the reformation in the reign of Edward the Sixth.

1547.

The thunder of the *Six Articles* was permitted to die away. Prisoners for heresy were set at liberty, and fugitives were allowed to return from the Continent. Church images were destroyed. Preaching, which had fallen much into disuse, was revived. The Bible in English was placed in every church. Before the close of the new king's first year, bills were passed directing the dispensation of both elements of the eucharist to the laity, and repealing the penal laws against the Lollards and the Statute of the Six Articles. Soon followed the important step of providing for the uniformity of public worship by requiring all ministers to use the liturgy which had been prepared under the superintendence of Cranmer, the same substan-

Nov. 17.

Dec. 16.

1552. April.

tially which guides the devotions of the Church of England at the present day.[1] Altars, incense, candles, and holy water were condemned, as instruments of a superstitious worship. The use of the ecclesiastical habit — the rochet, the cape, and the surplice — was still required.

Question of clerical costume.

The conflicts of great principles have often taken their shape from seemingly trivial occasions. The question respecting clerical costume, destined to dismember the Protestant Church of England, came forward into prominent importance during this reign. The advocates of uniformity in sacred habiliments maintained that it contributed to the seemliness and decency of public worship; that unnecessary departures from the practice of the Romish Church were inexpedient, as giving needless displeasure to its friends; and that only a factious temper, which deserved no indulgence, could oppose the will of rulers in respect to a matter so indifferent. On the other hand, it was contended that in the popular mind the clerical habit was intimately associated with the idolatry of Rome; that it was represented by the priests, and believed by their dupes, to be essential to the efficacy of the public prayers and ordinances; that it was part and parcel of the mischievous machinery of the mass; and that a Christian minister owed it to the simplicity and godly sincerity which became his vocation to abstain from all that might implicate him as a sharer in such imposture. John Hooper, appointed Bishop of Gloucester, resolved to decline the promotion sooner than submit to the dishonor of clothing himself in the episcopal robes. His abilities and popularity were such that the episcopate could ill spare him. The young king would have had him indulged; but the pertinacity of Cranmer and Ridley was not to be overcome. They plied their impracticable brother with argument. They put him in gaol. At length, by alternate

1550.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 593, 594.

severity and persuasion, he was induced so far to abate his scruples as to consent to wear the habit of his order at his consecration, and once afterwards in preaching at court. This done, he put it on no more. And his example was presently followed with impunity by some bishops, and by numbers of other clergymen.

The course of a man like Hooper, taken with such deliberation, is not hastily to be set down as irrational, even had it not been, as it was, pertinaciously defended and followed by thousands of calm and single-hearted men in his own and in later times. The association which in their minds connected a dress with a principle or sentiment has become faint.[1] The vital point of honor and conscience that belonged to it now attaches to other things. But it is impossible correctly to judge the obligations and necessities of one age by the circumstances and views of another. Undoubtedly honest minds might determine differently the question which was soon to divide the state Church and the Non-conformists. But as certainly the doctrine of the Puritans concerning the connection and mutual influences between forms and opinions, so far

[1] A sentiment determined their course, more cogent than all the learned argument they expended on its defence. A man of honor will not be bribed to display himself in a fool's cap; — yet why not in a fool's cap as soon as in any apparel associated in his mind, and in the minds of those whom he respects, with the shame of mummery and falsehood? To these men the cape and surplice were the livery of Rome. They would not put on the uniform of that hated power, while they were marshalling an array of battle against its ranks. An officer, French, American, or English, would be outraged by the proposal to be seen in the garb of a foreign service. The wearers respectively of the white and of the tricolor cockades would sooner have received each others' swords into their bosoms than have exchanged their decorations. A national flag is a few square yards of coarse bunting; but associations invest it, which touch whatever is strongest and deepest in a nation's character. Its presence commands a homage as reverential as that which salutes an Indian idol, and torrents of blood of brave men have age after age been poured out to save it from affront. The putting off of the surplice was as much the fruit and the sign of the great reality of a religious revolution, as a political revolution was betokened and effected when the cross of St. George came down from over the fortresses along fifteen degrees of the North American coast.

from being fanciful or fastidious, had foundations as deep as anything in moral truth or in human nature. Indeed, it did but recognize that very principle of intellectual association on which the rulers of the Church had proceeded in introducing the occasion of the dispute.

On the one side in this contest were statesmen desiring first and mainly the order and quiet of the realm. On the other side were religious men desirous that, at all hazards, God might be worshipped in purity, and served with simplicity and zeal. It is easy to understand the perplexities and alarms of the former class, but the persistency of their opponents is not therefore to be accounted whimsical and perverse. It is impossible to blame them for saying: "If a man believes marriage to be a sacrament in the sense of the popes and councils, let him symbolize it by the giving of a ring; if he believes in exorcism by the signing of the cross, let him have it impressed on his infant's brow in baptism; if he believes the bread of the eucharist to be God, let him go down on his knees before it. But we believe nothing of the kind, and, as honest men, we will not profess so to believe by act or sign any more than by word." Theirs was no struggle against the Church, but against the State's control over it. The State proved, for the time, too strong for those who truly represented the Church's will. In the next century their turn of transient victory came. In the revolutions of thought which have followed each other, the ancient ensigns and emblems have well-nigh lost the significance which enabled them to stimulate a stubborn contest; and now we are tempted to wonder at a pertinacity which in its time was as considerate as it was inflexible.

Accession of Queen Mary.

The arrangement by which the Princess Mary succeeded to the throne, involved a singular mixture of the popular and the despotic elements of authority. Irrespective of the question concerning her legiti-

macy, which the fluctuating decisions of the tribunals had rendered practically insoluble as a question of law, her title was founded on the testamentary settlement of her father, which settlement he had been empowered by act of Parliament to make. Henry the Eighth had bequeathed his kingdom as if it had been personal property, but the Peers and Commons had consented that he should so bequeath it; if, on the one hand, there was an amazing departure on the side of prerogative from the principle of hereditary right, there was a no less striking deflection from it, on the other, towards the notion of a discretion vested in the Estates in respect to the succession of the crown. Edward had no such sanction for the settlement by which, in his will, he gave the monarchy of England to Lady Jane Grey. If, with the existing feelings of Englishmen respecting the indefeasible character of the royal dignity, the young legatee had had any chance of being established on the throne, it was forfeited by the extreme unpopularity of the Duke of Northumberland, her champion. To add to the complications of the time, the regard entertained in the Protestant circles for Ann Boleyn, and now transferred to her daughter, Elizabeth, prevented a concentration of the Protestant interest in support of Lady Jane; for the settlement of Edward, which set aside the claims of the Princess Mary, disposed in the same manner of those of his younger sister, whom, had it taken effect, it would have placed for ever out of the line of succession.

Mary promised the Suffolk malecontents, who were mustering for resistance, that she would "make no alteration in religion." When her prospect brightened, 1553. Aug. 12. she still assured the Council, that, "though her conscience was settled in matters of religion, yet she was resolved not to compel others but by the preaching of the word." Under these circumstances, there seemed no course open to her Protestant subjects but to submit

themselves to her government, and hope the best from her indulgence and her integrity. When such hopes were dolefully frustrated, the time of oppression was not long enough to admit of organizing the means of redress. The disastrous failure of the ill-concerted and ill-conducted insurrection in Kent helped to establish the queen's authority. Some time was necessary to discover that no mercy was to be expected at her hands. Her marriage soon followed her accession; and when it became probable that she would be childless, the hope of a better order of things, naturally becoming identified with the hope of the succession of Elizabeth, many years her junior, repressed the idea of obtaining relief by any hazardous proceedings. An easy or terrified Parliament rescinded at a single blow all the laws respecting religion which had been passed in the last reign.[1] The history of Protestantism in England under Queen Mary is the history of the sufferings of its confessors. Nearly three hundred persons, among them five bishops, were burned; imprisonments and confiscations followed one upon another; numbers of dissentients sought safety in exile, and those who remained at home were reduced to silence. Members of the Lower House were fined for absenting themselves from Parliament, where they could not with good conscience promote the policy of the court, and could not with safety oppose it. At length this shocking misrule, having lasted more than five years, was brought to an end by Queen Mary's death.

Her hard treatment of Protestants.

1554. July 7.

November.

1558. Nov. 17.

The accession of the younger daughter of Henry the Eighth revived the policy of that monarch, with some modifications, due less to any difference in the character of the new sovereign than to the altered condition of the times. The temper of Elizabeth was as absolute as her father's, and she had, on the most

Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 609, 610.

favorable estimate, a scarcely better sense of religious considerations as overruling those of politics. But England was no longer protected, as in Henry's time, by friendly relations with the Continental powers. The most important of those relations which lately subsisted had been just severed by the death of the queen at once of England and of Spain, and England had but herself to rely upon in a critical conjuncture of affairs. The Protestant interest in that country had been acquiring strength, by reason both of the natural progress of the sentiment of reform, and of disgust at the cruelties of the late reign. And the queen's maternal parentage and early associations implied influences neutralizing those influences of personal temperament which inclined her to the pageantry and despotism of Rome.

Her long reign began with the restitution of the Protestant order of things by a re-enactment of the laws concerning religion which had been passed in her brother's time. Presently followed the two memorable statutes denominated the *Act of Supremacy* and the *Act of Uniformity*; — the former requiring of ecclesiastics and official laymen an oath of renunciation of the authority, whether temporal or spiritual, of any foreign priest or prelate, and of recognition of the sovereign's "supremacy in all causes ecclesiastical and civil"; the latter forbidding all ministers to conduct public worship otherwise than according to the rubric, under the penalty of imprisonment for life for a third offence.

Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity. 1559. May.

Besides those Catholics who were punished by imprisonment and forfeiture of estates, two hundred suffered death for their religion in this reign. Still the queen's sympathies were to a great extent with the professors of the old faith, and her resentments the strongest against those of her subjects who desired to subject it to the most thorough reform. She had an altar, with tapers and a crucifix, set up in her private chapel;

The queen's sympathies with Romanism.

she said prayers to the Virgin; she censured a preacher for denying the real presence; and she lost no opportunity to express her displeasure at marriages of the clergy.

At different places on the Continent, to which fugitives from the persecution of Mary had withdrawn, particularly at Frankfort on the Maine, where Cox, afterwards Bishop of Ely, and John Knox, were the opposing champions, there had been a vehement discussion of the questions which divided such as were content with an establishment of religion like that of Henry the Eighth, from others who desired further reforms, and leaned to the simplicity of the institutions of Calvin. The dispute was transferred to England on the return of the exiles to their country after the accession of Elizabeth. The Puritans, as they had come to be called, resisted the impositions of the rubric as to the use of the cross in baptism, of the ring in marriage, of the kneeling posture at the communion, and especially of the ecclesiastical vestments. The clergymen eminent for character, ability, and learning were almost unanimously opposed to these observances,[1] which accordingly seemed going fast into disuse, the neglect of them by officiating ministers being connived at by the rulers of the Church. A proposal for their formal abolition was lost in the Lower House of Convocation by a majority of only one in a hundred and seventeen votes, — a majority determined by the proxies of clergymen who had not heard the debate.

1563.

1 "Except Archbishop Parker ..... and Cox, Bishop of Ely, ... all the most eminent churchmen, such as Jewell, Grindal, Sandys, Nowell, were in favor of leaving off the surplice, and what were called the Popish ceremonies. Whether their objections are to be deemed narrow and frivolous or otherwise, it is inconsistent with veracity to dissemble that the queen alone was the cause of retaining those observances to which the great separation from the Anglican establishment is ascribed." (Hallam, Constitutional History of England, I. 188.) Even Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, then Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, signed the remonstrance of that University (November 26, 1565) against the use of "the old popish habits." (Strype, Life of Archbishop Parker, Appendix, No. 39; comp. Strype, Annals of the Reformation, Vol. I. Chap. XLI.–XLIV.)

But upon this point the queen was resolute to allow no diversity and no freedom. Parker, the primate, was of the same mind; — perhaps from conviction; perhaps from the petulant pertinacity so natural to churchmen in high place; possibly, as has been surmised, from fear that, if the reform should proceed too far, his mistress would lapse into Romanism. A royal proclamation required uniformity in peremptory terms. Summoned for contumacy before the Archbishop and Grindal, their diocesan, thirty-seven London ministers out of ninety-eight, men distinguished among their fellows by gifts and graces, were suspended and deprived of their cures. Some of them having proceeded to collect their disciples for worship and the administration of the ordinances at Plumber's Hall, in London, the government broke up the meeting and sent fourteen or fifteen persons to gaol.

Proclamation for conformity. 1565.

1567.

The Non-conformists, however, had the good-will of not a few of the most powerful and trusted courtiers. Besides the prelates, most of whom scarcely disguised their respect for a course which they could not make up their minds to follow, no less considerable persons than the Earl of Leicester, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Secretary Walsingham, either more or less favored their views, or were disposed to treat them with indulgence; and even Burleigh, whose ostensible place was by the primate's side, did not hesitate to express regret for his severity. So manifest was the imprudence of driving from the Church a large number of its most capable servants, and leaving it in the charge of ministers of doubtful fidelity to the Protestant cause, that the queen and her advisers shrank, for the moment, from the severe course on which they had entered. The more earnest spirits took advantage of this hesitation and inactivity. Cartwright, Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, published a treatise against episcopacy and the royal supremacy in

1572.

ecclesiastical matters, maintaining presbytery to be the original and only rightful form of church government. When the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church, matured ten years before, were submitted to Parliament for ratification, the Puritan interest was so strong in that body, that the legal obligation of clergymen to subscribe the instrument was limited to those parts of it which relate to the Christian faith and sacraments, the portions treating of church government and ceremonies being left without that security.

The contest between Archbishop Parker and the Puritans, growing continually more acrimonious, and opening to the discontented party a wider range of inquiry and speculation, was terminated before long by the death of that able prelate. The accession of Grindal to the primacy, and of Sandys to the archiepiscopal see of York, both of whom proved to be men of moderate temper and principles, encouraged the friends of further reform; and the danger of a Catholic succession in case of the queen's death deterred the Protestant statesmen from outraging a party to which the Protestant cause might presently have to look for defence, and which, counting its adherents and its well-wishers together, was now probably the most numerous, as it was certainly the most resolute and active, of the three parties into which Englishmen were distributed.[1]

1575. May 17. Accession of Archbishop Grindal.

At Grindal's death, the austere Whitgift was taken from the cloisters of Trinity College, and from a narrow and absolute rule over gownsmen, to be the first peer of England, and governor of its Church. The appointment indicated the queen's resolution to keep terms with dissentients no longer. Whitgift had been formerly a friend of Cartwright, and lately a bitter adversary. Nothing could have been more welcome to him than the royal command to "take resolute order"[2]

1583. Sept. 23. Accession of Archbishop Whitgift.

[1] Hallam, Constitutional History, 116.

[2] Strype, Life of Whitgift, 121.

for enforcing the discipline of the Church, and the uniformity established by law. And in the week of his consecration, he issued instructions to the bishops of his province to forbid and prevent preaching, catechizing, and praying in any private family, in the presence of persons not belonging to it, and to silence all preachers and catechists who had not received orders from episcopal hands, or who refused or neglected to read the whole service, or to wear the prescribed clerical habit, or to subscribe to the queen's supremacy, the Thirty-Nine Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer. His severe proceedings.

The Puritans had counted the cost. The queen and the new primate designed no vain threat, and in Whitgift's first year two hundred and thirty-three ministers were suspended in six counties of the province of Canterbury. By the Act of Supremacy in the first year of her reign, the sovereign had been authorized to appoint a "Court of High Commission," with power "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatsoever." That act recognized the head of the State as at the same time the head of the Church; and the High Commission Court was the royal tribunal for legal administration in ecclesiastical affairs, as the courts in Westminster Hall were for administration in matters of a civil nature. Whitgift received the queen's direction to put this tremendous engine of despotism into active service. 1584.

Forty-four commissioners, of whom twelve were bishops, were empowered to take cognizance of all offences against the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; to make inquisition respecting heretical opinions, seditious books, contempts, conspiracies, false rumors or talks, and slanderous words and sayings, forbidden by those acts; to punish persons absenting themselves from church; to deprive clergymen holding doc- Constitution of the High Commission Court.

trines contrary to the Thirty-Nine Articles; to examine suspected persons on oath; to amend the statutes of colleges, cathedrals, and schools; and to exact and administer the oath of supremacy. Clergymen suspected of Puritanism were examined under oath by a series of questions, which Burleigh characterized as "so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as he thought the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their preys."[1] But the prelate had the queen and the law on his side, and the cautious statesman's discontent effected nothing. By an "Act for the

1593. Punishment of Persons obstinately refusing to come to Church," it was provided that such as should absent themselves for a month, or dissuade others "from coming to church to hear divine service or receive the communion according as the law directs, or be present at any unlawful assembly, conventicle, or meeting, under color or pretence of any exercise of religion," should be imprisoned till they should make a prescribed declaration of conformity, and, in default of such declaration, should go into perpetual banishment, under penalty of death if they were found within the realm. The law of England declared England to be uninhabitable by Nonconformists.

The public manifestation of *Puritanism*, as an element in church politics, is properly enough considered to have

1550. taken place when Hooper refused to be consecrated in the ecclesiastical vestments. In like

1563. manner *Non-conformity* takes its date from the refusal of Bishop Coverdale and other eminent churchmen to subscribe to the Liturgy and ceremonies. *Separatism* followed immediately after, when several of

1567. Rise of Separatism. the deprived ministers, "seeing they could not have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear, ...

[1] Strype, Life of Whitgift, 157, 160.

concluded to break off from the public churches, and separate in private houses."[1]

This was schism, which Puritanism and Non-conformity alone were not. Four years before the appointment of Whitgift's High Commission Court, the great controversy of the time had assumed a new phase and made a further advance. Robert Brown, a man of honorable descent, a clergyman of the diocese of Norwich, took to travelling about the country, declaiming against the discipline and ceremonies of the Church, and calling upon the people to come out and be separate, and not touch the unclean thing. In many places, he found ready listeners. After a long struggle, in the course of which, as he afterwards boasted, he had "been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noonday,"[2] he withdrew with some followers to Middleburg, in Zealand, where they established a congregation. It was dissolved after a few years, and Brown returned to England, where, perhaps under the influence of his relative, Lord Burleigh, he conformed to the Established Church, and was beneficed. He fell into irregular habits, and died at an advanced age. He takes a place in history from his connection with a great religious movement, which he by no means originated, and which he did quite as much to prejudice as to promote. From him the rigid separatists from the Church of England, who advocated the independence of each Christian congregation in respect to all others, were nicknamed *Brownists*.

1580. Robert Brown and the Brownists.

1589.

The temper of the Archbishop, who survived the queen, was too stern, and the measures of the High Commission Court were too energetic, to admit of opposition, except from such as were prepared for ruin. A fair proportion of such persons appeared. There were some capital punishments. Two

Punishment of Separatists.

[1] Strype, Life of Parker, 242. [2] Marsden, History of the Early Puritans, 141.

1583. men, named Thacker and Copping, were hanged for circulating a tract written by Brown; the heroic John Udal died in prison, under sentence
1590. of death for a religious treatise indicted as a libel;[1] Barrow, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, and Greenwood and Penry, ministers of London, were condemned
1592, 1593. and executed for writings of the same description, — the last-named for an unpublished composition found among his papers. There were other instances of capital punishment for like transgressions, and many instances of long imprisonment and ruinous fines. But for the most part the ecclesiastical history of the last twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign records only the suppression of open manifestations of dissent from the state Church, and the intelligent and steady
1588. growth of dissent in secret. The crisis of the Spanish war excited a universal ardor of loyalty, strongest among those in whom the anti-Catholic feeling was most intense, while in return it prompted all the gratitude and tenderness, towards all classes of a united people, of which the queen was capable. Her clemency, which had at no time gone beyond connivance, passed away, indeed, as soon as the worst of the danger was over; and the most cruel legislative measure of her reign against Non-conformists was taken four years after the defeat of the Armada. But as she grew old, and the succession of a Presbyterian king was looked for, opposition and persecution both were checked; the former from anticipation of a peaceable relief from existing grievances, the latter from a salutary fear, on the part of courtiers, of the retaliation which it might provoke.[2]

[1] "A Demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the Government of the Church in all Times and Places untill the World's End."

[2] In Dr. Williams's Library, in Red-Cross Street, London, I fell upon a curious collection, in three manuscript volumes, of old letters and various other pieces. Among them are two papers entitled, respectively, "Lamentable Estate of the Ministers in Staffordshire,"

In the progress through the House of Commons of the act "for reducing disloyal subjects to their obedience," Sir Walter Raleigh had said, "I am afraid there is near twenty thousand Brownists in Eng- 1593.

and "View of the State of the Churches in Cornwall." The former is without date, but I believe there can be no hesitation about referring it to the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth. It consists of a full list of Staffordshire parishes, with the names and characters of their ministers attached. It closes with this summary: "So that there be 118 congregations which have no preacher, neither have had (for the most) now more than forty years; there be 18 congregations served by laymen, by scandalous, 40." "Lewd," "a bad liver," "of scandalous life," "very ignorant," "drunkard," "a common drunkard," "a grievous swearer," "of a loose life," "a mere worldling," "a gamester," are entries continually occurring against the clerical names. One minister is "a weaver," having been "a gentleman's household servant many years"; one is "very famous for his skill in gaming, and especially in bowling." The Cornwall record, which bears the date of 1586, has such descriptions of the clergymen named in it as these: "a man careless of his calling," "a very lewd man," "a dicer," "a very lewd fellow," "a pot-companion," "a good dicer and carder both night and day," "a common alehouse-haunter and gamester," "his conversation is most in hounds," "he was lately a serving-man." One is qualified as "a common dicer and burned in the hand for felony, and full of all iniquity"; one is "the best wrestler in Cornwall"; another, "a very bad man." Very few are favorably represented. The document does not furnish the means of ascertaining its history. But the particularity of its statements, in their appropriate columns, of the population of the places specified, the value of the cures, the names of patrons, &c., indicate that it was made by intelligent and responsible persons. There is also a petition of the same period from the people of Cornwall to the Parliament "gathered together by the Queen's Majesty's appointment to look to the wants, to behold the miseries, the ruins, decays, and dissolutions of the Church of God and Commonwealth of the Realm of England." The petitioners say: "We have about eight score churches, the greatest part of which places is supplied by men who, through their ignorance and negligence, are guilty of the sin of sins, of the sin of soul-murder. . . . . Some are fornicators, some adulterers, some felons, bearing the marks in their hands for the same offence, ... some drunkards, some quarrellers, some spotted with whoredom, and some with more loathsome and abominable crimes than these."

Such representations confirm the complaints which reach us from that time, through various channels, of the wretched provision which remained for the service of the churches, when hundreds of exemplary clergymen were displaced by the Act of Uniformity. I presume that they are to be connected with the memorials which in 1584 came up to the Privy Council, and in 1586 to Parliament, from Lincoln, Kent, Oxford, Suffolk, Essex, Norfolk, Cambridge, and other counties, setting forth the mischief done by the enforcement of that act. (See Neal, History of the Puritans, Chap. VII. Marsden, 99, 123, 157, *et seq*.) According to Neal (History of the Puritans, Chap. VII.), a "survey," laid at this time before Par-

land."[1] Some of the principal Separatist ministers, with companies of their followers, had withdrawn to Amsterdam and other cities of the United Provinces, where the success of the insurrection against Spain had provided an asylum for Protestants.

Emigration to Holland.

The accession of James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne of the sister kingdom was generally regarded as an event auspicious to the friends of religious reform, though the Catholics too were not without agreeable expectations from the son of a queen whose cause they had assiduously served through such a season of storms. He had been bred in the straitest sect of Calvinism and presbytery; after coming to man's estate, he had subscribed the Book of Discipline of the Kirk; in the disputations of which he was so fond, he had been the ostentatious champion of the most anti-prelatical dogmas of the Continental churches; and up to the mature age of thirty-six, at which he had now arrived, he had given little reason to suspect the sincerity of his professions of attachment to the religious settlement of his native kingdom.[2] But his constitutional love of

1603. March. Accession of King James the First.

liament, represented that, "after twenty-eight years' establishment of the Church of England, there were only 2,000 preachers to serve near 10,000 parish churches." The Privy Counsellors were much disturbed, and remonstrated with the primate in a paper bearing such signatures as those of Burleigh, Warwick, Hatton, Leicester, and Walsingham. (Strype, Life of Whitgift, 166.) But they wasted their labor. Elizabeth and Whitgift had their minds made up.

"Dr. Williams's Library" was founded and endowed by Dr. Daniel Williams, a Presbyterian minister, who died in London in 1716. Its twenty thousand printed volumes, and numerous valuable manuscripts, contain rich materials for the history of Non-conformity and Dissent. The papers which I have mentioned are entered in the Catalogue, if the memorandum which I made is correct, at page 14 (11). I am glad of an opportunity to express my gratitude to the estimable librarian, Mr. Cogan, for affording me every facility for the examination of the treasures in his charge.

[1] Townshend, Account of the Proceedings of the Four Last Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth, 76.

[2] In 1588, in a speech to the Scottish Parliament, he said that "he minded not to bring in Papistical or Anglicane bishops." In the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in 1590, he praised God that he was "born in the time of the light of the Gospel, and in such a place as to be king of such a Church, the sincerest Church in the world. ..... As for our neighbor Kirk of England, their

despotic rule, the idiocy of feeble, as it is the frenzy of strong minds, was forced at once into morbid activity by the sudden escape from restraints which at home had vexed him from his cradle. Perhaps a congenital obliquity, due to the unnatural relation between his parents, may be assumed to explain and palliate the portentous absurdities of his character and career. It was by no means owing alone to a figure and presence singularly effectual to excite contempt, that, invested when he left Scotland with an unbounded popularity on the part of his English subjects, he is said to have lost it all before he arrived at London. His impatience to play the tyrant brooked not the delay which would have made his fantastic tyranny appear less indecent.[1]

In his progress to the capital, he received the *Millenary Petition*, signed by more than eight hundred clergymen belonging to twenty-five counties. It represented, that "neither as factious men affecting a popular party in the Church, nor as schismatics aiming at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as the faithful ministers of Christ and loyal subjects to his Majesty, they humbly desired the redress of some abuses." In respect to the Church service, they prayed for a discontinuance of the use of the cap and surplice, of the ring in marriage, of the cross in baptism, of the rite of confirmation, and of the reading of the Apocryphal books; for an abridgment of the Liturgy, and a more edifying

The Millenary Petition.

service is an evil-said mass in English. They want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same." The Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον indeed, printed in 1600, contains matter of a different tenor. But it was little known; and, on leaving Edinburgh for England, James had "thanked God that he had settled both kirk and kingdom, and left them in that estate which he intended not to hurt or alter anyways." (Calderwood, History of the Church of Scotland, 473.)

[1] "I hear our new king hath hanged one man before he was tried. 'T is strangely done. Now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he has offended?" (Harrington, Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 180.)

style of sacred music; for a stricter observance of the Lord's day; and for dispensation from the observance of other holidays, and from the rule to bow at the name of Jesus. They asked that none but able men should be admitted to the ministry, and that ministers should be required to reside in their parishes and to preach on the Lord's day. They entreated to be relieved from all subscriptions except that required by law, which covered only the articles relating to doctrine and to the royal supremacy. They proposed other measures of reform and security, but nothing adverse to the episcopal government as legally established. And they concluded by saying of the matters of which they complained: "These things we are able to show not to be agreeable to the word of God, if it shall please your Majesty to hear us, or by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved."

The foolish king's first puerile elation at his great advancement was not over, when he published a proclamation "touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church." The friends of the existing ecclesiastical order had lost no time in approaching and studying him, and that they were installed in his confidence was made evident by the terms of the proclamation. He announced therein his persuasion, "that the constitution of the Church of England was agreeable to God's word, and near to the condition of the primitive Church"; and he "commanded all his subjects not to publish anything against the state ecclesiastical, or to gather subscriptions or make supplications, being resolved to make it appear by their chastisement how far such a manner of proceeding was disagreeable to him; for he was determined to preserve the ecclesiastical state in such form as he found it established by law, only to reform such abuses as should be apparently proved."

1603. Oct. 24.

In the sad comedy of the conference held at the palace of Hampton Court, the king was chief actor. The Puritan cause was represented by four ministers, of whom the principal, Dr. Reynolds, was reputed to be unsurpassed in scholarship by any man in England. On the other side were nine bishops and eight other Church dignitaries. The requests presented by the ministers embraced four matters: "1. That the doctrine of the Church might be preserved pure, according to God's word; 2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches, to preach in the same; 3. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increase of piety; 4. That Church government might be sincerely ministered according to God's word." The first day's conference was between the king and a select party of the bishops and deans. Through the last two days the ministers were browbeaten by the coarse annoyance of Bancroft, Bishop of London, and insulted by the king with indecent jesting.

The conference at Hampton Court. 1604. Jan. 14, 16, 18.

The deportment of James on this occasion struck the High-Church spectators with joyful surprise. Whitgift, who, now past the age of threescore and ten, had left the chief management of his cause in younger hands, was impelled to exclaim, "Your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit"; and Bancroft fell upon his knees and said, "I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us such a king as since Christ's time has not been." "No bishop, no king," was the apothegm in which the monarch expressed at once the gratuitous fixedness of his determination respecting the hierarchy, which was not assailed, and the nature of the argument which had satisfied his mind. As to indulgence to private consciences, "I will have," said he, "one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony; never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey." He ended the

second day's conference by telling Dr. Reynolds, "If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse." The third day manifested no improvement of his temper or his manners. "I will have none of this arguing; therefore let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it; the bishops will give them some time, but if any are of an obstinate and turbulent spirit, I will have them enforced to conformity."[1] In a letter to a Scottish friend, he boasted that he had "kept such a revel with the Puritans these two days, as was never heard the like; where I have peppered them as soundly as ye have done the Papists. . . . . They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, as I was forced at last to say unto them, that if any of them had been in a college disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in place of a reply; and so should the rod have plyed upon the poor boys."[2]

An edition of the Book of Common Prayer was presently published, containing some trifling amendments, and accompanied by a proclamation in which the king required all his subjects to conform to the prescribed ritual and discipline, "as the only public form established in this realm," and admonished them not

March 5.

[1] Barlow, Dean of Chester, printed an account of the Hampton Court Conference. A copy is in the library of Harvard College. Reynolds and his associates complained that it represented them unfairly. But there was much discontent among the Puritan ministers at what they thought a timid and inefficient defence of their cause. Some of them, while they disputed the correctness of Barlow's report, made known their desire for another hearing for reasons which implied that that report was not altogether unjust. But no notice was taken of their proposal. In another account of the Conference, by Harrington (Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 181), the royal buffoon appears to even greater disadvantage than in Barlow's. "The king . . . . . rather used upbraidings than argument, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling. . . . . The bishops said his Majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foulmouthed." Yet Harrington was a stout anti-Puritan.

[2] Strype, Life of Whitgift, App. No. 46.

to expect any further alterations, inasmuch as his resolutions were unchangeable. The proclamation was followed up by the committal to prison of ten of the subscribers of the Millenary Petition, and by a declaration of the Council, that "thus combining in a cause against which the king had showed his mislike, both by public act and proclamation, was little less than treason."[1]

Gloomy prospect of the reformers.

In less than a year, the prospect had been completely changed. The friends of religious reform in England had never seen so hopeless a time as that which so soon followed the time of their most sanguine expectation. In the gloomiest periods of the arbitrary sway of the two daughters of Henry the Eighth, they could turn their eyes to a probable successor to the throne, who would be capable of more reason or more lenity. Now, nothing better for them appeared in the future, than the probably long reign of a prince wrong-headed and positive alike from imbecility, prejudice, pique, and self-conceit, — to be succeeded by a line of others, born to the inheritance of the same bad blood, and educated in the same preposterous principles. It is true that, as history reveals the facts to us, almost with the reign of the Scottish alien that better spirit began to penetrate the English Parliament which ultimately drove his noxious family into perpetual exile. But, as yet, the steady reaction from old abuses was but dimly apparent even to the most clear-sighted and hopeful minds; and numbers of devout and brave men gave way to the conviction, that, for such as they, England was ceasing for ever to be a habitable place, and were considering to what part of the world they might escape to secure freedom of belief and worship, and build up a community worthy of the English name. Many passed over at once to the Low Countries, while others for the present sought a precarious safety in concealment, and awaited a more

[1] Winwood, Memorials of Affairs of State, &c., II. 36, 48, 49.

convenient season for some more effectual measure of relief.

Six weeks after his great triumph at the Hampton Court Conference, Whitgift died, and Bancroft, Bishop of London, a man equally arbitrary, more enterprising by reason of his fewer years, more sycophantic on the one hand and more offensive on the other, succeeded to the primacy. He at once followed up with unswerving rigor the advantage supplied by the king's conversion. In the convocation which soon after met, he procured a ratification of a Book of Canons[1] of his own composition. Its one hundred and forty-one articles embodied the loftiest pretensions of the Established Church, and submission to them was challenged under penalties of deprivation for the clergy, and excommunication, imprisonment, and outlawry alike for clergy and laity. The number of Non-conformist clergymen in England and Wales at this time is believed to have exceeded fifteen hundred. For further security against the spread of dissent, the importation of religious books from the Continent was prohibited, and printing in England was subjected to the censorship of the bishops. With such extreme jealousy was Non-conformist preaching regarded, that a man made himself liable to fine and imprisonment by repeating to his family the substance of sermons which he had heard at church. Numbers more of recusant ministers were silenced or deprived;[2] some were sent to prison; and others escaped abroad.

Bancroft Archbishop of Canterbury.

1604.

[1] It was in these Canons that the divine right of episcopacy was first asserted in the English Church, having been defended hitherto on the ground of its being an orderly system, to the institution of which the authority of the Church was competent. Cartwright and other Presbyterians had anticipated the Churchmen in occupying the ground of Scriptural authority in defence of their polity.

[2] Neal says, "above three hundred." (History of the Puritans, II. 64. History of New England, I. 71.) See also Calderwood, Altare Damascenum, Præf.

CHAPTER IV.

Among the congregations of Separatists which had been formed while dissension was active in the bosom of the Church, were two near the northeastern corner of Nottinghamshire. One was gathered at Gainsborough, just within the western border of the county of Lincoln. The other held its meetings at a village named Scrooby,[1] in Nottinghamshire, near to the point where it touches the counties of Lincoln and York. Of

Congregation at Scrooby.

[1] For the recent discovery of this fact, which with its relations is so interesting, New England history is indebted to the Rev. Joseph Hunter, an assistant keeper of Her Majesty's Records. (Collections concerning the Church or Congregation of Protestant Separatists formed at Scrooby, &c. London, 1854.) Morton (New England's Memorial, Davis's edition, 17) and Mather (Magnalia Christi Americana, Book I. Chap. II. § 1) had told no more than that the Leyden congregation came from "the North of England," except that Mather (Ibid., Book II. Chap. I. § 1) implies that they were of Yorkshire, and says that Bradford was born in "Ansterfield," a place which has been sought by some generations of New England antiquaries in vain, and in fact is not known in English geography. Prince (Chronological History, 99), quoting from Bradford's History (afterwards lost and very lately recovered), described them as having "lived near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire"; and according to a statement in a portion of Bradford's History, preserved in the records of the Plymouth church (Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, 465), "they ordinarily met at his [Brewster's] house on the Lord's day, which was a manor of the bishop's." At Scrooby, in the hundred of Basset Lawe, a mile and a half southeast of the market town of Bawtry, Mr. Hunter finds that there was at that period a manor, "an ancient possession and occasional residence of the Archbishop of York," and "the only episcopal manor that was near the borders of the three counties." In the Assessment of Subsidies granted by Parliament in 1571, he meets with a rate of "William Brewster, of the township of Scrooby cum Ranskil"; and he learns that, in April, 1608, William Brewster and two others, "of Scrooby, Brownists or Separatists," were fined by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes for non-appearance to a citation. The missing "Ansterfield," the birthplace of Bradford, according to Mather, Mr. Hunter discovers at *Austerfield*, — a village a mile or more northeast from Bawtry, on the other side of that town, — where the church books show the name *Bradford* to have been common

this congregation, according to the division and nomenclature of church offices which had come into use in the sect, Richard Clifton was Pastor and John Robinson was Teacher. William Brewster was the most considerable private member.

Richard Clifton. 1586. July 11.

Clifton, who was fifty years old at the time of the queen's death, had seventeen years before been instituted to the rectory of Babworth, near Scrooby. At what time he withdrew, or was ejected, from his place in the Established Church, does not appear. Of the early history of Robinson, nothing

John Robinson.

at that period, and record the baptism of William Bradford, son of William, as having taken place March 19, 1590. The demonstration is complete. The reading Ansterfield was a mistake of the copyist or of the printer. If Mather knew the true word, he had no opportunity to correct the press, as he had his book printed in England.

Morton (Memorial, 1) dates the origin of the congregation in the last year of Queen Elizabeth, the same year when unconsciously Gosnold was exploring for them a place of retreat. "In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation in the North of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of divine institutions, they entered into covenant with God and one with another in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God," &c. But Bradford says: "After they had continued together *about a year*, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, ... they resolved to get over into Holland as they could, which was in the years 1607 and 1608." In the margin of Dr. Young's edition of the extract from Bradford's History in the Plymouth church records, the date 1602 stands against the statement of the gathering of this congregation. But the manuscript has no such marginal entry. The editor added it, I suppose, on the authority of Morton. (See Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrims, 22, note; and see below, 135, note 1.)

Austerfield is a hamlet of perhaps thirty brick houses, roofed with tiles. At least two of them look as if they had been standing in Bradford's time. The church, or "chapellerie," as its "Register Booke" calls it, is large enough to hold only a hundred and fifty persons. Part of it, at least, is as old as the thirteenth century. It had no other than an earthen floor till the year 1835, and the oaken rail of the chancel is the same before which Bradford was held up to be baptized two hundred and seventy years ago. It has two bells, and is entered on one side under a Saxon arch, from a porch with stone benches, where it is natural for the visitor to imagine the New-England governor sitting when a boy, in the group of villagers. The nearest way from Austerfield to Scrooby is by a path through the fields. Unnoticed in our history as these places have been till within a few years, it is likely that when, towards sunset on the 15th of September, 1856, I walked along that path, I was the first person related to the American Ply-

is certainly known, except that he had lived at Norwich.[1] Brewster — who "had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and some insight into the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and there been first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue" — at an early age "went to the court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, divers years when he was Secretary of State, who found him so discreet and faithful as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than as a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private he would converse with him more like a familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the queen into the Low Countries (in the Earl of Leicester's time), as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns."[2] William Brewster. 1585.

mouth who had done so since Bradford trod it last before his exile. I slept in a farm-house at Scrooby, and reconnoitred that village the next morning. Its old church is a beautiful structure. At the distance from it of a quarter of a mile, the dike round the vanished manor-house may still be traced, and a farmer's house is believed to be part of the ancient stables or dog-kennels. In what was the garden is a mulberry-tree, so old that generations before Brewster may have regaled themselves with its fruit. The local tradition declares it to have been planted by Cardinal Wolsey during his sojourn at the manor for some weeks after his fall from power. The property belongs to Richard Milnes, Esq., of Bawtry Hall. There is a bridge over the Idle, at the place of a ford by which Bradford used to cross on his Sunday walk to Scrooby, coming from Austerfield through Bawtry.

[1] "Even as when I lived with you," says Robinson in a dedication of the "People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy" (Works, III. 287) to his "Christian friends in Norwich and thereabouts." When Bradford says that, "after they had continued together about a year, ... they resolved to get over into Holland, ... which was in the years 1607 and 1608" (see the last note), he is perhaps to be understood as reckoning from the time of their being joined by Robinson, whom he had mentioned just before. The minister of Scrooby and of Leyden may have been the John Robinson who was matriculated at Christ College, Cambridge, in 1592, and became a Fellow in 1598. (Hunter, Collections; comp. Mass. Hist. Coll., XXXI. 113.) A Memoir of him by Mr. Robert Ashton is prefixed to the edition of his works published in 1851 by the Congregational Union of England. In respect to Robinson's early life, it is barren of facts.

[2] Bradford, History of Plymouth

The conversation of Davison, who was one of the eminent Puritans of that time, may well have given a bias to the mind of his young dependent. When Davison had fallen into disgrace with the queen, in consequence of her simulated displeasure at his issue of a warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, Brewster appears to have retired to Scrooby, probably his birthplace; not, however, till he had remained with his patron "some good time after, doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles." Scrooby was a post-town on the great road from London to the north, and there he held the office of postmaster, or, as it was then called, *post*, for several years.[1] Clifton's congregation "ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, ... and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge." Some such hospitality was the more needful, as they probably came together from considerable distances. William Bradford, one of Brewster's guests and fellow-worshippers, was a

1587.

1594, April 1 – 1607, Sept. 30.

William Bradford.

Plantation, 409, 410. This inestimable book, after being lost for nearly ninety years, was found in 1855, in the episcopal library at Fulham, and has since, through the kindness of the late Bishop of London, been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, under the oversight of that very judicious and learned antiquary, Mr. Charles Deane. The manuscript was known to have been used by Morton, Prince, and Hutchinson in the composition of their works. What was its fate after Hutchinson's publication of his second volume, in 1767, remained unknown. In 1846, Bishop Wilberforce, in his History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, referred to a "manuscript history of the Plantation of Plymouth in the Fulham Library." The identity of his quotations from it with language of Bradford preserved by Morton and Prince, led to the belief that it was Bradford's lost History, which on examination it proved to be. When Prince used it in 1736, it belonged to the library kept in the tower of the Old South Church in Boston. In 1775, that church was occupied as a riding-school for the British cavalry, and then it was, probably, that the book was taken away, and carried to England.

[1] Hunter, Collections, 65. In the Postmaster-General's Office, Mr. Hunter found *memoranda* of accounts with "William Brewster, post of Scrooby," from April 1, 1594, to September 30, 1607, at which time another person succeeded him. How long Brewster had held the office before April, 1594, does not appear, as there is no earlier record of the names of postmasters on that route.

young man of decent condition and some little estate. Being of a feeble constitution, and left doubly an orphan in early childhood, he became precociously reflecting and wise; and the preaching of Mr. Clifton determined his character and his course of life.[1]

Resolution of the Scrooby congregation to emigrate.

The annoyances which, under Archbishop Bancroft's vigilant administration, distressed the Non-conformists in every part of England, became so intolerable to this company of simple farmers, of whom few, it is likely, had ever seen the sea, or till lately learned anything of other countries, that at length they resolved on the sad expedient of expatriation. They heard that in the Low Countries religious freedom was allowed, and that some of their persecuted countrymen had there found a refuge;[2] and there they determined to seek a new home.[3]

[1] "When he was about a dozen years old, the reading of the Scriptures began to cause great impressions upon him; and those impressions were much assisted and improved when he came to enjoy Mr. Richard Clifton's illuminating ministry, not far from his abode." (Mather, Magnalia, Book II. Chap. II. § 2.) It is not my intention to appeal to Mather's authority in relation to any nice question of fact. But his opportunities for information respecting Bradford were good, his maternal uncle, the second John Cotton, having been minister of Plymouth, and so pastor of Bradford's family.

Babworth, where Clifton officiated while attached to the Established Church, was nine or ten miles from Austerfield, and Bradford would pass through Scrooby in going thither.

[2] "Holland hath been a cage to these unclean birds." (Baylie, Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, 8.)

[3] "Some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. ..... Seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men, as also how sundry from London and other parts of the land, that had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, were gone thither and lived at Amsterdam and other places of the land. ..... To go into a country they knew not but by hearsay, where they must learn a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death; especially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffic (by which the country doth subsist), but had only been used to a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry. But these

But even this painful expedient they were not free to choose, and the design had to be prosecuted by stealth. Under color of a royal proclamation which had been obtained by Bancroft, forbidding the king's subjects to transport themselves to Virginia without his special license, or under some other pretence, the embarkation of

1607. the Scrooby people was obstructed. A party of them chartered a vessel to receive them and their effects near Boston in Lincolnshire, to which place they travelled by land fifty miles. The master did not keep his engagement, and when, "after long waiting and large expenses," they at last got on board, he betrayed them to "the searchers and other officers," who robbed them "of their money, books, and much other goods," "and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude." There they were kept in prison, till an Order of Council released most of them, while Brewster and six others were detained for trial.[1]

"The next spring after, there was another attempt made, by some of these and others." They agreed

1608. with a Dutch shipmaster to take them on board at a place on the Humber between Grimsby and Hull, thirty miles distant from their home. The embarkation was interrupted by the appearance of an armed force of horse and foot; and the Dutchman, alarmed, put to sea with the movables and such of the party as had come on board. Of the rest, — many of them separated from husbands and parents, and without clothing or money, — those who did not find a wretched safety in flight were apprehended, and "hurried from one place to another and from one justice to another, until in the end they knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so

things did not dismay them (although they did sometimes trouble them), for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy his ordinances. But they rested on his providence, and knew whom they had believed." (Bradford, 10, 11.)

[1] Ibid., 12.

many women and innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they would go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they either had sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings."[1]

At last the scattered flock collected at Amsterdam. Clifton made the passage after the unfortunate attempts which have been mentioned. Brewster, released from his imprisonment, accompanied or followed him.[2] The heroic wanderer had last traversed the streets of that opulent city in the train of the ambassador of Elizabeth, and in charge of the keys of Dutch towns pledged to England. With humble associates he was now to earn a living by some humble daily labor. The lot of his companions, with their inferior resources, was harder yet; and, with his fellow-leaders in the enterprise, it belonged to him to cheer the sorrows of others while he struggled with his own. The imagination is tasked to picture the amazement and conscious helplessness of these north-country peasants, as they gazed on the palaces that bordered and the fleets that choked the long canals, and pushed their way through crowds gathered from all the countries of the globe. "They heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages, wherein they were bred and had so long lived, as it seemed

August. Their residence at Amsterdam.

[1] Bradford, 14, 15. "Pitiful if was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side; some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear, and quaking with cold."

[2] "When Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster, and other principal members were come over, for they were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them," &c. (Ibid., 16.)

they were come into a new world. But these were not the things they much looked on, or long took up their thoughts. For they had other work in hand, and another kind of war to wage and maintain; for . . . . . it was not long before they saw the grim and grisly face of poverty come on them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly."[1]

At Amsterdam they remained a distinct community, though they found there that London congregation which had emigrated some twelve or fifteen years before, and the Gainsborough congregation, their former neighbors in Nottinghamshire. Between these societies there existed some dispute, which Robinson and his people fruitlessly endeavored to compose. Pained to witness it, and fearful of some ill effect from it on their own harmony, they resolved, after a few months, to remove to Leyden, forty miles distant, a place recommended by its "sweet situation," though, "wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoyed, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates."[2] Clifton, nearly sixty years of age, "was loath to remove any more," and finished his life at Amsterdam. On the removal, the church came "under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church."

Removal to Leyden.

1616. May 20.

Leyden, recovered from the devastations of the siege, which thirty-five years before had attracted to it the wonder of the world, contained at this time a population of

[1] Bradford, 16.

[2] The congregation probably removed to Leyden in the spring or summer of 1609. Mr. George Sumner has a letter of Robinson to the magistrates of Leyden, dated at Amsterdam, on the 12th of February of that year, requesting leave to come during the ensuing month of May, and reside in that city with his congregation of a hundred persons, including men and women. Comp. Hist. Mag., III. 357.

not less than seventy thousand souls, being the chief manufacturing town of the Netherlands, and one of the most considerable in Europe. Its famous University, founded by William the Silent, in recompense of the heroism and sufferings of its inhabitants during the siege, bore upon its rolls such names as those of Grotius, Scaliger, Arminius, Gomar, Heinsius, and Descartes.[1] The English strangers "fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever; and at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labor. . . . . Enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together, ... they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation."[2] Their number can only be con-

1575. Jan. 5.

1 "On appellait cette doctissime cité l'Athènes de l'Occident." (Juste, Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique, 95.) Descartes was probably at Leyden when Robinson's friends, in 1619, were preparing to leave it. Salmasius and Boerhaave were later.

2 Bradford, 17.—Mather (Magnalia, II. Chap. I. § 4) speaks of Bradford's "serving of a Frenchman at the working of silks." — Bradford says of Brewster (412): "After he came into Holland, he suffered much hardship after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children, and, in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. Yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation. Towards the latter part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English, and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility, for he drew rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing by the help of some friends, and so had employment enough, and, by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do." Some of the company are believed to have been weavers. (Mass. Hist. Coll., XIII. 171.) Brewster's printing operations were closely watched by Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador. When he went to England in 1619 to make

jectured. It may, when at the largest, have counted between two and three hundred adult persons.[1] In their constant amity towards one another, and their unanimous affection towards their pastor, they reproduced, as they fondly persuaded themselves, "the primitive pattern of the first churches." Their uprightness, diligence, and sobriety gave them a good name and pecuniary credit with their Dutch neighbors. The magistrates afterwards testified, "These English have lived amongst us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them."[2] But no public token of good-will

arrangements for the emigration, Sir Dudley (July 22) sent information to the Secretary of State, and recommended that he should be apprehended and examined. "One William Brewster, a Brownist, who hath been for some years an inhabitant and printer at Leyden, is now within these three weeks removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London." August 20, he wrote again, saying that he had been on the look-out for Brewster, but could not learn that he had returned to Leyden. September 12, he reported that "the *schout* who was employed by the magistrates for his apprehension, being a dull, drunken fellow, took one man for another." It may be, that the magistrates were not anxious to have him taken. As late as January 29, 1620, Sir Dudley was still hunting for him. It seems that Brewster had been employed by a person named Brewer "to print prohibited books to be vented underhand in his Majesty's kingdom." The printing of the "Perth Assembly," and of a discourse "De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ," was supposed to have been done by him. (Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knight, pp. 380, 386, 389, 390, 437.) The type of books from Brewster's press (of which there is, or lately was, at Plymouth a copy of one, Cartwright's "Commentarii in Proverbia Salomonis") has the peculiar form of the type of the Elzevirs. One of their descendants, living at Leyden in 1851, assured Mr. George Sumner that it must have been obtained from them.

[1] Of Ainsworth's church at Amsterdam Bradford says (Dialogue, in Young, Pilgrims, 455), "Before their division and breach, they were about three hundred communicants"; and adds (Ibid., 456), "For the church of Leyden, they were sometimes not much fewer in number." On the other hand, Winslow, in the "Briefe Narration" appended to "Hypocrisie Unmasked" (90), says that when "the minor part, with Mr. Brewster, their elder, resolved to enter upon this great work, the difference of number was not great" between them and those who stayed behind. Now the whole company that sailed in the Mayflower and Speedwell was "about a hundred and twenty persons." On the supposition that only one quarter of this number had joined the expedition in England, only ninety (including men, women, and children) had come from Leyden, and the company at Leyden before the division would have amounted to scarcely more than two hundred of both sexes and all ages.

[2] Bradford, 20.

could be extended to them, for fear of offence to the English government.

Robinson was their arbiter in differences, and their judicious adviser in secular affairs, as well as their spiritual guide. His writings still extant,[1] and the influence which he exerted on his associates and others, alike testify to his eminent virtue, capacity, accomplishments, and wisdom. His friends never wearied of extolling him, and his opponents did not withhold their warm commendation.[2] Though involved in controversies from the time of his separation from the Church, he seems to have constantly matured his native calmness of judgment and gentleness of temper. It was easy for him to rise above the technicalities of his sect to comprehensive and generous principles and views; and, if his writings are not free from the strong language which pervaded the religious discussions of the time, they show him to have grown more tolerant, charitable, and hopeful with increasing years and harder experience. Recognizing with a magnanimous cordiality the Christian character wherever it appeared, he discouraged the use of sectarian names; and he was so far from pretending to infallibility in religious doctrine, that he cheerfully looked, and taught his followers to look, for "more light to shine from God's holy word." His logical ability and scholarly attainments were such, that a Professor in the University and "the chief preachers of the city" sought his aid in the defence of their Calvinistic theology; and his friends boasted, that, in public disputes, which he had modestly attempted to decline, he signally and repeatedly foiled the famous Arminian champion, Episcopius.[3]

Character of Robinson.

[1] The first collection of Robinson's Works was published in 1851, in three volumes. See above, p. 135, note 1.

[2] Baylie (Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times, 17) calls him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect [the Separatists] enjoyed."

[3] Bradford, 21. — Winslow, Briefe Narration, 95. — Some examples of commendation of him by Dutch and German writers (the earliest dated twenty-

The twelve years' residence of Robinson's church in the Netherlands nearly corresponds with the twelve years' truce concluded between the United Provinces and the Spaniards in the sequel of Prince Maurice's brilliant though checkered military career of twenty-two years. It was a period disturbed by internal disorders, and by the bitterness of political and sectarian animosity. The heroic nature of the head of the house of Orange seemed to have departed with the adversity which had revealed it in such favorable lights. He scarcely disguised his ambition for sovereignty. The incorruptible Grand Pensionary, Barneveldt, stood in the way of the usurpation. The religious opinions of that illustrious patriot, opposed to the dominant Calvinism, made it possible to effect his ruin by artful applications to the popular bigotry. The military force, commanded by the Prince, gave no support to that administration of the laws which would have restrained a persecuting and factious fanaticism. The transactions at the Synod of Dort inflamed the prevailing passions. The head of Barneveldt, who was seventy-two years old, was brought to the block, and Grotius was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The Remonstrants were treated as outlaws. A popular frenzy, as

1609. April 9.

Disorders in the Netherlands.

1618, Nov. 13 – 1619, May 9.

May 13.

eight years after his death) have been collected by Mr. George Sumner. (See Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIX. 72–74.)—"A man not easily to be paralleled for all things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. . . . . As he was a man learned and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially; . . . . . and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him, and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers." (Bradford, Dialogue, &c., in Young, Pilgrims, 451, 452.)

senseless as it was fierce, but possessing all classes in society alike, was let loose against men than whom the infatuated country possessed none more worthy of honor for virtue or for public services.

Leyden was one of the chief theatres of the agitation. The English strangers were witnesses to the strife which rent its University, where Arminius himself, the chief heresiarch, was a Professor, and to the bloody conflict which took place in its streets. Vorstius, the successor of Arminius, whom King James, after professing to confute, had proposed to the States-General to burn,[1] was their townsman. When Leyden confederated with Rotterdam and other towns to make a last effort for freedom, the counsels of that fruitless league were conducted by their neighbors and municipal governors. It would be interesting to be informed of any relation borne by them to this course of events, and of the light in which they regarded it. We naturally wish to think that they did not share in the cruel hostility which overwhelmed the Remonstrant patriots, and that disgust at the outrages which they saw committed by their fellow-believers was among the motives that prompted them to seek another home.[2]

Disturbances at Leyden. 1617.

1618.

[1] Letter to the States-General, in "Works of the Most High and Mighty Prince James," &c., 355.

[2] Only two of Robinson's publications of the years between 1614 and 1624 are preserved. "The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy" (1618) is a defence of lay preaching against the argument of an English clergyman. "A Just and Necessary Apology," originally published in Latin (1619), is a refutation of some charges both of illiberality and latitudinarianism brought against "certain Christians no less contumeliously than commonly called Brownists or Barrowists."

As to the condition of Robinson's church at Leyden, very interesting results of an investigation made on the spot by our distinguished countryman, Mr. George Sumner, in 1841, have been published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (XXIX. 42–74.) Prince says (Chron. Hist., 160): "When I was in Leyden, in 1714, the most ancient people from their parents told me that the city had such a value for them [Robinson's company] as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he lies buried, which the English still enjoy; and that, as he was had in high esteem both by the city and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent ac-

Project of another removal.

Though their industry had improved their circumstances, and their religion taught them contentment with an humble lot, a few years' experience decided them against a permanent settlement where they were. The hardships which they could endure, they found "to be such as few in comparison would come to them," and "it was thought that, if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many." "Though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time." They were anxious both for the health and for the character of their offspring. "Many of their children that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that, although their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their

complishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave." Mr. Sumner has shown, — 1. That the church supposed by Prince to have been occupied by Robinson's congregation was in fact occupied by the English Presbyterian congregation, which, as well as Robinson's, was established at Leyden, and that there is no reason to believe that any church was granted to Robinson's people by the magistrates; they probably met at his house, which Winslow (Briefe Narration, 90) says was large, and which was probably taken as adapted to that use; — 2. That Robinson was not buried in the church supposed, but in the cathedral church, where Mr. Sumner found a record of his interment, and a memorandum of the cost, which was small; — 3. That, as to his funeral, not only Prince, but Winslow, who had much earlier said (Ibid.) that "the University and ministers of the city accompanied him to his grave with all their accustomed solemnities," must have been in error. Winslow was not in Holland at the time; and there is no statement of the kind in the letters on the subject copied into Bradford's Letter-Book (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 39). Under common circumstances, Robinson's funeral might have been attended with such marks of respect; but at this time the plague was raging in Leyden, and public funeral solemnities were suspended.

early youth, the vigor of nature being consumed in the bud, as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in the country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses. . . . . Some became soldiers, others took them upon far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God; so that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted."[1]

They had not lost their affection for their intolerant native country, and they felt it to be "grievous to live from under the protection of the state of England." They considered "how like they were to lose their language and their name of English, how little good they did, or were like to do, to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath,[2] how unable there to give such education to their children as they themselves had received"; and, — "if God would be pleased to discover some place unto them, though in America, where they might exemplarily show their tender countrymen by their example, no less burdened than themselves, where they might live and comfortably subsist," and, "being freed from Antichristian bondage," might "keep their names and nation, and not only be a means to enlarge the dominions of the English state, but the Church of Christ also, if the Lord had a people among the natives whither he would bring them," — "hereby they thought they might more glorify God, do more good to their country, better provide for their posterity,

[1] Bradford, 22–24.

[2] Like most of the Puritans, they had adopted the doctrine, then recently advanced in England by Dr. Bound, and neither then nor yet extensively adopted by Continental Protestants, whether under Lutheran or Calvinistic rule, of a transfer of the obligations of the Jewish Sabbath to the weekly recurring day of Christian commemoration and worship.

and live to be more refreshed by their labors, than ever they could do in Holland, where they were."[1]

There can be no more generous ambition than is disclosed in these affecting words. Unenterprising villagers at first, habituated at length to a new home and able to earn a decent living by humble drudgery, some of them now sinking into age, they turn their thoughts to their posterity. With a patriotic yearning, they desire to extend the dominion of the native country which refuses to give them a peaceable home on its broad lands. And through the hardships of a long voyage and an unknown continent, they propose to be missionaries to the heathen.

The project occasioned much discussion. It offered no certainties on the bright side. The dangers of both sea and land seemed formidable. The cost of the voyage would exceed any means in their possession. Its length might be beyond the endurance of the aged and feeble of their number. Arrived at its end, they would "be liable to famine and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things, with sore sicknesses." Appalling reports had reached them of the ferocity and treachery of the savage people; their hard experience in the removal ten years before was not forgotten; and the ill success of the earlier attempts at settlement in Maine and in Virginia was a heavy discouragement.

On the other hand, they considered "that all great and honorable actions were accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. . . . . The dangers were great, but not desperate, and the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain. It might be, sundry of the things feared might never befall; others, by provident care, and the use of good means, might, in a great measure, be prevented; and all of them, through the help of

[1] Winslow, Briefe Narration, 81.

God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome. True it was that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken but upon good ground and reason, not rashly or lightly, as many have done, for curiosity or hope of gain. But their condition was not ordinary. Their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful and urgent. And therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet they might have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable."[1] It is a genuine and trustworthy heroism which can reason thus.

They pondered, debated, fasted, and prayed, and came to the conclusion to remove. The preparations going on around them for a renewal of the war made them impatient to put their design in execution. In the choice of a place of settlement, opinions were divided. The Dutch made them liberal offers.[2] Some desired to follow their countrymen to Virginia, where the colony planted ten years before had still a feeble existence. Others would have gone to Guiana, of which the salubrity and fruitfulness were extolled in glowing terms by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had sailed up the Orinoco twenty years before, and was now there on a second visit.[3] But it was feared that the tropical

1617.

Doubts about a place of settlement.

[1] Bradford, 25, 26.

[2] "The large offers the Dutch offered to us, either to have removed into Zealand, and there lived with them, or, if we would go on such adventures, to go under them to Hudson's River, ... and how they would freely have transported us, and furnished every family with cattle," &c. (Winslow, Briefe Narration, 91.) The Dutch proposals were perseveringly renewed. See, in Brodhead's "History of New York," I. 125, an abstract of the Memorial of the Amsterdam merchants, (February 12, 1620,) to the Prince of Orange, praying that Robinson's company might be encouraged to emigrate to America under the protection of Holland.

[3] "We passed the most beautiful country that ever mine eyes beheld." (Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, II. 191.) "I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects." (Ibid., 207.) "There is no country which yieldeth more pleasure to the inhabitants." (Ibid., 229.) "For health, good air, pleasure, and riches, I am resolved it cannot be equalled by any region either in the east or west." (Ibid., 230.)

climate of that country would ill agree with the English constitution; and a jealousy was entertained of the proximity of the Spaniards, who, though they had been at peace with England for several years, continued to be regarded with aversion and dread. On the other hand, it was considered that, if they attached themselves to the existing colony in Virginia, "they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse; and if they lived too far off, they should have neither succor nor defence from them. And at length the conclusion was to live in a distinct body by themselves, under the general government of Virginia";[1] that is, of the Virginia Company in England.

Choice of North Virginia.

Religious freedom, which they had exiled themselves to enjoy, was the one thing indispensable for the future. But as yet there was no security for it in any land claimed by the English crown. Two of their company, Robert Cushman and John Carver,[2] were despatched to solicit it from the king, to be enjoyed at some place of settlement for which they were to negotiate with the Virginia Company. They were the bearers of "Seven Articles which the Church of Leyden sent to the Council of England to be considered of." The first expresses assent to the doctrines of the Church of England; the second, a persuasion of their practical efficacy, and a desire to maintain communion with Churchmen; the third, an acknowledgment of the royal authority, and of the rightful obedience of the subject, "either active, if the thing commanded be not

Mission to England.

Seven Articles of the Leyden church.

[1] Bradford, 28.

[2] Of neither of these worthies is anything known before this time. There is no reason to suppose that either had belonged to the congregation at Scrooby. Neither of the names *Carver* and *Cushman* was found by Mr. Hunter or Mr. Sumner in any of the parishes in that quarter. In the letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sir Edwin Sandys, December 15, 1617, Carver is called "a deacon of our church." (Bradford, 32.)

against God's word, or passive if it be, except pardon can be obtained."[1] The fourth and fifth, in language which at the first reading occasions surprise, but which was carefully chosen and guarded, own the lawfulness of the appointment and jurisdiction of ecclesiastical officers. The sixth and seventh disallow to ecclesiastical tribunals any authority but what is derived from the king, and avow a desire "to give unto all superiors due hŏnor, to preserve the unity of the spirit with all that fear God, to have peace with all men," and to receive instruction whereinsoever they had erred.[2]

The messengers found the Virginia Company favorably disposed to their scheme, and desirous of affording it ample facilities.[3] The king was less tractable. Through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, a person "of great authority,"[4] son of that Archbishop of York whose tenant Brewster had formerly been at Scrooby, and soon afterwards Governor of the Company, their case was favorably presented by Sir Robert Naunton, then principal Secretary of State. The most they could obtain from the king was a general encouragement that their separatism would be connived at as long as they should give no public offence. An express engagement even to that effect was denied.

Negotiation in London.

Thus the question was opened again; "for many were afraid that, if they should unsettle themselves, put off

[1] This was a distinction familiar to Robinson. He had made it, in nearly the same terms, in the "Just and Necessary Apology" (Works, III. 63).

[2] This curious paper, referred to in a letter of Sir Edwin Sandys to Robinson and Brewster (Bradford, 30), has been recently published in the "Collections of the New York Historical Society" (Second Series, III. 301, 302), from a copy obtained by Mr. Bancroft from the State-Paper Office in London.

[3] "They were forced, through the great charge they had been at, to hearken to any propositions that might give ease and furtherance to so hopeful a business. . . . . To that purpose, it was referred to their considerations how necessary it was that means might be used to draw into those enterprises some of those families that had retired themselves into Holland for scruple of conscience." (Gorges, Briefe Narration, &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 73.)

[4] Hume, Chap. XLVI.

their estates, and go upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and but a sandy foundation." After renewed consultation, it was determined to take the hazard, and to "rest herein on God's providence, as they had done in other things." And again "messengers were despatched to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could, and to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means attain." An equally important part of their charge was "to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke to, and adventure in, this voyage," to the end of procuring the pecuniary means necessary for the outfit of the expedition. In short, money for the expense of the emigration was to be raised on a mortgage of the labor of the emigrants.[1]

1619. February.

The negotiation with the Virginia Company was embarrassed by the dissensions which now distracted that body. Its parlor was the scene of a conflict between the Court and Country parties, which divided the kingdom. It was just at the time when Sir Thomas Smith,[2] its first Governor, withdrew from his office, and Sir Edwin Sandys, after an acrimonious canvass, was appointed his successor,

Parties in the Virginia Company.

1619. April 28.

[1] Bradford, 29, 30. The messengers were Cushman and Brewster, as appears from Cushman's letter of May 8, 1619 (Bradford, 36–38). Carver and Cushman had come back to Leyden about the end of 1617. "They do now return to you." (Letter of Sir E. Sandys to Robinson and Brewster, of November 12, 1617, in Bradford, 30.) Carver seems to have been immediately sent again to England, though it was not till the second year after this that the business was concluded by Cushman and Brewster. "We have, with the best speed and consideration withal that we could, set down our requests in writing, ... and have sent the same unto the Council by our agent, a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself." (Letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sandys, of December 15, 1617, in Bradford, 31.)

[2] Sir Thomas Smith was a rich city merchant, Governor of the East-India Company, the Russia Company, and the Company for the Discovery of a Northwestern Passage. He was in favor with the court, and in the second year of King James had been sent as minister to Russia. He was one of the assignees of Raleigh's patent. (Belknap, Amer. Biog., II. 9 *et seq.*)

that the Leyden people were making their proposals; and their agent wrote to them that "the dissensions and factions amongst the Council and Company of Virginia are such, as that since we came up no business could by them be despatched." "These divisions and distractions had shaken off many of their pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for and proffered means." A patent, however, was at length obtained under the seal of the Virginia Company, "not taken in the name of any of their own company, but in the name of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them."[1] Neither the original of this, nor any copy, is believed to be extant, nor has its date, or any description of its grants, been preserved. As the lands conveyed by it were not occupied, it never acquired practical value.

May 8.

Patent from the Virginia Company.

The negotiation of the Leyden people with the partners who were to share the expenses of the voyage and first settlement was still less satisfactory; and the hardship of the terms to which they were reduced shows at once the slenderness of their means and the constancy of their purpose.[2] It was agreed

Contract with London merchants.

[1] Bradford, 36, 41.

[2] "Under the influence of this wild notion [the notion of a Scriptural authority for the proceeding], the colonists of New Plymouth, in imitation of the primitive Christians, threw all their property into a common stock." So wrote Robertson (History of America, II. 259), utterly misapprehending the transaction. The tone of Robertson's feeble and erroneous fragment on the History of New England is taken from Douglas and Chalmers, whom he constantly quotes. They were no friends to his great fame who published this posthumous work, composed in the excitement of the quarrel with America. Of the *communism* of the Plymouth colonists, enforced for a time by their necessities, and escaped from as soon as possible, Bradford, their leader, wrote (135): "The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients, applauded by some of later times, that the taking away of property, and bringing in community into a commonwealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God."

to create a joint-stock company on the following plan and conditions.[1]

1. Colonists sixteen years old and upwards, and persons contributing ten pounds, were each to be owners of one share.

2. Colonists contributing ten pounds in money or provisions were to be owners of two shares.

3. The partnership was to continue seven years, to the end of which time "all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or by any other means," were to remain as common stock.

4. The settlers, having landed, were to be divided into parties to be employed in boat-building, fishing, carpentry, cultivation, and manufactures for the use of the colony.

5. At the end of seven years, the capital and profits were to be divided among the stockholders in proportion to their respective shares in the investment.

6. Stockholders investing at a later period were to have shares in the division proportioned to the duration of their interest.

7. Colonists were to be allowed a share for each domestic dependant accompanying them (wife, child, or servant) more than sixteen years of age; two shares for every such person accompanying them, if supplied at their expense; and half a share for every dependant between ten years of age and sixteen.

[1] The contract with Allerton for a release, November 15, 1626, was signed by forty-two partners. (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48.) — Smith says (Generall Historie, 247): "The Adventurers which raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation were about seventy, some gentlemen, some merchants, some handicraftsmen, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their estates and affection served." Smith was likely to be well informed, but I do not recollect to have met with anything to confirm his statement as to the number of partners. Probably the colonists were not curious on the subject, when they made their arrangement. They looked to the prominent men who transacted the business, and whom they believed competent to fulfil any engagements they made for themselves and others. Smith adds: "The general stock already employed is about seven thousand pounds"; which, I think, must be an exaggeration.

8. Each child going out under ten years of age was to have, at the division, fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. To the estates of persons dying before the expiration of the seven years, allowances were to be made at the division, proportioned to the length of their lives in the colony.

10. Till the division, all colonists were to be provided with food, clothing, and other necessaries, from the common stock.[1]

Two stipulations, supposed by the colonists to have been settled, to the effect that they should have two days in each week for their private use, and that, at the division of the property, they should be proprietors of their houses and of the cultivated land appertaining thereto, were ultimately disallowed by the *Merchant Adventurers*, to the great disappointment and discontent of the other party. Cushman, who was much blamed for his facility in yielding these points, insisted that, if he had acted differently, the whole undertaking would have fallen to the ground.[2]

This matter being concluded, "they had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation, to seek the Lord for his direction" as to the next proceeding.[3] As those who were not to emigrate at present were the larger number, it was determined that the pastor should remain with them, while Brewster should accompany the pioneers, who were without delay to sell their little property and

Preparations for departure.

[1] Bradford, 45, 46. Till the recent important discovery of the autograph of Bradford's History, the precise conditions of the partnership were only known from Hubbard (General History of New England, Chap. IX.), who had them from Bradford.

[2] Not only less reasonable persons, but Bradford and Robinson were seriously dissatisfied. (Bradford, 45, Robinson's letter in Bradford, 47, and the letter of Fuller, Winslow, Bradford, and Allerton, in Bradford, 49.) Cushman defended himself with some warmth. (Ibid., 51, 60.) "But these things gave not content at present." (Ibid., 61.)

[3] On this occasion, Robinson took for his text the words from 1 Samuel xxiii. 3, 4: "And David's men said unto him, See, we be afraid here in Judah; how much more, if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines. Then David asked counsel of the Lord again." (Bradford, 41.)

contribute the proceeds to the common stock on the terms defined in the articles. Thomas Weston, one of the London partners, came to Leyden for a consultation respecting the details of the outfit; and Cushman was sent over to London, and Carver to Southampton, "to receive the money, and provide for the voyage."

Embarkation from Delft-Haven.

At length the time came when they were to leave "that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place near twelve years. But they knew they were *pilgrims*, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." A little vessel which they had purchased, called the Speedwell, lay at Delft-Haven, on the river Maese, fourteen miles off. The voyagers and their friends held their last religious service together, "pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears."[1] "When the ship

[1] Bradford, 59. Robinson preached from these words (Ezra viii. 21): "There, at the river Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance." This sermon has been represented by late writers, not without probability, but without authority, to have been the vehicle of that "wholesome counsel" which Winslow, writing twenty-five years afterwards, reported to have been given by Robinson to his flock "at their departure from him to begin the great work of plantation in New England." The "counsel," whether given in the sermon in question, or otherwise, is instinct with the most enlightened, pure, and gentle Christian philosophy.

"Amongst other wholesome instructions and exhortations he used these expressions, or to the same purpose: —

"We are now ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever he should live to see our faces again. But whether the Lord had appointed it or not, he charged us before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state and condition of the Reformed churches, who were come to a period in religion, and would go no further than the instruments of their Reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans, they could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's will he had further imparted and revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And so also, saith he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them; a misery much to

was ready to carry us away," says Winslow, "the brethren that stayed having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we solemnly engaging ourselves mutually as before,[1] they that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, being large, where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music. And indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delft-Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again; and after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard, (the ship lying to the quay, and ready to set sail,

be lamented; for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now living, saith he, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light, as that they had received. Here also he puts us in mind of our church covenant, at least that part of it whereby we promise and covenant with God, and one with another, to receive whatsoever light or truth shall be made known to us from his written word; but withal exhorted us to take heed what we received for truth, and well to examine and compare it and weigh it with other Scriptures of truth before we received it. For, saith he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once." (Briefe Narration, 97, 98.)

The expression of such sentiments, if it could be traced no further back than to the time of the record which has come down to us, would be a noticeable and an admirable fact; but on such evidence as Winslow's it may seem that there need be no hesitation in ascribing the general strain of thought to Robinson, though one wishes that there was more proof of the verbal exactness of the report. Winslow may, at the time, have written down what he heard. Robinson may have furnished it afterwards in writing to his friends, though this is less likely, as Winslow's language is: "He used these expressions, or to the same purpose." Mather (Book I. Chap. III.), Prince (176), and Neal (History of the Puritans, Part II. Chap. II.), all copied from Winslow.

[1] These engagements were, that, "if the Lord should frown upon our proceedings, then those that went to return, and the brethren that remained still there to assist and be helpful to them; but if God should be pleased to favor them that went, then they also should endeavor to help over such as were poor and ancient, and willing to come." (Briefe Narration, 90.)

the wind being fair,) we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed." [1]

1620 July 22.

The Speedwell brought her passengers prosperously to Southampton, where they found the Mayflower, which vessel had come round from London with Cushman and others a week before. Weston, on the part of the Adventurers, was there to see them off. The discussion respecting the disputed articles was renewed with him, but to no effect; and they had now gone so far that they could neither retreat nor pause.[2] When about to sail, they were assembled to receive one more proof of the wisdom and affection of their pastor, in a letter full of excellent counsel, urging the obligation of cultivating a

Arrival at Southampton.

[1] Briefe Narration, 91. — Bradford (60) adds some touches to the picture: "Sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them." The night before the embarkation "was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was, to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love. But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leaves one of another."

[2] "This was the first ground of discontent between them." (Bradford, 61.) Weston would make them no advance, and they had to raise money by selling some of their provisions, and to go away "scarce having any butter, no oil, nor a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armor," &c. They protested that the objectionable articles were "made by Robert Cushman without their commission or knowledge." (Letter to the Adventurers, ibid.) — Prince says (under July 22, 1620), "Seven hundred pounds sterling are laid out at Southampton, and they carry about seventeen hundred pounds venture with them"; and for this he refers to Bradford. But I do not find that Bradford has made the latter statement. The former I suppose Prince inferred from Cushman's complaint of Martin's mismanagement, in his letter to Edward Southworth (Bradford, 72).

generous spirit, and of carefully watching against occasions of strife, in the new circumstances which were to put their virtue to the proof. The letter "had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many."[1]

The vessels put to sea with about a hundred and twenty passengers. For each vessel they "chose a governor and two or three assistants, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of their provisions and such like affairs." The Mayflower was of a hundred and eighty tons' burden; the Speedwell, of sixty. Before they had proceeded far on the voyage, the Speedwell proved so leaky that it was thought prudent to return, and both vessels put in at Dartmouth. Repairs having been made, they sailed a second time. But again, when they were a hundred leagues from land, the master of the smaller vessel represented her as incapable of making the voyage, and they put back to Plymouth. This was afterwards believed to be a pretence of the master, who had been engaged to remain a year with the emigrants, and who had repented of his contract. The next resource was to divide the company, and leave a portion behind, while the rest should pursue their voyage in the larger ship. This arrangement was presently made. The Speedwell was sent back to London, and the Mayflower "put to sea again with a prosperous wind." "Those that went back were for the most part such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent or fear they conceived of the ill success of the voyage, seeing so many crosses befall, and the year time so far spent; but others, in regard of their own weakness and charge of many young children, were thought least useful, and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure, unto which work of God and judgment of their

Departure from Southampton. August circ. 5.

Failure of the Speedwell.

Sailing of the Mayflower. Sept. 6.

[1] For this admirable letter, and a private letter to Carver which accompanied it, see Bradford, 63–67.

brethren they were contented to submit. And thus, like Gideon's army, this small number was divided, as if the Lord, by this work of his providence, thought these few too many for the great work he had to do."[1]

Origin of some passengers in the Mayflower.

The colonists,—men, women, and children,—who were now embarked on board the Mayflower, were a hundred and two in number. Concerning very few of them is it known to this day from what English homes they came. Bradford and Brewster alone are ascertained to have been members of the Scrooby congregation.[2] During its residence in Leyden, that company had received numerous accessions of Englishmen, who had either passed over for the purpose of attaching themselves to it, or who, being in Holland for other purposes, had come within its attraction. Winslow, who was superior in condition to all or most of his companions,[3] is believed to have become acquainted with Robinson while on his travels in Holland; and at twenty-two years of age he joined the society, three years before the emigration.[4] The "cautionary towns" of the Netherlands had been garrisoned by British regiments for thirty years, and Miles

[1] Bradford, 69, 70. — Among those who now withdrew "out of some discontent" were "Mr. Cushman and his family, whose heart and courage was gone from them before." Martin was "governor in the bigger ship," and Cushman, who was his "assistant," was displeased with his administration. (Letter of Cushman, in Bradford, 72.) Bradford, while he found some of Cushman's conduct to "discover some infirmities, as who under temptation is free?" fails not to record that "he continued to be a special instrument for their good," and "a loving friend and faithful brother unto them."

[2] Of surnames borne by passengers in the Mayflower, Mr. George Sumner, who, in 1851, made diligent investigations in and about Bawtry, found *Priest* and *Soule* respectively within three and six miles of it, and *Tinker* and *Lister* in the town. The name *Lister* was on costly tombs. But Edward Lister, or Litster, who came in the Mayflower, was Mr. Hopkins's servant.

[3] "A gentleman of the best family of any of the Plymouth planters." (Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, I. 172.) "Of a very reputable family." (Ibid., II. 408.)

[4] "I living three years under his ministry, before we began the work of plantation in New England." (Briefe Narration, 93.) Winslow was born at Droitwich, in Worcestershire, October 17, 1595. (Young, Pilgrims, 274.)

Standish had probably been employed on this service. He was not a member of the Leyden church, nor subsequently of that of Plymouth, but appears to have been induced to join the emigrants by personal good-will or by love of adventure, while to them his military knowledge and habits rendered his companionship of great value.[1] In determining the question as to which portion of the congregation should first emigrate, it was arranged for "the youngest and strongest part to go."[2] The youngest and strongest would generally be those who had joined the society most recently, while they who were excused from the first enterprise by reason of their being advanced in years would, on the whole, be the same persons whose more ancient relations to Robinson in England would be a reason for their desiring, and being allowed, to decline a separation from him. The Leyden church had received members of Dutch and French birth, and, among the company in the Mayflower, Margeson was probably a Hollander.[3] Warren, Hopkins, Billington, Dotey, and Lister appear to have joined the expedition in England.

[1] Standish gave the name of Duxbury to the town which he began on the north side of Plymouth harbor, and an English family of the name of Standish has its ancestral seat at Duxbury Hall in Lancashire; from which coincidence it has been inferred, with much probability, that Miles Standish was of that race. (Young, Pilgrims, 125.) Morton (Memorial, 162) says: "He was a gentleman born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings." By his will, Standish devised to "his son and heir apparent" certain lands given, he says, "to me as right heir by lawful descent, but surreptitiously detained from me, my great-grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish." — Some fifteen or twenty years ago, Mr. Frank Hall Standish, "of Duxbury Hall," bequeathed a collection of pictures and engravings to King Louis-Philippe.

[2] Briefe Narration, 90.

[3] "Divers of their members [members of the Dutch churches] . . . . . betook themselves to the communion of our church, went with us to New England, as Godbert Godbertson, &c. . . . . One Samuel Terry was received from the French church there into communion with us. . . . : . There is also one Philip Delanoy, born of French parents, came to us from Leyden to New Plymouth." (Ibid., 95, 96.) Delanoy, since called *Delano*, came in the Fortune, in 1621; Godbertson, or Cuthbertson, in the Ann, in 1623.

Martin "came from Billerica, in Essex, from which county came several others, as also from London and other places, to go with them."[1] Alden was of Southampton.[2] Amsterdam probably made some contribution to the company.[3] "Many of you," wrote Robinson to them while at Southampton, "are strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities, one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way."[4]

Little is recorded of the incidents of the voyage. The first part was favorably made. As the wanderers approached the American continent, they encountered storms which their overburdened vessel was scarcely able to sustain. Their destination was to a point near Hudson River,[5] yet within the territory of the London Company, by which their patent had been granted. This description corresponds to no other country than the seacoast of the State of New Jersey. At early dawn of the sixty-fourth day of their voyage, they came in sight of the white sand-banks of Cape Cod. In pursuance of their original purpose, they veered to the south, but, by the middle of the day, they found themselves "among perilous shoals and breakers," which caused them to retrace their course.[6] An opinion afterwards prevailed, on questionable grounds, that they had been purposely led astray by the master of the vessel, induced by a bribe from the Dutch, who were averse to having them near

Nov. 9.

[1] "There was one chosen in England to be joined" with Carver and Cushman. "His name was Mr. Martin. He came from Billerica," &c. (Bradford, 56.)

[2] "John Alden was hired for a cooper, at Southampton, where the ship victualled, and, being a hopeful young man, was much desired, but left to his own liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed and married here." (Bradford, 449.) Tradition reports that he was the successful rival of Captain Standish with Priscilla Mullins, having been rashly sent by the Captain to that lady on the errand of Viola in "Twelfth Night."

[3] Cushman, in Bradford, 53, 57.

[4] Ibid., 66.

[5] "To find some place about the Hudson's River for their habitations." (Ibid., 77.)

[6] The "perilous shoals" were perhaps those of the island of Monomoy, near Chatham; perhaps Nantucket Shoals.

the mouth of the Hudson,[1] which Dutch vessels had begun to visit for trade.

[1] "Their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm, by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of Mr. Jones, the master of the ship, for their intention, as before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's River. But some of the Dutch, having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones by delay while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c., to disappoint them in their going thither. . . . . Of this plot betwixt the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late and certain intelligence." So, in 1669, wrote the honest but not over-cautious Nathaniel Morton (Memorial, p. 34), who has often been quoted since. But there is no contemporary statement to this effect, and, had the story been early received, it would seem that Morton, who was Bradford's nephew, would not have needed to have "late" intelligence of it. On the other hand, it seems singular that, when the coast had been so long known, the captain, who, if he had not before been upon it, was accompanied by persons who had been (Clark, his mate, and Coppin, if no others), should have unintentionally gone so far out of his way. And it may be, as has been surmised, that Morton had his "late" intelligence from Thomas Willett, who was in the way of good information. Four years before Morton published his book, New Amsterdam was taken by the English, and Willett was made its first Mayor, its name being then changed to *New York*. In the expedition, he had a command in the force raised by Plymouth, where he had been many years a magistrate, and whither he returned about the time of Morton's publication. He is first spoken of by Bradford (260) as "an honest young man, that came from Leyden," where also he might have heard the story. But, as it stands, it certainly does not rest upon sufficient evidence to entitle it to full credit.

CHAPTER V.

The Mayflower at Cape Cod. 1620. Nov. 11.

The narrow peninsula, sixty miles long, which terminates in Cape Cod, projects eastwardly from the mainland of Massachusetts, in shape resembling the human arm bent rectangularly at the elbow and again at the wrist. In the basin enclosed landward by the extreme point of this projection, in the roadstead of what is now Provincetown, the Mayflower dropped her anchor at noon on a Saturday near the close of autumn. The exigencies of a position so singular demanded an organization adequate to the preservation of order and of the common safety, and the following instrument was prepared and signed:[1] —

[1] "This day, before we came to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word." (Mourt's Relation, 3.) — "Some of the strangers among them had let fall from them in the ship, that, when they came ashore, they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to another government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do." (Bradford, History, 89.) — Morton (Memorial, Davis's edit., 38) appends to the instrument forty-one names. He doubtless took the compact from Bradford's History or Mourt's Relation, neither of which contains names of subscribers. Bradford's list (447–450) of male passengers in the Mayflower has seven names of males, apparently adults, additional to those of the signers in Morton. They are Roger Wilder, Elias Story, Solomon Prower, John Langemore, Robert Carter, William Holbeck, and Edward Thomson. If to these be added "two seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore and one Ely," who, "when their time was out, both returned" (Ibid., 450), we have, including the women and children mentioned by Bradford, a hundred and two for the total number of the company. The same number came to land as had left England. One (William Button) died, and one (Oceanus Hopkins) was born, on the passage.

Mourt's "Relation or Journal," quoted

"In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c., having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620." Compact for government.

Such was the beginning of the Colony of Plymouth. To the end of its separate history, it continued to be an humble community in numbers and in wealth. When four years had passed, the village consisted of only thirty-two cabins, inhabited by a hundred and eighty persons. The government of the company was prescribed by the majority of voices, and administered by one of its mem-

above, contains a detailed account of proceedings from the time of the landing to the close of September in the following year. It was sent from Plymouth in December, 1621, and published in London in 1622. It takes its name from a preface signed "G. Mourt," a name otherwise unknown. On strong grounds of probability, Dr. Young (Pilgrims, 113) understands Mourt to have been George Morton (brother-in-law of Governor Bradford), who had been one of the Leyden congregation (Bradford, 48), and who emigrated to Plymouth in July, 1623. With equally plausible arguments, he attributes the authorship of the work to Bradford and Winslow.

bers, with another for his Assistant. It was not so much a commonwealth as a factory, of which the head bore the title of Governor. Six years later, it numbered three hundred persons; five years after this, it had added two hundred more; and, at the end of its life of seventy years, its population, scattered through several towns, had probably not come to exceed eight thousand. It is on account of the virtue displayed in its institution and management, and of the great consequences to which it ultimately led, that the Colony of Plymouth claims the attention of mankind. In any other view, its records would be unattractive. The building of log hovels, the turning of sand-heaps into corn-fields, dealings with stupid Indians and with overreaching partners in trade, anxious struggles to get a living, and, at most, the sufferings of men, women, and children, wasting under cold, sickness, and famine, feebly supply, as the staple of a history, the place of those splendid exhibitions of power, and those critical conflicts of intrigue and war, which fill the annals of great empires. But no higher stake is played for in the largest sphere, than the life of a body politic; nor can the most heroic man be moved by any nobler impulse than the sense of patriotic and religious obligation; nor is the merit of that constancy, which makes no account of sacrifice and suffering, to be estimated by the size of the theatre on which it is displayed. And the homely story of the planters of Plymouth will not fail to have interest for those readers who are able to discriminate what is most excellent in human nature from its adjuncts, or for such as delight to trace the method of Providence in educing results of the largest benefit to mankind from the simple element of devotion to right and duty in lowly men.[1]

At the time of the adoption of the compact for a gov-

[1] "Small things in the beginning of natural or politic bodies are as remarkable as greater in bodies full grown." (Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, in 1630.)

ernment, Carver was chosen Governor of the company.[1] In the afternoon, "fifteen or sixteen men, well armed," were sent on shore to reconnoitre and collect fuel. They returned at evening, reporting that they had seen neither person nor dwelling, but that the country was well wooded, and that the appearance as to soil was promising.

Carver chosen Governor.

Having kept their Sabbath in due retirement, the men began the labors of the week by landing a shallop from the ship and hauling it up the beach for repairs, while the women[2] went on shore to wash clothes. While the carpenter and his men were at work on the boat, sixteen others, armed and provisioned, with Standish for their commander, set off on foot to explore the country. The only incident of this day was the sight of five or six savages, who on their approach ran away too swiftly to be overtaken. At night, lighting a fire and setting a guard, the party bivouacked at the distance, as they supposed, of ten miles from their vessel. Proceeding southward next morning, they observed marks of cultivation, some heaps of earth, which they took for signs of graves, and the remains of a hut, with "a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle." In a heap which they opened, they found two baskets containing four or five bushels of Indian corn, of which they took as much as they could carry away in their pockets and in the kettle. Further on, they saw two canoes, and "an old fort or palisado, made by some Christians," as they thought. The second night, which was rainy, they encamped again, with more precautions than before. On Friday evening, having lost their way meanwhile, and been amused by an accident to Bradford, who was caught in an Indian

Nov. 13. First exploration of the country.

Nov. 15.

Nov. 16.

Nov. 17.

[1] Bradford, 99.

[2] Including children, there were twenty-eight females in the company, eighteen of whom were wives of emigrants.

deer-trap, they returned to their friends "both weary and welcome, and delivered in their corn into the store to be kept for seed, for they knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, proposing, so soon as they could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction."[1]

The succeeding week was spent in putting their tools in order and preparing timber for a new boat. During this time, which proved to be cold and stormy, much inconvenience was experienced from having to wade "a bow-shot" through the shallow water to the shore; and many took "coughs and colds, which afterwards turned to the scurvy." On Monday of the week next following, twenty-four of the colonists, in the shallop, which was now refitted, set out for an exploration along the coast, accompanied by Jones, the shipmaster, and ten of his people, in the long-boat. That day and the following night they suffered from a cold snow-storm, and were compelled to run in to the shore for security. The next day brought them to the harbor to which the preceding journey by land had been extended, now named by them *Cold Harbor*, and ascertained to have a depth of twelve feet of water at flood-tide. Having slept under a shelter of pine-trees, they proceeded to make an examination of the spot as to its fitness for their settlement; in doing which, under the snow-covered and frozen surface, they found another parcel of corn and a bag of beans. These spoils they sent back in the shallop with Jones and sixteen of the party, who were ill, or worn out with exposure and fatigue. Marching inland five or six miles, they found a grave with a deposit of personal articles, as "bowls, trays, dishes," "a knife, a pack-needle," "a little bow," and some "strings

Exposures of the second week.

Nov. 27. Second exploration of the country.

Nov. 28.

Nov. 29.

Nov. 30.

[1] Mourt, 4–8. Pamet Harbor, in Truro, seems to have been the limit of this expedition.

and bracelets of fine white beads." Two wigwams were seen, which appeared to have been recently inhabited.[1] Returning to their boat in the evening, the party hastened to rejoin their friends.

The question was discussed whether they should make a further examination of the coast, or sit down at the harbor which had been visited. The land about it had been under cultivation. The site appeared healthy, and convenient for defence, as well as for taking whales, of which numbers were daily seen. The severity of the winter season was close at hand, and the delay, fatigue, and risk of further explorations were dreaded. But on the whole, the uncertainty as to an adequate supply of water, with the insufficiency of the harbor, which, though commodious for boats, was too shallow for larger vessels, was regarded as a conclusive objection, and it was resolved

[1] Mourt's "Relation" records (12, 13) the first observation by the Plymouth people of the construction, equipment, and provisioning of an Indian wigwam: "The houses were made with long young sapling trees bended, and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round, like unto an arbor, and covered down to the ground with thick and well-wrought mats; and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open. The chimney was a wide open hole in the top; for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seethe. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double-matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together; also an English pail or bucket; it wanted a bail, but it had two iron ears. There were also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser. Some were curiously wrought with black and white in pretty works, and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet stuck up in the houses, harts' horns, and eagles' claws, and sundry such like things there was; also two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk-grass, and a little tobacco-seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bulrushes, and other stuff to make mats. There was thrust into a hollow tree two or three pieces of venison; but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us."

to make a further examination of the bay. The mate of the Mayflower had told them of Agawam, now Ipswich, as a good harbor, with fertile land, and facilities for fishing. But, as things stood, it was thought too distant for a visit.

As soon as the state of the weather permitted, a party of ten, including Carver, Bradford, and others of the principal men, set off with eight seamen in the shallop on what proved to be the final expedition of discovery. The severity of the cold was extreme. "The water froze on their clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron." Coasting along the cape in a southerly direction for six or seven leagues, they landed and slept at a place where ten or twelve Indians had appeared on the shore. The Indians ran away on being approached, and at night it was supposed that it was their fires which appeared at four or five miles' distance. The next day, while part of the company in the shallop examined the shore, the rest, ranging about the country where are now the towns of Wellfleet and Eastham, found a burial-place, some old wigwams, and a small store of parched acorns, buried in the ground; but they met with no inhabitants. The following morning, at daylight, they had just ended their prayers, and were preparing breakfast at their camp on the beach, when they heard a yell, and a flight of arrows fell among them. The assailants turned out to be thirty or forty Indians, who, being fired upon, retired. Neither side had been harmed. A number of the arrows were picked up, "some whereof were headed with brass, others with hart's horn, and others with eagles' claws."

Dec. 6. Third expedition of discovery.

Dec. 8.

Getting on board, they sailed all day along the shore in a storm of snow and sleet, making, by their estimate, a distance of forty or fifty miles, without discovering a harbor. In the afternoon, the gale having increased, their rudder was disabled, and they had to steer with oars. At length the mast was carried away, and they drifted in the

dark with a flood tide. With difficulty they brought up under the lee of a "small rise of land." Here a part of the company, suffering from wet and cold, went on shore, though not without fear of hostile neighbors, and lighted a fire by which to pass the inclement night.[1] In the morning, "they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces, and rest themselves; and, this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath."

Dec. 9.

Dec. 10.

"On Monday, they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping, and marched also into the land, and found divers corn-fields and little running brooks, a place, as they supposed, fit for situation; . . . . . so they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts."[2] Such is the record of that event which has made *the twenty-second of December* a memorable day in the calendar.[3]

Dec. 11. Landing at Plymouth.

[1] The land was Clark's Island, in Plymouth harbor, said by Morton to have been afterwards so named from the mate of the Mayflower.

[2] Bradford, 87, 88.

[3] When the practice of celebrating the anniversary at Plymouth began, in 1769, eleven days were erroneously added to the recorded date, to accommodate it to the Gregorian style, then newly adopted in England. An attempt has been made within a few years to substitute the true allowance of ten days. But the *twenty-second* day of December has taken a firm hold on the local thought and literature, which the *twenty-first* will scarcely displace.

A trustworthy tradition has preserved the knowledge of the landing-place, naturally an object of interest both to the inhabitants and to strangers. It was PLYMOUTH ROCK. Part of it is now imbedded in a wharf. When this was about to be built, in 1741, Elder Thomas Faunce, then ninety-one years old, came to visit the rock, and to remonstrate against its being exposed to injury; and he repeated what he had heard of it from the first planters. Elder Faunce's testimony was transmitted through Mrs. White, who died in 1810, ninety-five years old, and Deacon Ephraim Spooner, who died in 1818, at the age of eighty-three. In 1775, the rock was broken into two pieces, in an attempt to remove it to the town square. The large fragment which was separated was in 1834 placed before Pilgrim Hall, and enclosed within an iron railing.

The tradition does not appear to have unequivocally determined who it was that landed on the rock, whether the exploring party of ten men who went on shore at Plymouth, December 11 (old style), or the whole company, who came into Plymouth harbor in the May-

Dec. 16. Arrival of the whole company at Plymouth.

No time was now lost. By the end of the week, the Mayflower had brought her company to keep their Sabbath by their future home.[1] Further examination confirmed the agreeable impressions which had been received. There was found a convenient harbor, "compassed with a goodly land." The country was well wooded. It had clay, sand, and shells, for bricks, mortar, and pottery, and stone for wells and chimneys; the sea and beach promised abundance of fish

flower on Saturday, December 16, and who, or a part of whom, "went a land" two days after. The received opinion, that the same landing-place, as being the most convenient within sight, was used on both occasions, appears altogether probable. The question is not without interest, because, if the landing on the rock should be associated only with the event of December 11 (21), it would be disconnected from the debarkation of the larger portion of the company, including all the women and children; and in representations of it, the Mayflower at anchor in the harbor would have to be omitted, since at the time of the first landing she was still at the end of the Cape.

During Bradford's absence, his wife, left in the ship, fell overboard, and was drowned.

[1] The precise time of the adoption of the name which the settlement has borne since its first year is not known. *Plymouth* is the name recorded on Smith's map as having been given to the spot by Prince Charles. It seems very likely that the emigrants had with them this map, which had been much circulated, though they came away intending to settle at some distance from the place; or it may have been brought out to them by the Fortune, which sailed from England after intelligence of their whereabouts had been brought by the Mayflower on her return. Smith understood that they had it, for he says (True Travels, &c., 46) they endured "a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience, saying my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself." Hubbard says (General History of New England, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XV. 51) that "after they had discovered land, they were altogether ignorant where it was." But this must be an error, for Coppin at least, the mate, "had been in the country before" (Bradford, 86), and told them of a harbor near, "which he had been in." And they were acquainted with the bearing and distance of Agawam, now Ipswich. (Mourt, 14.) The name *New Plymouth* appears in a letter written in December, 1621, by William Hilton, who had come out in the Fortune. Its use on the spot might be referred to a still earlier time, if its occurrence in Mourt's Relation (as in pp. 49, 53, 57, and 64) could be ascribed with certainty to the writers. But it must be owned that the name may have been introduced by the London editor. Morton (Memorial, 56) assigns as a reason for adopting it, that "Plymouth in Old England was the last town they left in their native country, and they received many kindnesses from some Christians there." In Mourt, "Plymouth" and "the now well-defended town of New Plymouth" are used as equivalent. Later, the name *Plymouth* came to be appropriated to the town, and *New Plymouth* to the Colony.

and fowl, and "four or five small running brooks" brought a supply of "very sweet fresh water." After prayer for further divine guidance, they fixed upon a spot for the erection of their dwellings, in the neighborhood of a brook "and many delicate springs," and of a hill suitable for a look-out and a defence. A storm interrupted their proceeding. When it was past, "so many of them as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building." Then came Sunday, when "the people on shore heard a cry of some savages, as they thought, which caused an alarm and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault; but all was quiet." They were still without the shelter of a roof. At the sharp winter solstice of New England, there was but

Dec. 20.

Dec. 23.

Dec. 24.

"A screen of leafless branches
Between them and the blast."

But it was the Lord's hallowed time, and the work of building must wait. Next followed the day solemnized, in the ancient fanes of the continent they had left, with the most pompous ritual of what they esteemed a vain will-worship. And the reader pauses to ponder and analyze the feeling of stern exultation with which its record was made: "Monday, the 25th day, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry; so *no man rested all that day*."[1]

Christmas.

The first operations were the beginning of a platform for the ordnance, and of a building, twenty feet square, for a storehouse and for common occupation. Nineteen plots for dwellings were laid out, on the opposite sides of a way running along the north side of the brook. The number of plots corresponded to that of the families into which the company was now divided; the appropriation was made by lot; and the size of each plot was such as to allow half a rod in breadth, and three

First operations.

[1] Mourt, 24.

rods in depth, for each person included in the family. It was "agreed that every man should build his own house." "The frost and foul weather hindered them much." "Seldom could they work half the week." Time was lost in going to and from the vessel, to which in the severe cold they were obliged often to repair for lodging. They were delayed in unloading by want of boats; and stone, mortar, and thatch were slowly provided.

These were discouraging circumstances, but far worse troubles were to come. The labor of providing habitations had scarcely begun, when sickness set in, the consequence of exposure and bad food. Within four months it carried off nearly half their number. Six died in December, eight in January, seventeen in February, and thirteen in March. At one time during the winter, only six or seven had strength enough left to nurse the dying and bury the dead. Destitute of every provision which the weakness and the daintiness of the invalid require, the sick lay crowded in the unwholesome vessel, or in half-built cabins heaped around with snow-drifts. The rude sailors refused them even a share of those coarse sea-stores which would have given a little variety to their diet, till disease spread among the crew, and the kind ministrations of those whom they had neglected and affronted brought them to a better temper. The dead were interred in a bluff by the water-side, the marks of burial being carefully effaced, lest the natives should discover how the colony had been weakened. The imagination vainly tasks itself to comprehend the horrors of that fearful winter. The only mitigations were, that the cold was of less severity than is usual in the place,[1] and that there was not an entire want of food or shelter.[2]

Fatal sickness.

[1] "Some think it to be colder in winter [than England]; but I cannot out of experience so say." (Winslow in Mourt, 62.) Winslow could not have written thus, if the first winter after the landing had not been uncommonly mild for the place.

[2] "That which was most sad and lamentable was, that in two or three months' time half of their company died,

Meantime, courage and fidelity never gave out. The well carried out the dead through the cold and snow, and then hastened back from the burial to wait on the sick; and as the sick began to recover, they took the places of those whose strength had been exhausted. There was no time and there was no inclination to despond. The lesson rehearsed at Leyden was not forgotten, "that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages." The dead had died in a good service, and the fit way for survivors to honor and lament them was to be true to one another, and to work together bravely for the cause to which dead and living had alike been consecrated. The devastation increased the necessity of preparations for defence; and it was at the time when

especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them; so as there died sometimes two or three of a day, in the aforesaid time; that, of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. And of these in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but, with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren. A rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster, their reverend Elder, and Miles Standish, their captain and military commander, unto whom myself and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this general calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness or lameness. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who died in this general visitation, and others yet living, that, whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doubt not but their recompense is with the Lord." (Bradford, 91, 92.) When Robinson heard of this great calamity, he wrote from Leyden (June 30, 1621): "In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die. It is thought well for a side, if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many, or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory after many difficulties, for yourselves and others." (Bradford's Letter-Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 45.)

the company was diminishing at the rate of one on every second day, that a military organization was formed, with Standish for the captain, and the humble fortification on the hill overlooking the dwellings was mounted with five guns.

1621. Feb. 17.

Feb. 21.

"Warm and fair weather" came at length, and "the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." Never was spring more welcome than when it opened on this afflicted company.

March 3.

As yet there had been no communication with the natives, though their fires had been observed at a distance, some tools had been lost by their thievery, and two of them had been seen on a neighboring hill, and been invited by signals to a conference. At length, on "a fine, warm morning," an Indian came into the hamlet, and, passing along the row of huts, was intercepted before the common house, which he would have entered. In broken English he bade the strangers "Welcome," and said that his name was Samoset, and that he came from Monhegan, a place distant a day's sail, and five days' journey by land, towards the east, where he had learned something of the language from the crews of fishing-vessels. They gave him food and kept him all day. He told them, that the place where they were was by the Indians called *Patuxet*, and that it had been depopulated four years before by an epidemic sickness;[1] that the subjects of a sachem named

1620. Dec. 30.

1621. Jan. 3.

Feb. 16, 17.

March 16. Welcome from Samoset.

[1] See above, p. 99, note. — "We have been given certainly to know that, within these late years, there hath by God's visitation reigned a wonderful plague," &c. (King James's Charter to the Council for New England.) — "They were very much wasted of late by reason of a great mortality that fell amongst them three years since." "We found the place where we live empty, the people being all dead and gone away, and none living near by eight or ten miles." (Cushman, in Young, Pilgrims, 258, 259.) — "About twelve years since, they were swept away by a great and grievous plague, that was amongst them, so that there are very few left to inhabit the country." (Higginson, New England's Plantation, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 123.) — "The hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal stroke that they died on heaps," &c. (Morton,

Massasoit were their next neighbors; and that at the southeast, on the Cape, was a tribe called the *Nausets*, who were exasperated against the English on account of a kidnapping of some of their people.[1] Reluctantly they entertained him for the night, not without suspicion of his designs, and sent him away the next morning with the present of a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. At parting, he promised to repeat his visit, and bring some of his friends for a trade in beavers' skins.

He appeared the following day with five other savages, who returned the stolen tools and brought three or four skins. As it was Sunday, the English would not trade, but gave them hospitable entertainment and some presents, and dismissed them with an invitation to come again with a better supply. Samoset could not be prevailed upon to depart with them, but, feigning himself sick, remained at the settlement till the third day after, when he was despatched to look for his friends.

March 18. Visit from other natives.

The next day, he came again, accompanied by four

New English Canaan, Book I. Chap. III.) — "About the year 1618, ... as the ancient Indians report, there befell a great mortality among them," &c. (Edward Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence, Book I. Chap. VIII.) — "A three years' plague, about twelve or sixteen years past, swept away most of the inhabitants all along the seacoast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, and child, so that there is no person left to lay claim to the soil which they possessed. In most of the rest, the contagion hath scarce left alive one person of a hundred." (Planters' Plea, Chap. IV.) —Hutchinson says (History, I. 38): "Our ancestors supposed an immediate interposition of Providence in the great mortality among the Indians, to make room for the settlement of the English." He who understands that there is a divine government of human affairs, and who recalls what has followed upon the occupation of this region by civilized men, may well hesitate to pronounce that they erred in that belief.

[1] "These people are ill affected toward the English by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them, under color of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausets, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves." (Mourt, 33; see above, p. 93.) Under this provocation, according to Samoset's account, the Nausets had killed three Englishmen eight months before. "They were Sir Ferdinando Gorges's men, as this savage told us" (Mourt, 33); that is, of Dermer's crew (see above, p. 99).

others, one of whom, named Squanto, turned out to be one of the Indians stolen seven years before by Hunt.[1] They brought a message from Massasoit, that he was at hand, and desired an interview with the strangers. It took place with suitable formalities and precautions. Massasoit appearing on the top of a hill close by, with sixty of his followers, Winslow was sent out with Squanto, and with a present to the king and his brother, consisting of three knives, a copper chain with a jewel attached, an ear-ring, "a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter." After a brief parley, Winslow was left behind as a hostage, while the king and twenty unarmed followers met Standish, Williamson,[2] and six musketeers at the brook which divided the parties. Massasoit, conducted with his men to an unfinished building, where a rug and cushions were spread for them, gave audience to the Governor, who came "with drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers." After salutations and feasting, they proceeded to make a treaty with the following stipulations: — that Massasoit and his people should offer no injury to the English, and that any offender in this respect should be surrendered for punishment; that, if tools were stolen, they should be restored, and that similar redress should be afforded on the other part; that mu-

March 21.

Visit from, and treaty with, Massasoit.

[1] So say Bradford (95) and Mourt's Journal (35). Dermer, finding in Newfoundland, in 1618, a *Tasquantum* who, six years before, had been kidnapped by Hunt, brought him to England, and back again to America, (Brief Relation of the President and Council of New England, 13, 16,) leaving him at Saco, whence he seems to have found his way to Plymouth. Gorges (Briefe Narration, Chap. II.) says that the name of one of the three natives brought to him by Waymouth (see above, pp. 76, 80) was *Tasquantum*. Winslow uniformly calls the Indian mentioned in the text *Tisquantum*. Bradford almost always gives him the name of *Squanto*.

[2] "Master Williamson." (Mourt, 36.) There is no *Williamson* in Bradford's list. There is a Thomas *Williams* (Bradford, 449); but his place in the catalogue is such as to make it seem unlikely that he would be called *Master*, and he probably died before the visit of Massasoit. (Ibid., 454.) The name may have been a misprint for *Allerton*, who was Standish's companion on the same errand the following day. (Mourt, 38.)

tual aid should be rendered against enemies; that notice should be sent to other neighboring natives, to the end that they might enter into similar engagements; and that, when visits should be exchanged, the visitors should go unarmed. This business settled, Massasoit was assured that "King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally."

The treaty — which remained in force fifty-four years — being concluded, Massasoit was conducted by the Governor to the brook, and rejoined his party, leaving hostages behind. Presently his brother, Quadequina, came over with a retinue, and was entertained with like hospitality; after which, the hostages were mutually released. The next day, on an invitation from the king, Standish and Allerton returned his visit, and were regaled with "three or four ground-nuts and some tobacco." The Governor sent for the king's kettle, and returned it "full of pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way." Squanto and Samoset remained, and the former gave an earnest of his subsequent usefulness to the English by taking for them a quantity of eels. Their tables would have been better supplied, had they been able to avail themselves of the plenty of the fishing-grounds; but, by some oversight, they had come unprovided with the proper tackle.[1]

March 23.

As their New Year's Day approached,[2] they "proceeded with their common business, from which they had been so often hindered by the savages' coming, and concluded both of military orders and of some laws and orders thought behooveful for their present estate and condition."[3] At the same time they re-elected Carver to be their Governor. They had now completed such preparation as was to be made for

March 21–23. Organization military and civil.

[1] Mourt, 26. Winslow, Good Newes from New England, 294.

[2] Till 1752 the years were reckoned by the English as beginning on the 25th of March, called in the church calendar the *Annunciation*, or *Lady Day*.

[3] Mourt, 39.

severing the last tie that bound them to the scenes of their earlier life, and the Mayflower set sail on her return voyage, with scarcely more than half the crew which had navigated her to America, the rest having fallen victims to the epidemic of the winter. The delay in landing her passengers and stores had been protracted by a fire, which had destroyed the roof of the storehouse; and this, with the unwillingness of the colonists to part with her while their situation remained so precarious, and the necessity of recruiting the health of her crew, had occasioned her detention through the winter, at a cost which was afterwards complained of by the Adventurers.[1] She carried back not one of the emigrants, dispiriting as were the hardships which they had endured, and those they had still in prospect.

April 5. Sailing of the Mayflower.

Scarcely had she departed, when another calamity occurred, as grievous as any that could have befallen the struggling colony. Carver, who at one time had been left with no aid but that of Brewster, Standish, and four others, to nurse their suffering companions, "oppressed by his great care and pains for the common good," came out of the field[2] where he was planting, took to his bed, after a few hours fell into a delirium, and died in a few days. In "great lamentation and heaviness" they laid him in his grave, "with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with a discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms." His wife, "being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious a husband," followed him after a few weeks. Bradford was chosen to the vacant office, with Isaac Aller-

Death of Carver.

[1] Bradford, 100.

[2] Belknap (Amer. Biog., II. 215) says, "on the 5th of April, the day on which the ship sailed for England." If it were so, one might conjecture as to how much, in Carver's debilitated state and with such anxieties upon him, the sailing of the ship had to do with his sudden fever. But Bradford, not stating what would have presented an interesting coincidence, says merely (100) "in this month of April." Perhaps Belknap, who was not acquainted with Bradford's History, made a hasty inference from the place of the entry in Prince's Chronology.

ton, at his request, for his Assistant.[1] Forty-six of the colonists of the Mayflower were now dead, — twenty-eight out of the forty-eight adult men.[2] Before the arrival of the second party of emigrants in the autumn, the dead reached the number of fifty-one, and only an equal number survived the first miseries of the enterprise.

The transmitted history of Carver covers less than four years. A diligent curiosity has failed to discover his birthplace or his early condition. In an unambitious service of religious duty, which in its partially developed results has already changed the face of human affairs, tradition relates that he sacrificed an ample estate. He wore himself out with public labors, and ministrations of private compassion. He was honored to be the earliest chief of the company which unconsciously was laying the foundation-stone of the American republic,[3] if indeed he did not subscribe the first name affixed, in the annals of mankind, to a fundamental constitution of government.[4]

In early spring, the settlers opened the ground near their dwellings with the spade, and prepared their rude gardens. They sowed six acres with barley and pease. Their good fortune in the winter at the subterranean storehouses had given them ten bushels of Indian corn for seed. This sufficed them for the cultivation of twenty acres, Squanto instructing them how to plant and hill it, and

March 19, 20.

Employments and condition of the settlers during the summer.

[1] This arrangement had reference to Bradford's "being not yet recovered of his illness, in which he had been near the point of death." (Bradford, 100.)

[2] The seven men named above (p. 164, note) were all dead. (Bradford, 451, 452.) Martin's hut was emptied; "he and all his died in the first infection."

[3] "Virginia in its infancy was struggling for life; and what its fate would have been, if the fathers of it in England had not seen the rise and growth of other colonies near it, is uncertain. . . . . Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful." (Hutchinson, History, I. 11.)

[4] See above, p. 165. "This is perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive original social compact, which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government." (John Quincy Adams, Oration on the 22d of December, 1802, p. 17.)

manure it with fish. As the season advanced, they found native grapes and berries in abundance; and they did not omit to record that wild-flowers of various hue and "very sweet" fragrance added a charm to the scene.

A visitor to Plymouth during this summer, as he landed on the southern side of a high bluff, would have seen, standing between it and a rapid little stream, a rude house of logs or planks, twenty feet square, containing the common property of the plantation. Proceeding up a gentle acclivity between two rows of log cabins, nineteen in number, some of them perhaps vacant since the death of their first tenants, he would have come to a hill surmounted with a platform for cannon. He might have counted twenty men at work with hoes in the enclosures about the huts, or fishing in the shallow harbor, or visiting the woods or the beach for game; while six or eight women were busy in household affairs, and some twenty children, from infancy upwards, completed the domestic picture.[1]

With the variety afforded by wild-fowl, fish, and native fruits, what remained of the stores that had been brought over yielded a sufficient supply of food, and the summer season brought no other want. Vigilance was necessary against hostile neighbors, and a system was to be pursued for securing order and industry; but the overseer of twenty laborers had no hard task, when one half of them, at least, shared fully in his own public spirit, and as many as might be of a different disposition depended for their daily comforts on the good-will and sense of justice of those who maintained him in his place. Four expeditions during the summer varied the life of the exiles, and extended their knowledge of the country to a few miles' distance on the north, east, and west.

Winslow and Hopkins, accompanied by Squanto as

[1] Of the children, two were born on board the Mayflower; — one, Oceanus Hopkins, at sea; the other, Peregrine White, while she was anchored in Cape Cod Harbor. White lived three years into the next century.

interpreter, were despatched to visit Massasoit, at his home on Narragansett Bay, in order to ascertain where his people might be found in case of need, to obtain information of his force and of the condition of the country, to cement the friendship already contracted, and to make arrangements for future intercourse. They bore "a horseman's coat of red cotton and laced with a slight lace" for a present, and a copper chain to be the credential of any messenger whom Massasoit might send to the settlement, where, he was to be informed, it would not be convenient, by reason of scarcity of the means of hospitality, to receive his people so freely as heretofore. By a walk of fifteen miles, they came in the afternoon to a village called *Namasket*, in what is now Middleborough, where the natives entertained them with "a kind of bread," and with spawn of shads boiled with old acorns. At night, they lodged in the open air, at a place eight miles further on, where were a number of Indians, who had assembled to fish, but had erected no shelter. Here they saw marks of former extensive cultivation. "Thousands of men had lived there, which died in a great plague, not long since." Six savages accompanied them the next day, bearing their arms and clothes, and carrying them over the fords on their shoulders.

June or July. Visit to Massasoit.

Their errand was happily accomplished, though at the cost of a distressing experience of the poverty and filth of Indian hospitality. The housekeeping of the greatest chief of the tribes between Narragansett Bay and the Piscataqua was at the smallest possible remove above brute life. Massasoit avowed himself well content to renew the alliance, and promised to promote the traffic in skins, to furnish a supply of corn for seed, and to ascertain the owners of the underground granaries rifled by the English in the winter, so that restitution might be made. He told them of the Narragansetts, a strong tribe dwelling further to the west, which had not suffered from the recent pestilence, and advised them to arrest the trade

between that people and "the Frenchmen."[1] He had no food to offer the envoys, and their lodging in his sty was of the most comfortless description. The following day, he invited them to a share, with forty Indians, in three small fishes. On the fifth day of their absence from the settlement they returned, faint and giddy for want of sleep and food.[2]

Visit to Nauset.

A boy of the company having gone astray in the woods, ten men, accompanied by Squanto and another native, went in search of him in a boat, to the southern coast of the bay, whither they had intelligence of his having wandered.[3] The first night, they put in at the harbor of Cummaquid, now Barnstable, where they were courteously received by the sachem, named Iyannough, and were assailed with angry language by a woman whose son had been kidnapped by Captain Hunt. The next day, attended by Iyannough, they proceeded to Nauset, now Eastham, the place of the attack upon the exploring party in the preceding autumn. Here the boy was surrendered, and an arrangement was made to pay at Plymouth for the corn which had been taken away. "Not less than a hundred" savages came about them at this interview. On the third day they returned home, the more hastily for a story told them at Nauset, that their ally, Massasoit, had been carried off by the Narragansetts. Their renewed observations, in summer-time, on the place where they had at first proposed to build, afforded them the satisfaction of concluding that its soil was "not so good for corn as where they were."

[1] Mourt, Journal, 45. But I suppose this was a mistake of Winslow's, and that Massasoit spoke of the Dutch.

[2] "We set forward the 10th of June." (Mourt's Relation, 41.) But it is probable, from Bradford's statement (102) and other considerations, that the expedition was in the first week of July. The question of this date has no relations that make it worth discussing.

[3] The date of this expedition also is uncertain, though the account of it begins: "The 11th of June we set forth." (Mourt, 49.) This and the previous date of Mourt could not both be correct, as then the expeditions to Nauset and to Massasoit's country would have been contemporaneous, whereas Squanto is said to have been in both.

Their return was welcome, for they were half the force of the colony; and in their absence information had come of dangerous intrigues on the part of Corbitant, a chief subordinate to Massasoit and supposed to be attached to the Narragansetts. The report was, that he was aiming to detach Massasoit from the alliance lately made, and that he had threatened violence against Squanto, Hobbamak, and Tokamahamon, counsellors of the sachem friendly to the English. Hobbamak soon after escaped with difficulty to the settlement, bringing intelligence of the apprehension of Squanto. Standish, with some twelve men, well armed, was sent back with Hobbamak to protect their friend, and counteract the plot. At midnight, after a rainy day, and a weary march, lengthened by their having strayed from the path, they beset the wigwam of Corbitant at Namasket. Not finding him there, they disarmed his people, who were thrown into consternation by the report of their fire-arms. The next day, leaving for him a message of caution against the repetition of hostile attempts upon their friends, they returned to Plymouth, accompanied by Squanto, whom they had rescued, a wounded man and woman whom they brought to be treated by their physician, and others who volunteered to carry their arms and knapsacks. They had killed none. The good effect upon their savage neighbors of this prompt action was presently apparent. Nine sachems, representing jurisdictions extending from Charles River to Buzzard's Bay, came into the town, and subscribed a writing by which they "acknowledged themselves to be loyal subjects of King James"; which was but a way of engaging to keep the peace with his subjects at Plymouth.[1]

Aug. 14. Expedition to Namasket.

Aug. 15.

Sept. 13. Submission of nine sachems.

The last expedition of the season was to the bay on which Boston now stands, called in the contemporaneous record *Massachusetts Bay*. Standish

Visit to Boston Bay.

[1] Morton, Memorial, 67; comp. Bradford, 104.

and nine others, with three Indians to interpret, of whom Squanto was one, embarked at midnight with the ebb-tide. The second morning they landed upon a beach under a cliff,[1] and received the submission of a chief on a promise of being a "safeguard from his enemies." They surveyed the "fifty islands" of Boston harbor; and, passing the night on board their boat, went on shore again the following day, and walked a few miles into the country. They observed land which had been cultivated, two forts in decay, untenanted huts, and other tokens of recent depopulation. They noted "the fair entrance" of the river Charles, and "harbors for shipping" than which "better cannot be." They conciliated the few natives whom they met, and traded with them for some skins. They learned that the principal personage in the neighborhood was the female chief, or "squaw sachem," of Massachusetts, that it had suffered from hostile incursions of the Tarratines, and that its people owned a certain allegiance to Massasoit. The third evening, by "a light moon," the party set sail for home, which they reached before the following noon. The accounts they brought of the place explored naturally made their friends "wish they had been seated there."

Sept. 20.

Sept. 22.

"They began now to gather in the small harvest they had." The husbandry of the year had proved a prosperous beginning. The rivers supplied manure in abundance, and the weather had been not unfavorable. "All the summer there was no want." The pease turned out "not worth the gathering; the sun parched them in the blossom"; but the barley was "indifferent good," and there was "a good increase of Indian corn." "They had about a peck of meal a week to a person, or now, since harvest, Indian corn to that propor-

Improved prospects.

[1] Dr. Belknap (Amer. Biog., II. 224) understood this cliff to have been Copp's Hill, the northernmost eminence of the three, on and about which Boston was afterwards built. This is uncertain; see Drake's "History and Antiquities of Boston," 44, note.

tion." The cod and bass fishing had afforded ample supplies. Seven substantial dwelling-houses had been built, "and four for the use of the plantation,"[1] while others were in progress. Fowl were so abundant in the autumn, that "four men in one day killed as much as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week." "There was great store of wild turkeys, of which they took many, besides venison." The fowlers had been sent out by the Governor, "that so they might, after a special manner, rejoice together after they had gathered the fruit of their labors"; — the first celebration of the national festival of New England, the autumnal Thanksgiving On that occasion of hilarity, they "exercised their arms," and for three days "entertained and feasted" Massasoit and some ninety of his people, who made a contribution of five deer to the festivity.[2] Health was restored; household fires were burning; and in good heart and hope the lonely company disposed themselves to meet the rigor of another winter.

Before the winter set in, tidings from England had come, to relieve the long year's lonesomeness; and a welcome addition was made to the sadly diminished number. The Fortune, a vessel of fifty-five tons' burden, reached Plymouth after a passage of four months, with Cushman and some thirty other emigrants. The men who now arrived outnumbered those of their predecessors who were still living.

Nov. 9. Arrival of the Fortune.

It would be an error to suppose that the community planted at Plymouth was of a strictly homogeneous character.[3] The devoted men, who at Ley-

Character of the colonists.

[1] We collect here and there a hint as to the construction of the houses. A storm on the 4th of February (in the worst of the sickness) "caused much daubing of our houses to fall down" (Mourt, 30); this was the clay or other earth which filled the chinks between the logs. Winslow wrote to persons proposing to emigrate, "Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows." (Winslow, in Mourt, 64.)

[2] Ibid., 60, 61.

[3] "Our company are for the most part very religious, honest people." (Letter of William Hilton, sent from Plymouth in December, 1621, and first published in 1622, in the second edition of John Smith's "New England's Trials.")

den had debated the question of emigration, did not constitute the whole company even of the Mayflower. They had been joined in England by several strangers, who, like themselves, had come under engagements to the London Adventurers. That partnership had business objects, and was by no means solely swayed by a religious sympathy with the emigrants from Leyden. It may be presumed that the persons in England who would volunteer, or be induced, to take part in the transactions with Robinson's congregation, would generally be such as were under similar religious influences; but there is no proof that the Leyden people had any effectual control over the selection of their companions whom the partners were to send. Certain it is, that Robinson understood the society to be composed of not altogether accordant materials, when assembled at Southampton for the embarkation.[1] And before the landing at Cape Cod, the manifestation of a disorderly spirit had been the immediate occasion of a compact for the institution of a government. The first half-year was not ended, when John Billington, who ten years later was hung for murder, was "sentenced by the whole company to have his neck and heels tied together for contempt of the Captain's lawful command with opprobrious speeches." He "came from London," and Bradford "knew not by what friends shuffled into their company."[2] Dotey and Lister, for fighting a duel "with sword and dagger," were "adjudged by the whole company to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours without meat or drink." They had come over as servants to Mr. Hopkins, and the country did not suit Lister, who, as soon as his time was out, removed to Virginia.

March.

June 18.

[1] See above, p. 162.

[2] Bradford, 277. Bradford had found him out early. "He is a knave, and so will live and die." (Letter to Cushman of June 9, 1625.) "They had some untoward persons mixed amongst them from the first, which came out of England, and more afterwards by some of the Adventurers, as friendship or other affections led them." (Bradford, 214.)

Of the twenty men of the Mayflower's company who had survived the first winter, eleven are favorably known. The rest are either known unfavorably (as Billington, Dotey, and Lister), or else only by name.[1] The advantage in number, and the authority of superior character, determined that events should proceed at Plymouth according to the policy of Bradford, Brewster, and their friends. But internal tendencies to disturbance are not to be left out of view in a consideration of the embarrassments with which they had to struggle.[2] The arrival of a ship with passengers was not an occasion of unmingled pleasure. In the urgent need that existed for a reinforcement, the Adventurers could not be fastidious, nor is it improbable that they would freely use the opportunity to rid themselves of troublesome dependents. Of the twenty-five men brought out by the Fortune, some were old friends of the colonists, at Leyden.[3] Others were persons who added to the moral as well as to the numerical strength of the settlement. But there were not wanting such as became subjects for anxiety and coercion.[4]

[1] In respect to six, however, of those whom I have placed in the last class, it may be inferred, from Bradford's subsequent mention of Cooke, Eaton, Brown, and Soule, (451, 453, 454,) that they were orderly persons at least; while "Gardiner became a seaman, and died in England, or at sea," and Gilbert Winslow, Bradford says (454), "after divers years' abode here, returned into England, and died there." Besides the "twenty," there were Trevor and Ely, of whom we only know that they were "seamen hired to stay a year in the country," and that, "when their time was out, they both returned." In the eleven "favorably known" I have included Isaac Allerton, who at this time was entirely trusted, though at a later period he incurred much reproach.

[2] "In these hard and difficult beginnings, they found some discontents and murmurings arise among some, and mutinous speeches and carriage in other; but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the Governor and better part, which clave faithfully together in the main." (Ibid., 91.)

[3] Winslow (Brief Narration, in Hypocrisie Unmasked, 393) mentions two of the Fortune's passengers, Simonson and Delano (De la Noye, a person of French extraction), as having been members of the Leyden church. Thomas Prince, afterwards Governor, came in this vessel, and John Winslow, a brother of Edward. Cushman brought his son, and there was a son of Brewster.

[4] "Lusty young men, and many of

The patent from the London Company, under which the emigrants had expected to possess their American home, was rendered useless by their landing so far to the north. That branch of the Virginia corporation had never prospered. Successive charters, with extended privileges, had failed to infuse energy into its management.[1] The operations of its heroic officer, John Smith, had been thwarted, till he withdrew discouraged from its service; and the colony at Jamestown seemed flickering to its extinction, when it took new life from the example of the settlement at Plymouth. At home, the counsels of the Company had been paralyzed by internal dissension and by the king's hostility, excited both by his relations to the Spanish court, which desired to repel neighbors from its settlement in Florida, and by his pique against some of the principal men of the Company, who were popular leaders in Parliament. The Leyden congregation were just preparing for their removal, when the king forbade the re-election of their friend, Sir Edwin Sandys, as Governor and Treasurer of the Company. His mandate was obeyed; but, instead of his nominee, the Earl of Southampton was

Ill success of the London Company.

1620. April.

them wild enough." (Bradford, 106.) "The plantation was glad of this addition of strength, but could have wished that many of them had been of better condition, and all of them better furnished with provisions; but that could not be helped." (Ibid.) "On the day called Christmas Day, the Governor called them out to work, as was used; but the most of this new company excused themselves, and said it went against their consciences to work on that day. So the Governor told them that, if they made it matter of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away the rest, and left them; but when they came home at noon from their work, he found them in the street at play openly, some pitching the bar, and some at stool-ball, and such like sports. So he went to them and took away their implements, and told them that was against his conscience, that they should play and others work. If they made their keeping of it matter of devotion, let them keep their houses, but there should be no gaming or revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly." (Ibid., 112)

[1] The three charters of 1606, 1609, and 1612 are in Hazard, I. 50, 58, 72. The first included both the London and Plymouth Companies, or *Colonies*, as they were called. (See above, pp. 81, 82.) The last two conferred powers on the London branch only.

chosen, a statesman equally obnoxious to the royal displeasure.[1]

[1] The troubles of the Virginia Company, in its contest with the court, are set forth at large in Peckard's "Life of Nicholas Ferrar," the Protestant monk, who, before his seclusion, had, as Deputy-Governor of the Company, shown extraordinary ability in the management of its affairs. I have only an abridgment of that work, published by Joseph Masters (London, 1852). The story is therein told, in pp. 67–91, 94, 95.

The friendliness of Sir Edwin Sandys to Robinson's congregation has been already mentioned. (See above, pp. 151, 152.) Hume (Chap. XLVIII.) commemorates "his activity and vigor in discharging his duty as a member of Parliament." In 1614, the king had committed him to the Tower for some freedoms in debate. He was known as a man of letters, having published metrical versions of some portions of Scripture, and written a work entitled "Europæ Speculum, or a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World," wherein he recorded the results of personal observations in all the countries of Southern Europe, except Spain. The copy which I have read is of an edition published at the Hague in 1629. From the Preface it appears that Sir Edwin was not known to have deceased (though he died in that year), and that the publication was unauthorized by him. The Preface also declares, that there had been an earlier edition, in 1605, from "a spurious stolen copy, in part epitomized, in part amplified," and that, "since that time, there had been another impression of the same." I know no book which conveys so lively an idea of the state of mind of a large class of reflecting Protestants at that period. The author's reason is fully satisfied of the necessity of the Reformation from Romanism. But the influences of early training still embarrass him. He is full of anxiety for the result of the contest. And he inclines much to the opinion, that the methods of the Papists for winning and securing disciples should be adopted by their opponents. The struggle within him between the old feeling of conservatism and the conviction of a need of change is curiously manifest.

While the treaty for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta was pending, Spain exerted great control over the English councils, — partly, it was believed, through money used for corruption. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, had helped to influence King James against Sandys, by representing him as hostile to the proposed match. In a MS. volume in the State-Paper Office, entitled "America and West Indies," at page 507, is a letter, of June 7, 1621, addressed by Sandys to "the Right Honorable my most honored good Lord, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England." In it he says: "I understand, by the last boastings of Sir Thomas Smith and his partisans, of their sedulous endeavors by a cloud of untruths to make a fresh interposition between the most joyful sight of his Majesty's favor, and the darkness wherewith myself and my service rest yet obscured, an attempt of strange malignity." He represents, that, by God's blessing his labors, "more hath been done in one year, with less than eight thousand pounds, for the advancement of that Colony [Virginia] in people and store of commodities, than was done in Sir Thomas Smith's twelve years with expense of near eighty thousand pounds." He declares himself willing to give one more year's service to it, if the king de-

Incorporation of the Council for New England.

The king showed his resentment by favoring the interests of the rival Company, and of this disposition Gorges did not fail to take advantage. Reviving from their recent discouragement,[1] he and his associates solicited, and with no difficulty obtained, a new incorporation, under the title of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ordering, ruling, and governing of New England in America."[2] Most of the forty patentees of

1620. Nov. 3.

sires. If not, he will gladly retire, and avoid offering offence to his Majesty.

Lord Southampton, Sandys's friend, who succeeded him as Governor of the Virginia Company, continued in that office till its dissolution, which took place in June, 1624, by judgment of the Court of King's Bench on a writ of *quo warranto* issued in November of the previous year. These measures against the Company had been preceded by sharp disputes within it. "There is a great faction fallen out in the Virginia Company," &c. "The last week, the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cavendish fell so foul at a Virginia or Bermudas court, that the lie passed and repassed, and they are got over to try their fortune." (Letters of Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, April 19 and July 26, 1623, in Birch's "Court and Times of James the First," II. 389, 413.)

On the dissolution of the Company, Mr. Ferrar, the Deputy-Governor, is said (Life of Nicholas Ferrar, 98) to have "seen the attested copies of all the books and papers belonging to them delivered into safe custody in the Dorset family." It is these copies, I suppose, which, having come into the possession of Mr. Jefferson, now belong to the Law Library at Washington, in consequence of the purchase by the government of the papers of that statesman. When Dr. Peckard wrote his Life of Ferrar, about 1790, he applied for them to the Duke of Dorset, but they were not to be found. Before that time, it seems, they had been conveyed to this country. Stith (History of Virginia, Preface, v., vi.) says he was informed by Colonel Byrd of Virginia that his father purchased them in England of the executors of the Earl of Southampton for sixty guineas. Those which Stith saw, and largely used for his work, were in three volumes, two of which contained a regular journal of proceedings from April 28, 1619, the time of Sandys's election as Governor, to the time of the dissolution of the Company. They were at one time in the possession of the Randolph family.

[1] See above, p. 98.

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XVI. The petitioners had asked (March 3, 1620) "that their territory may be called, as by the Prince his Highness it hath been named, *New England*." The patent is in Hazard, I. 103. The royal warrant for its preparation had been issued, July 23. (Hazard, I. 99.) Acquainted with this movement, Weston and others had, before the embarkation at Leyden, recommended the taking of a patent from the Council for New England, rather than from the Virginia Company. (Bradford, 44.)

Of the records of the Council for New England, two portions survive among the documents in the State-Paper Office

this Council were men of distinguished consequence. Thirteen were peers, some of them of the highest rank. It was empowered to hold territory in America, extending westward from sea to sea, and in breadth from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude.

Upon lands of this corporation Bradford and his companions had sat down without leave, and were of course liable to be summarily expelled. Informed of their position by the return of the Mayflower to England in the spring, their friends obtained from the Council a patent which was brought by the Fortune.[1] It was taken out in the name of "John Pierce, 1621. Nov. 9.

in London. The first (consisting of forty pages, if my memorandum is correct) is bound in the beginning of the first volume of the series entitled "Board of Trade." Its title, "A Journal of the Council of Trade from the last of May, 1622, to the 21st of June, 1623," which is in a much more modern handwriting, and was prefixed, as I think there can be no doubt, by some person who did not understand the character of the document, has concealed it from the knowledge of inquirers in later times. It has been injured by fire. Mr. Felt, who had seen it, quotes it (Ecclesiastical History, &c., I. 68) under the title of "Council Records of London." Mr. Deane, in his edition of Bradford (209), and Mr. Haven (Archæol. Amer., III. 54), more precisely recognize the memoranda of Mr. Felt as being from "the Records of the Council for New England."

The other fragment is the tenth parcel in the file, in the State-Paper Office, designated by the number 485. It is, I suppose, no part of the original Journal, but of a copy, made probably in the year 1674, when the project to send Randolph to New England was maturing. It extends over the time between November, 1631, and November, 1638.

It seems that, not long before the commission of Colonel Nichols and others, in 1664, the Journal was placed in the hands of the first Lord Clarendon, from which time it was lost sight of. In May, 1678, "the Lords of the Committee" (that is, the Privy Council's Committee of Trade, &c., established March 12, 1675) applied by letter to the second Lord Clarendon for "a large book in folio, bound in parchment, of the Records of the Council for New England from 1620 to 1635," which, as they had learned from Robert Mason, was in 1662 delivered by him to the Earl's father, "wherein, among other things, are contained all the grants made from the said Council." (Original Papers in the State-Paper Office, II. 151.) In a subsequent letter, Southwell, Secretary of the Committee, informs Lord Clarendon (Ibid., 162) that, on an examination of the Records of the Privy Council, he finds that Mason's claim cannot be substantiated, unless Lord Clarendon can find the book lately applied for.

[1] The original of this instrument, after a long disappearance, came to light, within the present century, in the Land-Office of Massachusetts, and had been seen by Judge Davis when he prepared his edition of Morton's "Memo-

citizen and clothworker of London, and his associates," with the understanding that it should be held in trust for the Adventurers, of whom Pierce was one. It allowed a hundred acres of land for every colonist gone and to go to New England, at a yearly rent of two shillings an acre after seven years. It granted fifteen hundred acres for public uses, and liberty to "hawk, fish, and fowl"; to "truck, trade, and traffic with the savages"; to "establish such laws and ordinances as are for their better government, and the same, by such officer or officers as they shall by most voices elect and choose, to put in execution"; and to "encounter, expulse, repel, and resist by force of arms" all intruders, and other persons who should "enterprise or attempt destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance to the said plantation." The number of colonists was to be reported to the Council from time to time, and they were to "apply themselves and their labors in a large and competent manner to the planting, setting, making, and procuring of good and staple commodities in and upon the land granted unto them, as corn and silk-grass, hemp, flax, pitch and tar, soap-ashes and pot-ashes, iron, clapboard, and other the like materials." The instrument was signed for the Council by the Duke of Hamilton, the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Sheffield, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Patent from the Council for New England. June 1.

At the end of five weeks after her arrival, the Fortune sailed again for England. She had brought out a letter from Weston, complaining in harsh terms that the Mayflower had returned without a

Dec. 13. Sailing of the Fortune.

rial." (Davis's Morton, p. 73.) Again it was lost sight of, and was given up by the antiquaries (Young, Pilgrims, 235), till once more discovered, in 1854, among Judge Davis's papers. It has since been published in a beautiful edition by that accomplished New-England archæologist, Mr. Charles Deane, of Cambridge. A copy, certified by Samuel Wells of Boston, July 28, 1743, to have been exactly taken from the original, then in his custody, probably for an examination of some title, has been in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester for more than twenty years.

freight. "That you sent no lading in the ship is wonderful, and worthily distasted. I know your weakness was the cause of it, and, I believe, more weakness of judgment than weakness of hands. A quarter of the time you spent in discoursing, arguing, and consulting would have done much more." He desired a fair engrossment of the contract with the Adventurers, subscribed with the names of the principal planters;[1] and he abounded in protestations that he would adhere to the engagements, though all the other Adventurers should be discouraged.[2] The dignified reply of Bradford is penetrated with an unconscious pathos. On the side of the settlers, he says, there had been disappointments far more serious. "The loss of many honest and industrious men's lives cannot be valued at any price. It pleased God to visit us with death daily, and with so general a disease that the living were scarce able to bury the dead, and the well not in any measure sufficient to tend the sick. And now to be so greatly blamed for not freighting the ship doth indeed go near us, and much discourage us."[3]

The Fortune carried homeward "two hogsheads of beaver-skins, and good clapboards as full as she could hold; the freight estimated at five hundred pounds." But the remittance failed through her capture and pillage, near the coast of England, by a French privateer. Cushman, who had come in that vessel, returned in her, as had been arranged in England, to make a personal report to the Adventurers. While at Plymouth, he had exercised his gifts in a "prophecy," which was printed on his return to London;[4] an interesting memorial of the transactions which he witnessed and

Cushman's Prophecy.

[1] It seems that the indenture had never been executed, in consequence of the dispute about the two articles last inserted (see above, p. 158). The emigrants now yielded, and sent the contract by the Fortune.

[2] Weston's letter, in Bradford, 107.

[3] Bradford's letter, in Bradford, 109.

[4] Dr. Young has reprinted it (Pilgrims, 262 *et seq.*).

took part in, of the spirit of the actors, and of the intelligence and character of the speaker.

We know too well how the first winter had been passed by the settlers. Respecting the employments of the second, we have less information. In the absence of domestic animals, a great part of the farmer's winter occupation was wanting to them. Fishing, hunting, and the collection of fuel and timber, may be supposed to have made their chief business, varied by occasional traffic with Indian visitors. One care was urgent for the passing time, and must have weighed on their spirits as they looked into the future. Not only had the Fortune brought no supplies to America, but the colonists had had to straiten themselves to supply her for the return voyage. "Upon her departure, the Governor and his assistants disposed the late comers into several families, found their provisions would now scarce hold out six months at half allowance, and therefore put them to it, which they bore patiently."

Scarcity of food.

A new cause for solicitude arose. After the departure of the Fortune, in the depth of winter, came a rumor, through the neighboring Indians, of hostilities meditated against the plantation by the powerful tribe of Narragansetts. It was confirmed when a messenger from Canonicus, their chief sachem, brought a bundle of arrows tied with a snake-skin, which Squanto interpreted as a declaration of war. Against the English force of about fifty men, the Narragansetts, as they had heard, could muster five thousand warriors. The Governor sent back the snake-skin full of powder and ball, which the savages, affrighted, refused to keep. It was passed for a while from hand to hand among them, and at length came back to Plymouth. The English "built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat roof and battlements, on which their ordnance were

Threats of war from the Narragansetts.

1622. February.

mounted. It served them also for a meeting-house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them, in this weakness and time of wants. But the danger of the time required it, and also the hearing of that great massacre in Virginia made all hands willing to despatch the same."[1] The dwellings were barricaded; the whole settlement, with the fort, and space for a garden for each family, was enclosed with a paling; a military organization was completed; and watch and ward were constantly kept. These precautions, and the attitude of defiance which had been assumed, appear to have disconcerted the plan of invasion, and the winter passed quietly away. Early in the spring, a native, of Squanto's family, renewed the alarm of a projected inroad of the Narragansetts, in alliance with Massasoit; and the Governor, by signal-guns, recalled a party which had just sailed with Standish for Boston Bay. But the report proved to be unfounded, and was afterwards attributed to unfriendliness on the part of Squanto towards the Pokanoket chief.[2]

April.

[1] Bradford, 126.

[2] Winslow, Good Newes from New England, or a True Relation of Things very Remarkable at the Plantation of Plymouth in New England, 1–9. This tract by Edward Winslow was published in London in 1624. It is the most copious authority for the events of the two years next succeeding those embraced in Mourt's Journal.

CHAPTER VI.

It was but a transient gleam of prosperity that had cheered the exiles at the close of their first summer in America. Through nearly the whole of the next two years, they were struggling with hardship in one of its direst forms. "A famine began to pinch," which was not wholly relieved till the second harvest after the departure of the Fortune.

1622. Scarcity of food.

In the former of the two summers that intervened, "had they not been where were divers sorts of shell-fish, they must have perished." They had planted nearly sixty acres with corn, and in their gardens they had some vegetables; but "the crop proved scanty, partly through weakness, for want of food, to tend it, partly through other business, and partly by much being stolen," before it ripened, by an unruly rout of Englishmen lately arrived in vessels of Mr. Weston. Some small supplies of corn were procured, in short expeditions by sea and land, from the coast further to the north, and more from the neighboring natives. From vessels "fishing at the eastward" Winslow obtained "as much bread as amounted to a quarter of a pound a person a day, till harvest." As winter came on, they were "helped with fowl and ground-nuts." The Governor got twenty-seven or twenty-eight hogsheads of corn and beans, in a visit to Boston Bay and Cape Cod, from which latter region he returned fifty miles on foot, "receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey." Another supply he brought later from the head of what is now called Buzzard's Bay.[1]

May.

November.

1623. January.

[1] Bradford, 124 – 129. — Winslow, Good Newes, 11 – 21.

Standish, on errands of the same kind, had less satisfactory intercourse with the natives, who appeared to him to have treacherous designs, and with whom he was obliged two or three times to resort to threats to obtain restitution of stolen property. On one occasion, at Manomet (Sandwich), he fell in with a Massachusetts Indian, whose errand he understood to be to raise a general conspiracy against the English, and whose design of causing his assassination on the spot he had to use both address and courage to defeat.

Indian corn, boiled or roasted in the green ear, is in its season a palatable article of diet, much used in New England at the present day. The persons who pilfered the unripe grain from the fields of the settlers in the second summer were of a party sent out by Mr. Weston of London, whose activity in the early period of the partnership has been repeatedly mentioned. Soon after writing to Plymouth that he would "never quit the business, though all the other Adventurers should,"[1] Weston had withdrawn from them, and engaged in speculations on his own account. He now wrote to the settlers, "I have sold my adventure and debts unto them, so as I am quit of you, and you of me"; and two vessels of his, the Charity and the Swan, brought fifty or sixty men "to settle a plantation for him in the Massachusetts Bay, for which he had procured a patent," as his private property.[2] The Plymouth people took them to their homes, gave them "the best means the place afforded,"

Weston's plantation at Wessagusset.

1621. July 6.

1622. April 10.

June or July.

[1] Bradford, 107.

[2] "The people which they carry are no men for us, wherefore I pray you entertain them not." (Cushman to Bradford, in Bradford, 122.) — "As for Mr. Weston's company, I think them so base in condition, for the most part, as in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company." (Pierce to Bradford, Ibid., 123.) — "I will not deny but there are many of our people rude fellows, ... yet I presume they will be governed by such as I set over them. And I hope not only to be able to reclaim them from that profaneness that may scandalize the voyage, but by degrees to draw them to God," &c. (Weston to Bradford, Ibid., 121.)

and nursed several of them who were sick. While some went in search of a place of abode, the rest made themselves extremely troublesome guests; so that it was with great satisfaction that at length their hosts saw most of them depart to begin a plantation at Wessagusset (now Weymouth), leaving the infirm of their number to be gratuitously cared for at Plymouth.

By disorder and waste, Weston's people presently fell short of provisions, and, as winter approached, they became anxious for a further supply. They proposed to their Plymouth friends to join them in purchases from the Indians; and it was in their smaller vessel that Governor Bradford made the expedition, which has been mentioned, to Boston Bay and Cape Cod. But their irregular habits were not corrected, and they could no longer expect any voluntary relief from the neighboring natives, whom they had incensed by depredations on their cornfields and by other annoyances. At length, their extremity became such, that Sanders, their chief man, sent to inform Governor Bradford of his intention to get some corn from the Indians by force to subsist his men, while he, with a party, should sail to the eastward for a supply from the European fishing-vessels. The Plymouth people remonstrated in the strongest terms against his plan of robbery. They advised him to make shift to live, as they did, on ground-nuts, clams, and muscles, and sent him some corn from their own scanty store for his voyage.[1]

Its disorders and distress. November.

1623. February.

In his absence, affairs took an alarming aspect for both settlements. Intelligence had come to Plymouth that Massasoit was desperately ill, and that a Dutch vessel was lying stranded on the Narragansett shore near his dwelling. Both these matters engaged the attention of the colonists. They owed a visit of sympathy to their friend, and they desired a conference with the Dutch seamen.

[1] Winslow, Good Newes, 11 – 25, 34 – 37. — Bradford, 132.

Winslow, who by his residence in Holland was qualified for the latter office, was sent on the errand with "Master John Hambden, a gentleman of London."[1] Before they reached their destination, the vessel had been got off, and had sailed away. Massasoit, found lying in destitution and filth, apparently at the point of death, was relieved and at length restored to health under the treatment of Winslow, who condescended to the most humble offices of nurse and cook. In the overflow of his gratitude, the savage revealed the existence of a plot, among the tribes scattered over the country from Boston Bay to Martha's Vineyard, for the extirpation of the whites. The provocation was, he said, the outrages committed by Weston's people at Wessagusset; but the meditated destruction would include the colonists at Plymouth, because of the apprehension that they would attempt to protect or avenge their countrymen.

March. Second visit of Winslow to Massasoit.

Conspiracy of Indians.

The messengers returned with these tidings of alarming import. Other circumstances confirmed the truth of the disclosure. In Standish's recent forage on the Cape, conferences of the natives there with Indian visitors from the north, and other significant movements, had not escaped his vigilance. A less circumstantial warning, but from a

[1] It is a natural feeling that has made our historians desire to identify this person with the great statesman of the civil war. But such a supposition will not bear scrutiny. John Hampden could not have spared the time to be absent from England at the critical juncture of affairs between King James's third and fourth Parliaments; when afterwards he became conspicuous, our early writers could not have failed to notice the fact of a visit from him, had it been made; and the name borne by the stranger is inconsistent with the idea of an *incognito* of the illustrious patriot. Dr. Young (Pilgrims, 314, note) has suggested other considerations which alone would seem decisive against the supposition of a visit to Plymouth by the John Hampden of history.

Winslow's companion was probably some passenger in one of Weston's ships. Hobbamak was their guide. Squanto had died in the previous November, while in attendance on the Governor in his expedition to Cape Cod. (Winslow, Good Newes, 18.) He had been a useful friend to the settlers, though sometimes troublesome and sometimes suspected. (Ibid., 8.)

trustworthy source, had come from Boston Bay to the settlement during Winslow's absence.[1] On his return to Plymouth, he found there an Indian of Cape Cod, whom Standish had known as one of the plotters at Manomet, and who was now endeavoring to prevail upon the Captain to make another visit to that region.[2] It was not forgotten that the Indian conspiracy in Virginia had been unsuspected till it broke out in the massacre of three hundred and fifty settlers.

1622. March 22.

The time for the "yearly Court Day" presently came round. The exigency seemed urgent. "The Governor communicated the intelligence to the whole company, and asked their advice." The company referred the matter back to the Governor, the Assistant, and the Captain. These consulted among themselves and with others, and concluded that the preservation of the settlement depended upon energetic measures. Being guiltless of injury, they had no peaceable way to accommodation and security; having done nothing to provoke the assault which impended, they could only escape by anticipating it. To strike a blow such as their little strength was equal to, and such as would at the same time be widely known and make an effective impression, Standish was despatched by water with eight men to the central point of discontent at Wessagusset. Here he found Wituwamat, the emissary who, as he believed, had intended to murder him at Manomet. Encountering this savage and three others, Standish and two of his men put them to death, after a closely contested fight without fire-arms. One of the four they hanged.

1623. March 23.

Suppression of the plot.

[1] Phinehas Pratt, one of Weston's company, had come to Plymouth, from Wessagusset, to give the alarm. He had been pursued by the Indians, and had escaped by losing his way. In his "Declaration," &c. (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXXIV. 484), he mentions having been met by "Mr. Hamdin" outside of the town. He lived afterwards for twenty-five years at Plymouth, and then removed to Massachusetts, where, in 1662, the General Court granted him three hundred acres of land.

[2] Winslow, Good Newes, 25 – 34, 37.

Not far off they killed another, and Weston's men two more.[1] The object was accomplished. The rest of the natives in terror dispersed into the woods. A prisoner made full confession of the plot.

Wituwamat's head was brought to Plymouth, and set up on the fort. The courage of Weston's men gave out, and the settlement was abandoned. Some of them came to Plymouth with Standish; the rest, wishing to join their friends at the Eastern fisheries, received from him gratuitously for their voyage all his corn except what sufficed to bring his own party home.[2] And "this was the end," so mused the Plymouth Governor, "of those that sometime boasted of their strength, being all able, lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass in comparison of the people here, who had many women and children and weak ones among them. . . . . But a man's way is not in his own power. God can make the weak to stand."

Dispersion of Weston's colony.

Mr. Weston, coming over soon afterwards for a better examination of his affairs, was shipwrecked between the Piscataqua and the Merrimack, and pillaged by the Indians, even to the clothes he wore. In this plight he found his way to Plymouth. They "pitied his case, and remembered former courtesies." Though of late he had been only an enemy and a nuisance to them, and though, in their scarcity of food, they could ill spare anything that was salable, they supplied him with a hundred and seventy pounds of beaver to trade with. "But he requited them ill; for he proved after a bitter enemy unto them upon all occasions, and never repaid them anything for it but reproaches and evil words."[3] Lately a prosperous London merchant, he was now a ruined man.

Weston at Plymouth.

[1] "Concerning the killing of those poor Indians," wrote Robinson (December 19, 1623), "of which we heard first by report, and since by more certain relation, O how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any!" (Bradford, 164.)

[2] Winslow, Good Newes, 37–47.

[3] Bradford, 132–134.

After this year, he disappears from the history of Plymouth.

Though no fatal issue, like that of the colony at Wessagusset, had followed other similar undertakings of the same period, still none yet gave promise of prospering. Gorges continued to be indefatigable, but to little effect. The corporation, of which he was the soul, had scarcely received its charter, when it was assailed by the hostility of the rival company of Virginia, the former propped by the favor of the king, the latter befriended by the patriotic leaders in Parliament. Remonstrances against the claim of the Council for New England to a dominion of its seas having proved ineffectual with the Privy Council, the question was transferred to the House of Commons, which passed a bill "for the freer liberty of fishing and fishing voyages to be made and performed in the sea-coasts and places of Newfoundland, Virginia, New England, and other the sea-coasts and parts of America." It was arrested by the Lords or by the king, and did not become a law.[1]

Perplexities of the Council for New England.

1621.

When King James's fifth Parliament was dissolved, and its proceedings against the Council had come to no legal issue, Gorges took courage again to prosecute his plans. Captain John Mason "had been some time governor of a plantation in the Newfoundland." He had been previously a merchant and a naval officer, and was now Treasurer of the royal navy, and Governor of Portsmouth in Hampshire. He "was himself a man of action," and well qualified for the vigorous co-operation with Gorges in which he now became engaged. He obtained from the Council a grant of the lands lying between the little river which discharges its waters at Naumkeag, now Salem, and the

Further attempts at colonization.

1622. March 9.

[1] Gorges, Brief Narration, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 65, 66. — Chalmers, Political Annals, 83, 84, 100–102. — Journal of the Commons, I. 591, 592, 602, 654.

river Merrimack. To this tract, extending inland to the sources of those streams, he gave the name of *Mariana*. In the same year the Council granted to Gorges and Mason the country bounded by the Merrimack, the Kennebec, the ocean, and "the river of Canada"; and this territory they called *Laconia*. Sir William Alexander, by Mason's intervention with Gorges, had obtained from the Council a patent for Nova Scotia, or New Scotland, afterwards confirmed by a grant from the king under the seal of his northern kingdom. But attempts in this quarter amounted at present to no more than a hasty visit of two vessels to the coast.[1] Saco, a few miles up the river of that name, and Agamenticus, afterwards York,[2] may have received their first English inhabitants, under the auspices of Gorges, within three or four years after the plantation at Plymouth. In the service of Gorges, Mason, and others, a small party, some from the parent country, some recently arrived at the American Plymouth, attempted settlements on the Piscataqua. David Thompson, a Scotchman, was in charge of the company at the mouth of that river, where is now Portsmouth; William and Edward Hilton, "fishmongers of London," were, with others, higher up the stream, at Cochecho, now Dover. But all these undertakings languished for a long time after. What was soon to become a permanent plantation, at Monhegan, was as yet only a rendezvous for fishermen and traders;[3] and the settlement at Pemaquid, twelve or fifteen miles from it, on the mainland, was undertaken two years later than those on the Piscataqua.

Aug. 10.

1621. September.

1623.

1625.

[1] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XVII. – XXIV.

[2] Ibid., Chap. XXV. — Belknap, American Biography, I. 377, 378. — Williamson, I. 227, 231. — But Edward Godfrey, in a petition, in 1654, to the General Court of Massachusetts, says that he had been "twenty-four years an inhabitant of this place [Agamenticus], the first that ever built or settled there." (See Maine Hist. Coll., I. 295.) And nothing is certain as to Saco before 1630, except the residence of Vines in its vicinity, about 1617. See above, p. 98.

[3] See above, pp. 93, 176.

Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, with "sundry passengers and families," revived the attempt to plant a colony at Wessagusset.[1] Captain Gorges had been appointed by the Council for New England "General Governor of the country," to be assisted by a council, consisting of Francis West, Christopher Levett, the Governor of Plymouth for the time being, and such others as the General Governor should appoint. Captain Gorges and his assistants, or any three of them, he being one, were "to do and execute what to them should seem good, in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil." An Episcopal clergyman, named Morrell, came with them, invested with an ecclesiastical authority, which he found no opportunity to exercise. While the object of this movement was to secure to the patentees the monopoly of the New-England territory and waters, it had for its ostensible purpose to correct "the abuses committed by several the fishermen and other interlopers, who, without order from them, frequented these coasts, tending to the scorn of our nation, ... to the overthrow of our trade, and dishonor of the government."[2]

1623. September. Project for a general government.

Levett, who appears to have come over before Gorges, made some examination of the country east of the Piscataqua, and on his return published a journal of his voyage.[3]

[1] The patent of Robert Gorges did not include Wessagusset. (See Hazard, I. 152.) His territory extended ten miles "upon the northeast side of the bay"; that is, from Charles River to Nahant.

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XXIII. — Bradford, 149.

[3] This is reprinted in the Mass Hist. Coll., XXVIII. 159. It is made up of observations on the country, its advantages for agriculture, trade, and fishing, and its climate, soil, productions, and inhabitants. It answers objections to emigration from England, shows the benefits, private and public, to be derived from it, and gives directions for the conduct of the emigrant. "I was never at the Massachusett, which is counted the paradise of New England, nor at Cape Ann, but I fear there hath been too fair a gloss set upon Cape Ann." "Neither was I at New Plymouth, but I fear that place is not so good as many others." "Neither was I ever farther to the west than the Isle of Shoals." (Ibid., 180, 181.) "I must confess," he says (Ibid., 185), "I have studied no art, a long time, but the mysteries of New-England trade," — a hint which perhaps justifies what is said in the text of the object of his being placed on the

The work shows that he was at once a man of sense and a man of business, and that the particular trust committed to him by the Council was to ascertain the encouragements which the country offered for colonization. Captain Gorges came to Plymouth and passed a fortnight. Here he met Weston, whom he called severely to account on two charges. One was for the misconduct of his men at Wessagusset; the other, "for an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state; the thing was this: He used him and others of the Council of New England to procure him a license for the transporting of many pieces of great ordnance for New England, pretending great fortification in that country; the which when he had obtained, he went and sold them beyond seas for his private profit; for which (he said) the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shrewd check."[1] Weston, who was a rogue, was by turns abject and insolent. Gorges was pacified by Bradford's mediation. Weston went to Virginia, and thence to England. Gorges set off by land on an exploration to the North, sending his vessel to Virginia with passengers, part of whom she had brought from Europe, while a few were of those who had earlier arrived at Plymouth.[2]

commission. He is angry with somebody whom he does not name (Ibid., 172). I think it was not Weston (comp. 182). — Samoset, the first Indian friend of the Plymouth people, reappears in Levett's Journal. At a place, which he calls *Capemanwagan*, near the Kennebec, he fell in with "Somerset, a sagamore, one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many." (Ibid., 170.)

[1] Perhaps this is what is indicated in the following entry in the Journal of the Privy Council for February 17, 1622: "License to Thomas Weston to send munitions and ordnance by the Charity."

[2] Bradford, 149 – 153. — In the first of the fragments which remain of the Journal of the Council for New England (see above, pp. 192, 193, note) are the following minutes: —

"Petition to be made to the king for forfeiture of the ships and goods of Mr. Weston." This was in May, 1622.

"It is thought fit that there shall be an order procured from the Lords of his Majesty's Council for sending for such as have, in contempt of authority, gone for New England this last year, as also to procure a further warning to be given to them from further attempting, by proclamation." Accordingly, there was issued an "Order to the

West, with a commission as "Admiral of New England," was to "restrain such ships as came to fish and trade without license from the Council for New England." This proved to be beyond his power. The fishermen eluded

Attorney-General, on a petition of the Council for New England, to prepare a proclamation for his Majesty's signature, prohibiting all persons to resort unto the coasts of New England, contrary to his Majesty's said royal grant." (Journal of the Privy Council for October 23, 1622.)

"The patents already granted to be confirmed, and order is given for patents to be drawn for the Earl of Warwick and his associates, the Lord Gorges, Sir Robert Mansell, Sir Ferdinando Gorges." This, I conceive there is no doubt, relates to a partition to be mentioned hereafter. (See below, pp. 222, 285.)

"As touching the Governor, Sir Ferdinando Gorges is elected. The particulars are reserved till another meeting."

The following entries are under their respective dates: —

"Nov. 8 [1622]. Captain Francis West to go to New England as Admiral for that coast.

"It is agreed that a commission be granted unto Arthur Champernowne, Esq., for the sending out of a ship called the Chudley, of the burden of —— tons, to fish in New England this year." This shows the strictness of the monopoly asserted.

Jan. 21, 1623. "Forasmuch as it was now propounded that a strength must be settled in New England," it was determined that "there ought to be three sorts of men; — 1. gentlemen, to bear arms and attend upon the Governor; 2. handicraftsmen of all sorts; 3. husbandmen, for the tilling and manuring of the lands; — these to be employed by the public, and accounts to be taken of them every week." Gorges was present at the meeting, and this looks like a scheme from the Gorges mint.

"May 31. It is thought convenient to admit young youths from parishes, that have not been tainted with any villany or misdemeanor, to be sent to New England, and there to be placed out and bound apprentices to such as shall have occasion and means to employ them."

"July 24. The country to be called Nova Albion."

"Aug. 6. Forasmuch as it hath been ordered by the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council that the patent for New England shall be renewed, as well for the amendment of some things therein contained, as for the necessary supply of what is found defective," &c. I can find nothing satisfactory respecting this abortive scheme. Perhaps it was but a pretence of the Council and the courtiers, to pacify the existing clamor. A record of earlier date (March 11, 1623) must, I presume, be understood with a similar reference. "Touching the government of these territories by the present patent, it is limited to be 'as near as may be to the laws of England.' For many reasons it is propounded that those words may be omitted in the new patent." Sir Henry Spelman was the Council's legal adviser. — In the "Brief Relation" of the President and Council of New England, published in 1622, the same plan is probably referred to (18, 20), where they speak of "our patent which we were by order of state assigned to renew, for the amendment of some defects therein contained." (Comp. Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XVIII.)

him till Parliament had time again to interfere. In the House of Commons, Sir Edward Coke, for the Committee on Grievances, reported against the claim of the patentees, "for the clause that none shall visit with fishing upon the sea-coast." "This," he argued, is "to make a monopoly upon the sea, which wont to be free, a monopoly attempted of the wind and the sun by the sole packing and drying of fish." Gorges was heard, at three different times, by himself and by counsel. The result was, that, in a list of "public grievances of the kingdom, that of the patent for New England was the first."[1] No further prosecution took place. But Gorges "thought better to forbear for the present, in honor and respect of what had passed in so public a manner between the king and his House of Commons"; the rather, because "this public declaration of the House's dislike of the cause shook off all the adventurers for plantation, and made many of the patentees to quit their interest." Robert Gorges, "not finding the state of things to answer his quality," returned to England with some of his companions. Morrell and others, who remained, were assisted with supplies from Plymouth. At length Morrell was discouraged, and a second time the scheme of a considerable settlement at Wessagusset was abandoned,[2] though a few persons remained, and before long were joined by others, till a permanent community was formed.

1624. May. Proceedings in Parliament.

Yet another occasion for anxiety on the part of the Plymouth settlers had arisen from the bad faith of Pierce, to whom the grant of land had been made for the benefit of the Adventurers. Becoming satisfied of the auspicious prospects of the plantation, he conceived the scheme of securing it for his private advantage, and contrived to supersede the patent by another which he obtained from the Council for New

Danger of the Plymouth patent. 1622. April 20.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1490. — Gorges, Briefe Narration, &c., Chap. XVIII. – XXI.

[2] Bradford, 154. — Morrell described the country in a Latin and an English poem (Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 126).

England, with provisions which, as the settlers construed them, would "hold them as his tenants, and to sue to his courts as chief lord."[1] Pierce sailed for Plymouth, but by tempestuous weather was twice driven back with heavy loss. Informed of the fraud which had been practised, the Adventurers made a complaint. The question was considered at different meetings of the Council; and the issue was, that Pierce's new patent was cancelled, and the Adventurers were reinstated in their rights.[2]

Oct. 16.

[1] Bradford, 139; see above, p. 193.

[2] Following Morton (Memorial, pp. 95 – 97) and Prince (I. 136), recent historians have said that the Adventurers bought Pierce's patent for five hundred pounds. But this, I suppose, was but a hasty interpretation of language in a letter from one of the Adventurers, who (Bradford, 140) speaks of Pierce's "unwillingness to part with his royal lordship, and the high rate he set it at, which was £ 500." Though this was what he began with asking, I have seen no proof that he ever got it. The following extracts from the manuscript Journal of the Council for New England perhaps tell the whole story, as far as it can be now recovered: —

"18 May, 1623. Touching the petition exhibited to the Council by the Adventurers of New Plymouth in New England against Mr. John Pierce, the patentee with whom they are associates, Mr. Pierce and the associates met and made several propositions each to other, but agreed not. Whereupon they were appointed to give meeting each to other, and then certify the Council what they concluded on, that then such further course might be taken as should be meet."

"Tuesday, 25 May. Present, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Samuel Argal, Sir Henry Spelman = Mr. Jo. Pierce and his associates. After a long discussion of the difference between Mr. Jo. Pierce and his associates, it appeared that Mr. Jo. Pierce obtained from the Council an indenture purporting a grant of certain lands in New England for the settling of a plantation there, dated the first day of June, 1621.

"It further appeared, that upon the 20th day of April, 1622, Mr. Pierce granted letters of association unto the said Adventurers, whereby he made them jointly interested with him in the lands granted by the abovesaid indenture.

"Moreover it appeared that upon the said 20th day of April, 1622, after the said Mr. Pierce had interested the said Adventurers in the lands passed unto him by the said indenture, that he yielded and surrendered up the said indenture, and received the counterpart thereof, and took a patent or deed-pole of the said lands to himself, his heirs, associates, and assigns for ever, having date the said 20th of April, 1622, with which surrender and new grant the Adventurers affirmed that they were not privy unto, and therefore conceived they were deceived by Mr. Pierce, which was the cause of their complaint. At length, by the mutual consent of Mr. Pierce and the said Adventurers, it was ordered as followeth: —

"Whereas there were several differences between John Pierce, citizen and clothworker of London, and the Treasurer and other the associates of him the said John Pierce that were undertakers with him for the settling and advance-

Meanwhile the distress from scarcity of food had continued at Plymouth. When the settlers had planted in the third spring, "all their victuals were spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence, at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of anything the next day. ..... Yet they bore these wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit. ..... Some time, two or three months together, they neither had bread nor any kind of corn. ..... They were divided into several companies, six or seven to a gang or company, and so went out with a net they had bought, to take bass and such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turn. ..... Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were five or six days before, for they knew there was nothing at home, and to go home empty would be a great discouragement to the rest. Yea, they strove who should do best. If the boat stayed long or got little, then all went to seeking of shell-fish, which at low water they digged out of the sands. ..... Also in the summer they got now and then a deer; for one or two of the fittest was appointed to range the woods for that end, and what was got that way was divided amongst them."[1] When a second party of recruits joined them, "the best dish they could present them with was a lobster, or a piece of fish, without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water."[2]

1623. Continued scarcity.

This new reinforcement came in the Ann and the Little

ment of the plantation at Plymouth, in the parts of New England, said differences, after the full hearing and debating thereof before us, were finally concluded upon by the offer of the said John Pierce and mutual adoption of the said Treasurer and Company then present, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the said Company, that the said associates with their undertakers and servants now settled or to be settled in Plymouth aforesaid should remain and continue tenants unto the Council established for the managing of the aforesaid affairs of New England, notwithstanding a grant, bearing date the 20th of April, 1622, by said Pierce obtained without the consent of the said associates, from the said Council, contrary to a former grant to the said Pierce made in behalf of himself and his said associates, dated the 1st of June, 1621."

[1] Bradford, 136, 137.

[2] Ibid., 146.

James, the latter of which vessels, of forty-four tons' burden, was "built to stay in the country." The earlier settlers, with those who had now arrived, were afterwards distinguished from later emigrants by the titles of *old-comers* and *forefathers*. "Some few of your old friends," wrote Cushman at this time, "are come; they come dropping to you, and by degrees I hope erelong you shall enjoy them all." And a commercial partnership had a glimpse of the immortal renown to which its humble agents were destined: "Let it not be grievous to you," wrote the Adventurers, "that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world's end; we bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own, that the same God which hath so marvellously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honorable among men, and glorious in bliss at the last day."[1]

August. Arrival of the Ann and the Little James.

A few of the passengers in the two vessels now arrived had come at their own charge, and free to seek their own employments, "yet to be subject to the general government." The rest, about sixty in number, were "for the general," that is, under contract with the Adventurers. The settlement was not to be immediately relieved from its mixed character; some of the recently arrived were "very useful persons, and became good members to the body; and some were the

New description of settlers.

[1] Bradford, 145, 146. Among the persons who came at this time were Cuthbertson, a member of the Leyden church, the wives of Fuller and Cooke, and two daughters of Brewster. There were at least twelve females. One of them became the wife of Bradford, and another the wife of Standish. Alice Southworth, Bradford's second wife, is said to have been his first love. Both being widowed, a correspondence took place, in the sequel of which she came out from England, and married him at Plymouth.

wives and children of such as were here already; and some were so bad as they were fain to be at charge to send them home again the next year." The arrival of persons who came "on their particular," as it was called, introduced into the society a new element, which before long "caused some difficulty and disturbance." The colonists received them on an agreement consisting of four articles, namely: — 1. "That they, on their parts, be subject to all such laws and orders as are already made, or hereafter shall be, for the public good"; 2. "That they be freed and exempt from the general employments of the company, except common defence, and such other employments as tend to the perpetual good of the colony"; 3. That, for every male above sixteen years old, they should make an annual contribution of a bushel of Indian corn, or its value, towards the maintenance of the Governor and other public officers; 4. That, till the expiration of the partnership between the Colony and the Adventurers, they should abstain from traffic with the natives for furs and other commodities.[1]

Another year was now drawing to a close, and the first terrible hardships of the enterprise were over. "By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed to the rejoicing of the hearts of many; and the effect of their particular planting was well seen, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year about, and some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day."[2] Thus it was that the Governor, looking back to this autumn from later times, recorded the altered pros-

Plentiful harvest of the third year.

[1] Bradford, 143, 147, 148. Cushman alluded in his letter to the mixed character of the party (Ibid., 143), and specified persons, who, he said, "came without my consent, but the importunity of their friends got promise of our Treasurer in my absence."

[2] Ibid., 147.

pect. This year was the first in which a stimulus of individual interest had quickened the activity of toil. To each family, in place of the partnership labor hitherto maintained, had been assigned in the spring the cultivation and profit of a separate parcel of land, the single persons being each attached to some family, and a provision being added, that each cultivator should at harvest "bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, &c." The plan "had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been; and it gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field and took their little ones with them to set corn, whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression."[1]

A drought had followed the planting season, and continued with severity till the middle of summer. "The most courageous were now discouraged." It was resolved to set apart a day "to humble themselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer." The religious services lasted "some eight or nine hours." When they began, "the heavens were as clear and the drought as like to continue as ever." Before they closed, the sky was overcast. The rain began to fall, as the thankful worshippers withdrew, and for fourteen days there fell "such soft, sweet, and moderate showers as it was hard to say whether their withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived."[2] In the autumn, by the carelessness of "some of the seamen that were roystering in a house," or, as was suspected, by the design of some mischievous person among those recently arrived, a fire broke out "right against their storehouse, in which were their common store and all their provisions, the which if it had been lost, the plantation

July.

Nov. 5.

[1] Bradford, 134–136, 151. — Winslow, Good Newes, 47.

[2] Winslow, Good Newes, 49, 50.

had been overthrown." But by great exertions it was saved; and no want was felt during the winter, though three or four houses had been consumed, and all the goods and provisions in them, to the value of five hundred pounds.[1] In the preservation of the magazine, as well as in the seasonable showers, was confidently recognized the intervention of a special providence.

Bradford, who had been chosen Governor at the beginning of each year, and who would have declined a fourth election, was prevailed on to accept the charge, with a council of five Assistants, instead of one as heretofore. He had correctly estimated the favorable operation of the division of labor introduced the preceding year; and the plan was now extended so as to allot to each householder an acre of land near the town, to be held in severalty till the expiration of the seven years' partnership with the Adventurers. The quantity of land thus distributed was small, to the end "that they might be kept close together, both for more safety and defence."[2]

1624. March.

Allotments of land.

Winslow, who had gone in the Ann to England to make a personal report to the Adventurers and procure supplies, returned in the Charity after an absence of eight months. "He brought three heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land, with some clothing and other necessaries." He also brought a carpenter to build "two ketches, a lighter, and some six or seven shallops," who died soon, but not till he had rendered himself very useful; a "salt-man," who proved "an ignorant, foolish, self-willed fellow," and only made trouble and waste; and "a preacher, though none of the most eminent and rare," to whose transportation Cushman wrote that he and Winslow consented only "to give content to some in London." With Winslow came a sad "report of a strong faction

Arrival of Winslow from England.

[1] Bradford, 151, 152.

[2] Ibid., 167, 168.

among the Adventurers against the planters, and especially against the coming of the rest from Leyden."[1]

Faction among the Adventurers.

It has not escaped the reader's attention, that the London Adventurers were engaged in a commercial speculation. Several of them sympathized more or less in religious sentiment with Robinson's followers; but even with most of those persons considerations of pecuniary interest were paramount, and they were also a minority when opposed to the aggregate of those who favored the English Church and those who had no mind to interest themselves in religious questions to the damage of their prospect of gain. Under such circumstances, the policy of the English partners would be to keep in favor with the court and with the Council for New England, in which Sir Ferdinando Gorges and other Churchmen were leaders. Here we see an occasion for the embarrassments which were interposed to frustrate Robinson's wish to collect his scattered flock in America. Neither the Virginia Company, nor the London Adventurers as a body, — nor, especially, the Council for New England, — would have preferred to employ Separatists in founding a colony, and giving value to their land. But the option was not theirs. At the moment, no other description of persons was disposed to confront the anticipated hardships, and none could be relied upon like them to carry the business through. This was well understood on both sides to be the motive for the engagement that was made.[2]

If Separatists were perforce to undertake the enter-

1 Bradford, 158, 160, 167.

2 "We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great part we have by patience overcome." "We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience." "It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again." (Letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sir Edwin Sandys, December 15, 1617, in Bradford, 31, 33.)

prise, it was desirable that they should be persons not individually conspicuous, or obnoxious to displeasure in high quarters; and when Brewster, and not Robinson, accompanied the emigrants to America, it was a result, if not due to any arrangement of the Adventurers, certainly well according with their policy. Brewster was forgotten in England; nor had he ever been known as a literary champion of his sect. The able and learned Robinson was the recognized head of the English *Independents*. He had an English, if indeed it may not be called a European, reputation. No name could have been uttered in the courtly circles with worse omen to the new settlement than his. The case was still stronger when, having lost their way, and in consequence come to need another patent, the colony was made a dependency of the Council for New England, instead of the Virginia Company. In the Virginia Company, laboring under the displeasure of the king, and having Sandys and Wriothesley for its leaders, there was a leaven of popular sentiment. The element of absolutism and prelacy was more controlling in the counsels of the rival corporation.

From these circumstances, the quick instinct of trade took its lesson. To the favor of the Council for New England, with Sir Ferdinando Gorges at its head, and the king taking its part against Sir Edward Coke and the House of Commons, the Adventurers were looking for benefits which some of them had no mind to hazard by letting their settlement exhale any offensive odor of schism. Here it seems that we have an insight into the policy of that action to which Robinson referred, when, in a letter to Brewster, now brought by Winslow, he wrote: "I persuade myself that, for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, especially such of them as have an eye that way themselves, as thinking, if I come there, their market will be marred in many regards. And for these adversaries, if they have but half the wit to their

1623. Dec. 20.

malice, they will stop my course when they see it intended." [1]

Here also we may find an explanation of the selection of a minister "not the most eminent," and such as Cushman and Winslow agreed to take only "to give content to some in London." To send a clergyman avowedly of the state Church was a course not to be thought of. The colonists could not be expected to receive him. The best method for the purpose in hand was to employ some one of a character and position suited to get possession of their confidence, and then use it to tone down their religious strictness, and, if circumstances should favor, to disturb the ecclesiastical constitution which they had set up.

As the financial prospects of the colony faded, the more anxious were the unsympathizing London partners to relieve it and themselves from the stigma of religious schism. The taunt that their colonists were Brownists depressed the value of their stock. It was for their interest to introduce settlers of a different religious character, and to take the local power, if possible, out of the hands of those who represented the obnoxious tenets. To this end, it was their policy to encourage such internal disaffection as already existed, and to strengthen it by the infusion of new elements of discord. A part even of the passengers in the first vessel, without religious sympathy with their superiors, and jealous of the needful exercise of authority, were fit subjects for an influence adverse to the existing organization.[2] The miscellaneous importation in the Fortune followed, and the whole tenor of the discourse of Cushman, who came and went in her, shows that there were "idle drones" and "unreasonable men" mixed with the nobler associates of the infant settlement. The Ann and her partner, the last vessels despatched by the Adventurers, brought new fuel for dissension in those

[1] Bradford, 166.

[2] If Lyford, the factious minister, was to be believed, Billington was one of his allies. (Ibid., 181.)

of her company who came "on their particular." Nor does it seem hazardous to infer, alike from the circumstances of the case, and from developments which speedily followed, that some of these persons, in concert with the "strong faction among the Adventurers," came over on the errand of subverting the existing government and order.[1]

Lyford, the minister, began with ostentatious professions of sympathy with his new companions. "He saluted them with that reverence and humility as is seldom to be seen; ..... yea, he wept and shed many tears, ... and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty to enjoy the ordinances of God in purity among his people." He was received as a member of their church, provided with a more liberal support than any other person, and invited by the Governor, as Brewster had been, to consultations with him and the Assistants. John Oldham, who had come over in the Ann, and had experienced similar generous treatment, was "a chief stickler in the former faction among the particulars." With him, as it soon appeared, Lyford was engaged "in plotting against them, and disturbing their peace, both in respect of their civil and church state." When the Charity set sail for England, Bradford followed her a few miles to sea, examined letters put on board by Lyford and Oldham, and brought back to Plymouth copies of such as expressed their disaffection. He kept them private till "Lyford, with his complices, without ever speaking one word either to the Governor, church, or elder, withdrew themselves, and set up a public meeting apart, on the Lord's day, with sundry such insolent carriages, too long to relate."[2]

Faction at Plymouth.

1624. July.

[1] "Some of those that still remained here on their particular began privately to nourish a faction, and being privy to a strong faction that was among the Adventurers in England, on whom sundry of them did depend, by their private whispering they drew some of the weaker sort of the company to their side." (Ibid., 157.)

[2] Ibid., 171–175.

The Governor then summoned a General Court, and arraigned Lyford and his confederate. They denied the charge of moving sedition or conducting a calumnious correspondence, and the letters were produced to their confusion. Lyford's letters complained, that "the church would have none to live here but themselves"; that "if there came over any honest men that were not of the separation [Separatists], they would quickly distaste them"; that "they utterly sought the ruin of the particulars, as appeared by this, that they would not suffer any of the general to buy or sell or exchange with them"; that the weekly distribution of provisions was unequal and unjust; that there was "exceeding great waste of tools and vessels"; and that "the faction here might match the Jesuits for polity." And among other measures he advised, "that the Leyden company, Mr. Robinson and the rest, must still be kept back, or all would be spoiled"; that "such a number" should be "provided as might oversway them here"; and that a fit person should be sent over to supersede Captain Standish, who "looked like a silly boy." The contents of Oldham's letters are not particularly described. A third confederate, not named, informed his correspondent, that "Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth." Oldham, before the disclosure, had refused to do his military duty, drawn a weapon on the Captain, insulted the Governor, "and called them all traitors, and rebels, and other such foul language"; and it was not till "after he was clapped up awhile, he came to himself."

On the discovery of his clandestine relations to the hostile movement in England, Oldham tried to raise a mutiny on the spot; "but all were silent, being struck with the injustice of the thing." Lyford "was struck mute, burst out into tears, and confessed he feared he was a reprobate." Both were ordered to leave the colony. The sentence was remitted to Lyford, on his humble pe-

tition for forgiveness, accompanied with a passionate acknowledgment of the falsehood of what he had written, and of the lenity of his sentence. Oldham, with some followers, went to Nantasket, the southern cape of Boston Bay, where the Plymouth people had built a trading-house for their convenience in visiting the Indians of that region.

Conviction of Lyford and Oldham.

Lyford was not reclaimed. In a letter to the Adventurers he repeated his injurious representations respecting the state of things at Plymouth. It was brought to the Governor by the person to whom it had been intrusted for conveyance. Bradford took no notice of it till the following spring, when Winslow returned from a second visit to England, with information, that, while there, he had ascertained and disclosed to the Adventurers certain discreditable facts in Lyford's early life, which "struck all his friends mute, and made them all ashamed." He was now deposed from the ministry, to which on his professions of penitence he had been restored, and went to join Oldham at Nantasket.[1] Oldham had lately ventured on a visit to Plymouth, whence, having indulged himself there in opprobrious language, he was expelled with ignominious ceremony.[2]

Aug. 22.

1625. March.

Winslow brought further discouraging accounts of the state of affairs among the Adventurers. "As there had been a faction and siding amongst them now more than two years, so now there was an utter breach and sequestration." The amount of money due in London was not less than fourteen hundred pounds sterling.[3] Some of the partners remained friendly to the colony, and wrote in terms of confidence and cheer; though, with the cattle, tools, and clothing which they sent, orders

Disruption of the partnership of Adventurers.

[1] From Nantasket Lyford went for a little time to Cape Ann, and thence to Virginia, where he shortly after died.

[2] Bradford, 171–196.

[3] Letter of Shirley and others (Bradford, 199).

came for their sale at what the planters considered an exorbitant advance. From this time, the original partnership of the company of Adventurers to Plymouth was dissolved, two thirds of those in London withdrawing from their connection with the colonists.

Two other settlements had meanwhile been attempted; one by a Captain Wollaston, with some thirty or forty persons, on a bluff which still bears his name, on the sea-shore in what is now the town of Quincy;[1] the other, as much as a year earlier, on the promontory known, since Captain Smith's voyage, as Cape Ann. Of the spasmodic experiments made by the Council of New England for giving value to their property, one had been a distribution of its territory among individual members of the corporation. Twenty noblemen and gentlemen divided among themselves in severalty the country along the coast from the Bay of Fundy to Narragansett Bay.[2] The region about Cape Ann fell to the lot of Edmund, Lord Sheffield, who sold a patent for it to Cushman and Winslow and their associates at New Plymouth.[3] It was probably in the summer before this transaction,[4] that

1625. Transactions at Mount Wollaston and at Cape Ann.

1622.

1624. Jan. 1.

[1] Bradford, 235; Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

[2] This project is sketched in the "Briefe Relation" of the "President and Council of New England," quoted above (p. 208, note). "Two parts of the whole territory," they say (31, 32), "is to be divided between the patentees into several counties, to be by themselves or their friends planted, at their pleasure or best commodity; the other third part" was to afford a "revenue for defraying of public charge." Connected with this plan was (Ibid.) that of the appointment of a General Governor, which has been mentioned in its place (see above, pp. 206, 208, note). Smith says (True Travels, &c., 46), "The fishing ships made such good returns, at last it [New England] was engrossed by twenty patentees, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares." And Purchas (IV. 1872) has a map representing this division.

[3] The indenture between Lord Sheffield, of the one part, and Winslow and Cushman of the other, has been recently brought to light by Mr. John Wingate Thornton, who has illustrated it in a printed treatise, accompanied by an engraved *fac-simile*.

[4] "About the year 1623, some Western merchants bethought themselves" of this undertaking. "The next year" they bought and repaired "a Flemish

a few persons from the West of England sat down at Cape Ann for purposes of planting and fishing. They appear to have acknowledged the rights of the Plymouth people, when made known to them;[1] and the fishermen of the two parties carried on their operations amicably side by side, till Lyford brought his disturbing presence among them from his retreat at Nantasket. A London vessel in the service of those Adventurers who were friendly to him having arrived at the place, the crew took possession of a fishing-stage belonging to the Plymouth settlers, and "would not restore the same except they would fight for it." Contrary to the wish of Standish, who had come from Plymouth to set things right, pacific counsels prevailed, and the dispute was quieted by an engagement of the crew to help in building another stage for the owners, in place of that which had been in question.

Plymouth was now in a thriving condition, if its prosperity was on no imposing scale. A year earlier, according to what Smith had learned, there were "about a hundred and eighty persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling-houses; ..... the town impaled about half a mile compass; in the town, upon a high mount, a fort well built with wood, loam, and stone; also a fair watch-tower; ..... and this year they had freighted a ship of a hundred and eighty tons."[2] Fifty English ships were on the coast

1624. Prosperous condition of Plymouth.

fly-boat" for the voyage. And "the third year, 1625," they despatched two vessels to Cape Ann. (Planters' Plea, Chap. VII., VIII.)

1 Smith, Generall Historie, 247.

2 Ibid. Captain John Smith was a more careful inquirer or reporter than Sir William Alexander, who in the same year wrote: "Four years since, a ship going for Virginia coming by chance to harbor in the southwest part of New England near Cape Cod, the company whom she carried for plantation, being weary of the sea, and enamored with the beauty of the bounds that first offered itself unto them, gorgeously garnished with all wherewith pregnant nature, ravishing the sight with variety, can grace a fertile field, did resolve to stay." (Map and Description of New England, 30.) — Gorges had received accounts of the same too partial character: "They landed their people [at Plymouth], many of them weak and feeble through the length of the navigation, the leakiness of the ship, and want

engaged in fishing, and every ship was an enlargement of their market for purchases and sales. "It pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace and health and contented minds, and so to bless their labors as they had corn sufficient, and some to spare to others, with other food; neither ever had they any supply of food but what they first brought with them." Returning from a voyage made "to the eastward, up a river called Kennebec," in an open boat, "Mr. Winslow and some of the old standards, for seamen they had none, brought home seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corn, which themselves had raised out of the earth," to trade with.[1]

1625.

The brightening prospect of the colonists, on the one hand, and the unsatisfactory state of their affairs with the remaining English partners on the other, encouraged a desire to rid themselves of a connection which had been so fruitful of inconvenience, and Standish was despatched to England to obtain a supply of goods, and learn what terms could be made for a release. He returned the following spring, having "taken up a hundred and fifty pounds (and spent a good deal of it in expenses) at fifty *per cent.*, which he bestowed in trading goods and such other most needful commodities as he knew requisite for their use."[2] He brought the mournful intelligence of the death of Robinson at Leyden in the year before; and of that of Cushman, whom they had been expecting presently to welcome.

1626. April.

1625. March 1.

The loss of Cushman was painfully felt. He had been "as their right hand with their friends the Adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them to their great advan-

Death of Robinson and of Cushman.

of many other necessaries such undertakings required. But they were not many days ashore before they had gotten both health and strength, through the comfort of the air, the store of fish and fowl, with plenty of wholesome roots and herbs the country afforded," &c. (Briefe Narration, Chap. XXII.)

[1] Bradford, 204.

[2] Ibid.

tage."[1] Such was Bradford's tribute to his old friend, though Bradford as well as others had been greatly dissatisfied with his management and concealment of that part of the negotiation by which they lost the benefit of two favorite stipulations.[2] But Robinson was mourned with a peculiar sorrow. His powerful ascendency over the minds of his associates, acquired by eminent talents and virtues, had been used disinterestedly and wisely for their good. With great courage and fortitude, he had equal gentleness and liberality; and his accomplishments of understanding and the generosity of his affections inspired mingled admiration and love. Though he passed his life in the midst of controversy, it was so far from narrowing his mind, that his charity towards dissentients distinguished him among the divines of his day, as much as his abilities and learning. It is less remarkable that he became constantly more tolerant as he grew older.

The recent competition in the fishery, on the part both of their English associates and of others, having led the colonists to regard that investment of their labor as less profitable,[3] they turned their attention to "trading and planting," and were so successful, that, before the close of the year, they had nearly extricated themselves from debt, including the obligation lately incurred for them by Standish, and had stored "some clothing for the people and some commodities beforehand." In conjunction with the planters at Piscataqua, they made purchases of a quantity of merchandise from some English at Monhegan, and from a French ship wrecked near that island,[4] to the amount of five hundred pounds. During the winter, they had the society of the passengers and crew of a vessel bound to Virginia, which, falling short of provisions, had put in at the south side of Cape Cod, and had sent to them for succor;[5]

1 Bradford, 207.

2 See above, p. 155.

3 "The ship [a vessel in the employ of some of the Adventurers] came on fishing, a thing fatal to this plantation." (Bradford, 158.)

4 Ibid., 208 – 210.

5 Ibid., 217 – 221.

and a communication, opened by a letter from the Dutch Governor of Fort Amsterdam, now New York, led to mutual expressions of good-will, and offers of business intercourse and neighborly good offices. After two letters had passed each way, Isaac De Rasières, the Dutch "upper commis or chief merchant, and second to the Governor," made a visit to Plymouth of "some few days."[1]

1627. March 9.

[1] He came up Buzzard's Bay, "accompanied with a noise of trumpeters, and some other attendants," and landed at Manomet, whence (October 4) he sent a messenger to the English. "So they sent a boat to Manonscussett [in Sandwich] and brought him to the plantation, with the chief of his company." He sold his guests some sugar, linen, and stuffs, for tobacco. "But that which turned most to their profit in time was an entrance into the trade of wampumpeag. For they now bought about fifty pounds' worth of it of them; and they [the Dutch] told them how vendable it was at their Fort Orania, and did persuade them they would find it so at Kennebec. And so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck; and it was two years before they could put off this small quantity, till the inland people knew of it, and afterwards they could scarce ever get enough for them, for many years together." (Bradford, 222–225, 233, 234.)

To a letter of De Rasières, written after his return, we are indebted for some interesting facts respecting the colony of Plymouth in the seventh year from its foundation. The letter was obtained by Mr. Brodhead from the archives at the Hague, and published by him in the New York Historical Collections, Second Series, II. 343 *et seq.* De Rasières writes of Plymouth: —

"At the south side of the town there flows down a small river of fresh water, very rapid, but shallow, which takes its rise from several lakes in the land above, and there empties into the sea; where in April and the beginning of May there come so many herring from the sea, which want to ascend that river, that it is quite surprising. This river the English have shut in with planks, and in the middle with a little door, which slides up and down, and at the sides with trellis-work, through which the water has its course, but which they can also close with slides. At the mouth they have constructed it with planks, like an eel-pot with wings, where in the middle is also a sliding-door, and with trellis-work at the sides, so that between the two [dams] there is a square pool, into which the fish aforesaid come swimming in such shoals, in order to get up above where they deposit their spawn, that at one tide there are ten thousand to twelve thousand fish in it, which they shut off in the rear at the ebb, and close up the trellises above so that no more water comes in; then the water runs out through the lower trellises, and they draw out the fish with baskets, each according to the land he cultivates, and carry them to it, depositing in each hill three or four fishes, and in these they plant their maize, which grows as luxuriantly therein as though it were the best manure in the world; and if they do not lay these fishes therein, the maize will not grow, such is the nature of the soil.

"New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea-

Mr. Allerton, who had been sent to England for the purpose of pursuing the negotiation with the Adventurers, in which Standish had made some progress, as well as for other business, brought back a gratifying account of his success. He had "taken up two hundred pounds, which he now got at thirty *per cent.*, and brought some useful goods with him, much to the comfort and content of the plantation." And he had

Release from the Adventurers.

coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of eight hundred [feet] long, leading down the hill, with a [street] crossing in the middle, northwards to the rivulet, and southwards to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with gardens also enclosed behind and at the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court-yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack; and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross-street, stands the Governor's house, before which is a square enclosure, upon which four patereros [steenstucken] are mounted, so as to flank along the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher, with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain, with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day.

"Their government is after the English form. The Governor has his council, which is chosen every year by the entire community by election or prolongation of term. In the inheritance they place all the children in one degree, only the eldest son has an acknowledgment for his seniority of birth.

"They have made stringent laws and ordinances upon the subject of fornication and adultery, which laws they maintain and enforce very strictly indeed, even among the tribes which live amongst them. They [the English] speak very angrily, when they hear from the savages that we should live so barbarously in these respects, and without punishment.

"Their farms are not so good as ours, because they are more stony, and, consequently, not so suitable for the plough. They apportion their land according as each has means to contribute to the eighteen thousand guilders which they have promised to those who had sent them out; whereby they have their freedom without rendering an account to any one; only, if the king should choose to send a Governor-General, they would be obliged to acknowledge him as sovereign chief.

"The maize seed which they do not require for their own use is delivered over to the Governor, at three guilders the bushel, who, in his turn, sends it in

adjusted with the Adventurers the preliminaries of an arrangement for discharging the planters from their contract of service and partnership. For the sum of eighteen hundred pounds, payable in nine equal annual instalments, beginning in the following year, the Adventurers were to convey to the planters "every their stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels." The speculation was a hazardous one for the planters. "They knew not well how to raise the payment, and discharge their other engagements, and supply their yearly wants, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up moneys or goods at such high interest. Yet they undertook it, and seven or eight of the chief of the place became jointly bound for the payment of this eighteen hundred pounds, in the behalf of the rest, at the several days; in which they ran a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavy burdens already upon them, and all things in an uncertain condition."[1]

Distribution of stock and land.

A new organization and distribution were now adopted, to meet the anticipated change of affairs. With a generous wisdom, the occasion was used to compose the feud between the "generals" and the "particulars." A partnership was formed of all the men on the

sloops to the north for the trade in skins among the savages. They reckon one bushel of maize against one pound of beaver's skin. In the first place, a division is made according to what each has contributed, and they are credited for the amount in the account of what each has to contribute yearly towards the reduction of his obligation. Then with the remainder they purchase what next they require, and which the Governor takes care to provide every year.

"They have better means of living than ourselves, because they have the fish so abundant before their doors. There are also many birds, such as geese, herons, and cranes, and other small-legged birds, which are in great abundance there in the winter. The tribes in their neighborhood have all the same customs as already above described, only they are better conducted than ours, because the English give them the example of better ordinances and a better life; and who, also, to a certain degree, give them laws, by means of the respect they from the very first have established amongst them."

[1] Bradford, 211 – 214. The English Adventurers who executed this covenant were forty-two in number. (See Bradford's Letter-Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48.) Six of them, namely,

spot, of suitable age and prudence, under an agreement that the trade should "be managed as before to help to pay the debts" in the way of a joint-stock company, and that every freeman should have a single share, and "every father of a family also be allowed to purchase a share for his wife, and a share for every child that he had living with him."[1] A division followed of the stock and land, hitherto the joint property of the Adventurers and of their associates on the soil. One cow and two goats were assigned by lot to every six persons or shares, "and swine, though more in number, yet by the same rule. Then they agreed that every person or share should have twenty acres of land divided unto them, besides the single acres they had already. . . . . But no meadows were to be laid out at all, nor were not of many years after, because they were but strait of meadow grounds, and if they had been now given out, it would have hindered all addition to them afterwards; but every season all were appointed where they should mow, according to the proportion of cattle they had." The houses became private property by an equitable assignment.[2] The vassalage to the foreign merchants was over. Henceforward there were to be New-England freeholders.

The first coveted luxury of their emancipated state was a reunion with their ancient companions. Hitherto the pleasure of others might decide who should join them. That embarrassment was now withdrawn. Their tender mutual recollections had naturally been refreshed by their common mourning for their "loving and faithful pastor." To put the financial affairs in a more manage-

White, Pocock, Goffe, Sharpe, Revell, and Andrews, were afterwards members of the Massachusetts Company.

[1] "Except peace and union were preserved, they should be able to do nothing, but endanger to overthrow all, now that other ties and bonds were taken away; therefore they resolved to take in all amongst them that were either heads of families, or single young men that were of ability, and free, and able to govern themselves with meet discretion," &c. (Bradford, 214.)

[2] Bradford, 214 – 217.

able shape, eight of the settlers[1] entered into an engagement with the colony to farm its trade for a term of six years. In consideration of the sole right of trading, of an annual payment by each colonist of three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco, and of the transfer to them of three vessels, with "the whole stock of furs, felts, beads, corn, wampumpeag, knives, &c. that was now in the store, or any way due upon account," the eight agreed to make the annual payments due from the colony in London; to discharge the other debts of the plantation, amounting to about six hundred pounds more; and to bring over, every year, fifty pounds' worth of hose and shoes, and sell them for corn at six shillings a bushel.[2] Allerton was despatched again to England to conclude the transaction there, and attend to other business, which he prosperously completed. On his return, the following spring, "he brought a reasonable supply of goods"; and reported that he had paid the first instalment to the Adventurers, delivered the bonds for the residue of the debt, and obtained the due conveyance and release; that he had discharged all other debts, except those due to four friends,[3] who agreed to take an interest and become partners in the six years' hire of the trade, and to charge themselves with the transportation of a company from Leyden; and lastly, that he had obtained from the Council for New England a patent for land on the Kennebec.[4] The patent was immediately turned to account by the erection of "a house up above in that river, in the most convenient place for trade."[5]

July. The trade farmed by eight colonists.

1628.

[1] They were Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, Standish, Prince, Alden, Howland, and Allerton. Prince had come over in the Fortune; all the others, in the Mayflower.

[2] Bradford, 225–228.

[3] They were James Shirley, John Beauchamp, Richard Andrews, and Timothy Hatherley. Shirley, "the glue of the company" (Cushman's letter in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 34), wrote, that some of the Adventurers had fallen out with him, because, adds he, "I would not side with them against you, and the going over of the Leyden people." (Bradford, 230.)

[4] Ibid., 232.

[5] Ibid., 233.

Allerton also, of his own motion, "brought over a young man for a minister; his name was Mr. Rogers." Except during the short time of Lyford's service, Brewster had been the spiritual guide of the colony, preaching to them and leading in their devotions, though not dispensing the sacraments. From undertaking this last service he was discouraged by Robinson, who wrote to him that he judged it "not lawful for a ruling elder, nor convenient, if it were lawful."[1] While Robinson lived, the colonists expected to be joined by him. When he died, they had for a long time no success in attempts to supply his place. Rogers proved to be "crazed in his brain; so they were fain to be at further charge to send him back again the next year."[2] Meanwhile, Brewster "taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in this behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives."[3]

An incident, which occurred this spring, illustrates the condition of the settlements on and about Massachusetts Bay. It has been mentioned that a Captain Wollaston attempted a plantation on a spot which still bears his name, near Boston harbor.[4] "Not finding things to answer his expectations," he withdrew with part of his company to Virginia, and presently sent for a portion of the rest. In his absence, one Thomas Morton, "who had been a kind of pettifogger, of Furnival's Inn," obtained an ascendency among them,[5] and displaced the 1625.

1 Robinson, letter in Young's "Pilgrims," 477.

2 Bradford, 243.

3 Ibid., 413.

4 See above, p. 222.

5 Bradford (236) understood Morton to have come over with Wollaston. But Morton (New English Canaan, Book I. Chap. II., Book II. Chap. I.) says, "In the year since the incarnation of Christ 1622, it was my chance to be landed in the parts of New England." "In the month of June, anno salutis 1622, it was my chance to arrive in the parts of New England." If this is true, he may have come with Weston's people in the Charity. According to his title-page, he was "of Clifford's Inn."

person left by Wollaston in charge. The habits of shameless license and revelry which he introduced at Merry-Mount, — as he called his hold, — drunkenness, gambling, dancing about a maypole, singing ribald songs, debauching the Indian women, and other "beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians," were a sore offence to their sober neighbors. By enticing away their servants, he increased his rabble rout. But what made his presence intolerable was, that, to support this wild course of life, Morton sold fire-arms and ammunition freely to the natives. It had been done before by the French, and by transient fishermen; but the extent to which the traffic was now carried on excited serious alarm, and messengers from the neighboring settlements, after deliberation upon the danger, solicited the Plymouth people to interfere.

Proceedings at Merry-Mount.

1628.

The messenger despatched to Morton, "in a friendly and neighborly way, to admonish him to forbear these courses," was sent back with affront. A second remonstrance was of no more avail. The third messenger was "Captain Standish, and some other aid with him." Morton barricaded his house, defied the invaders, and fortified his comrades with drink. But they were disarmed and dispersed without bloodshed, and their leader was conducted to Plymouth, whence he was sent to England, with letters to the Council and to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, setting forth the danger of his practices.[1] He went in the custody of John Oldham, who, by large professions of repentance for his past miscarriages, had become reconciled with the Plymouth people.[2]

June.

[1] Bradford, 235–243. The letters sent with Morton are in the Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 62–64. He has made his own report of these proceedings in his "New English Canaan"; with no little wit, it must be allowed, but not in such a way as to mend the aspect of his case, as described by his adversaries. He writes precisely like what his American neighbors took him for, a witty and knowing, but shiftless, reckless, graceless, shameless rake.

[2] Bradford, 191.

The contributions to the expense of this expedition, from settlements and individuals, are on record.[1] The settlements were Plymouth and Piscataqua (Portsmouth), which paid each two pounds ten shillings, and Naumkeag and Nantasket, each assessed one pound ten shillings. Nantasket, now Hull, was the seat of Oldham's party. Of Naumkeag, now Salem, an account will be more appropriately given in another place. The share of "Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem" was two pounds. Their cottages probably stood at Winnisimmet, now Chelsea. Edward Hilton, Mrs. Thompson, and Mr. Blaxton contributed respectively one pound, fifteen shillings, and twelve shillings. Edward Hilton was seated at Cochecho on the Piscataqua River; William Blaxton on the peninsula of Shawmut, afterwards Boston; and Mrs. Thompson, widow of David Thompson, formerly of Piscataqua, on the island called by his name in Boston harbor.[2] Within the same circuit, there were perhaps solitary planters, whose names do not appear in the transaction. Thomas Walford may have been already, where he was found presently after, on the peninsula of Mishawum (since Charlestown), and Samuel Maverick on Noddle's Island, hard by. Cape Ann, lately a dependency of Plymouth, and Wessagusset (Weymouth) had probably a few inhabitants. Some of the individuals who have been named may have been of the company dispersed after the unsuccessful attempt of Robert Gorges to make a settlement at the latter place. Plymouth had extended itself westwardly to Buzzard's Bay by an outpost on Manomet River, kept by "some servants, who planted corn, and reared some swine."[3]

English planters in and about Massachusetts Bay.

Besides the settlements scattered from Plymouth on the one side to the river Piscataqua on the other, a few beginnings, and attempts at beginnings, of English plantations

[1] See Bradford's Letter-Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 63.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 245.

[3] Bradford, 221.

beyond that river, have been mentioned.[1] Similar undertakings of Frenchmen on the same line of coast still further east had as yet been attended with small success.

New France. When half a century had elapsed after those frustrated expeditions which immediately followed the discovery of the St. Lawrence, the Marquis

1598. de la Roche conducted forty convicts from the French prisons to the Isle of Sable, fifty miles southeast from Cape Breton. At the end of seven years, a vessel came to convey them back to France, and found only twelve alive. When De Monts, on the revo-

1612. cation of his monopoly, abandoned his designs upon *Acadie*[2] (the name given to the peninsula now called Nova Scotia, and to an indefinite extent of territory around it), his friend, De Poutrincourt, still remained with some companions at Port Royal. From this place, two Jesuit missionaries from France proceeded,

1613. with twenty or thirty companions, to found a colony on the island of Mount Desert, at the mouth of the Penobscot. It was broken up almost immediately by Captain Argall, from Virginia, as has already been related.[3] In the same or the following year, Argall visited Port Royal, destroyed its fortification, and carried away a part of its inhabitants, while the rest dispersed themselves into the interior. It was six or seven years after this time, when the playwright, William Alexander, who began life as travelling companion to the young Earl of Argyll, and was subsequently raised to the Scottish peerage as

1621. Earl of Stirling, obtained from the Council for New England his patent for Nova Scotia, a country defined in that instrument as extending from the St. Croix to the St. Lawrence. The party which he sent out

1623. to take possession found Port Royal again occupied by Frenchmen, and returned without at-

[1] See above, pp. 205, 230.
[2] See above, pp. 77, 78.
[3] See above, p. 85.

tempting its reduction. But in the war which broke out in the second year of Charles the First, it was taken by an expedition commanded by Sir William Kirk. The capture of Quebec by the same force followed in the next year, and for a little time New France disappeared from the map of America. 1628. 1629. July 19.

On the western border of New England another nation seemed to have established itself with better prospects. It was in the service of the Dutch East India Company that Henry Hudson, an Englishman, bound on the usual search for a northwestern passage to the Indies, had entered the river since called by his name, and explored its length for more than a hundred and fifty miles. Other navigators from the Netherlands, allured by his report, soon followed for traffic with the natives; and, within three or four years after his visit, they had erected some huts on the island of Manhattan,[1] and a warehouse and stockade near the spot where now stands the city of Albany. Adriaen Block, in a vessel of sixteen tons, built at Manhattan, explored Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay, and probably sailed forty or fifty miles up Connecticut River, and into Massachusetts Bay as far as the promontory of Nahant.[2] New Netherland. 1609. September. 1614.

[1] In Plantagenet's "New Albion," published in 1648, is a story that Argall and his party, on their return from Mount Desert to Virginia, in 1613, "landed at Manhatas Isle, in Hudson's River, where they found four houses built, and a pretended Dutch Governor under the West-India Company of Amsterdam, who kept trading-boats, and trucking with the Indians; but the said knights told him their commission was to expel him and all alien intruders on his Majesty's dominions and territories, this being part of Virginia, and this river an English discovery by Hudson, an Englishman. The Dutchman contented them for their charge and voyage, and by his letter, sent to Virginia and recorded, submitted himself, company, and plantation to his Majesty, and to the Governor and government of Virginia." This story is adopted as true by Smith (History of New York, 2), and generally by recent historians. But Mr. Brodhead (History of New York, I. 754, 755) gives weighty reasons for accounting it a mere fiction.

[2] De Laet, in N. Y. Hist. Coll., I. 291–297.—It is from this navigator that Block Island, lying eastwardly from Long Island, takes its name.

Block carried home an account of his discoveries, and some merchants of Amsterdam obtained from the States-General a charter for three years' monopoly of the trade of New Netherland (as it was now called), defined as extending, between New France and Virginia, from the fortieth to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. But the region appears as yet to have been visited only for trade, and not to have received any permanent Dutch inhabitants. In his last voyage from Virginia to New England, Captain Dermer[1] had "met with some Hollanders that were settled in a place we call Hudson's River, in trade with the natives; who forbade them the place, as being by his Majesty appointed to us. Their answer was, they understood no such thing, nor found any of our nation there, so that they hoped they had not offended."[2] Pursuing his way, Dermer had passed through Long-Island Sound, probably the first Englishman who ever sailed on its waters.

1615. Jan. 1.

At the expiration of the time limited in the charter of the Amsterdam merchants, the government refused to renew it, having in view more extensive operations in which its purpose would be embraced. The charter of the Dutch West-India Company followed, in six months, that of the Council for New England. It was while this measure was pending, that the merchants of Amsterdam had proposed to Robinson's congregation to emigrate under their patronage,[3] and that, adopting a different plan, the colonists of the Mayflower had sailed for the vicinity of the Hudson, and, missing their way, had arrived at Cape Cod.

1621. June 3.

New Netherland was not named in the charter of the Dutch West-India Company, but the powers conferred by it were construed to extend to operations on that

[1] See above, pp. 99, 100.

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XXI. Comp. Briefe Relation of the President and Council of New England, 17.

[3] See above, p. 149, note 2.

coast; and, regarding it in connection with the expeditions to Hudson's River, the English court took alarm, and Sir Dudley Carleton was instructed "to remonstrate with the States-General against intrusions in New England."[1] The States promised to look into the question, and there, for the present, the matter rested. The Dutch continued their trade with the natives at and about Manhattan, and extended it eastward as far as Buzzard's Bay. More than two years had passed from the date of its charter, when the West-India Company took possession of New Netherland, and yet another year, when the first permanent colony was there established. Mey, who for ten years had been familiar with the place, and who in one of his coasting voyages had discovered that cape of Delaware Bay which preserves his name, was made Director. He retained his office but a year, and his successor, Verhulst, for only the same period. Peter Minuit was next invested with the government, which he still administered at the time to which the history of Plymouth has now been brought down. He purchased the island of Manhattan from the natives for a consideration about equivalent to twenty-four dollars,[2] and began the erection of a fort at its southern end, which he called Fort Amsterdam.

1622.

1623.

1626.

It was in his time that De Rasières came to Plymouth.[3] A letter which preceded that messenger by six months informed Bradford of the establishment of the Dutch colony, and assured him of their wish to cultivate relations of commerce and friendship with him and his associates. In his reply, the Governor reciprocated these professions, but used the occasion to warn the Dutch against attempts at encroachment on any of the territory north of the fortieth degree of latitude,[4]

1627. March 9.

March 19.

[1] Journal of the Privy Council for December 15, 1621.

[2] Brodhead's Address to the New York Historical Society, in 1844, p. 26.

[3] See above, pp. 226–229.

[4] This part of Bradford's letter is omitted from the copy in his History (224), but is preserved, as well as the

claimed, as it was, by the Council for New England. The answer was "very friendly, but maintaining their right and liberty to trade in those parts," derived from the authority of "the States of Holland." Bradford next presented the case with more fulness and more decision, but recommended a submission of it to the superiors of both parties in Europe, and requested a visit from some of the Dutch, for conference on their affairs of business. This invitation, coupled with a desire to deprive the Plymouth people of a motive for expeditions to the west,[1] brought De Rasières to their town, whence, on his return, he bore another remonstrance against what was understood to be intrusion on the English domain. In informing the Council for New England of the movement, Bradford wrote, "We understand that, for strength of men and fortification, they far exceed us, and all in this land." In the following year, New Amsterdam received its first clergyman.[2] It is believed to have had at that time a population of two hundred and seventy persons.[3]

Aug. 7.

Aug. 14.

Oct. 1.

1628.

letters which followed, in his Letter-Book. (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 51–56).

[1] "They have built a shallop [at Manomet] in order to go and look after the trade in sewan [the Dutch name for wampum] in Sloup's Bay [an inlet of Narragansett Bay], ... which I have prevented for this year by selling them fifty fathoms of sewan, because the seeking after sewan by them is prejudicial to us, inasmuch as they would, by so doing, discover the trade in furs; which if they were to find out, it would be a great trouble for us to maintain; for they already dare to threaten that, if we will not leave off dealing with that people, they will be obliged to use other means. If they do that now, while they are yet ignorant how the case stands, what will they do when they do get a notion of it?" (Letter of De Rasières, cited above, p. 226, note.)

[2] His name was Jonas Michaëlius. The fact of the existence, so early, of a church at New Amsterdam, has just been brought to light by Mr. Murphy, Minister of the United States at the Hague.

[3] Brodhead, History of New York, I. 183.

CHAPTER VII.

The emigration of the Englishmen who settled at Plymouth had been prompted by religious dissent. In what manner Robinson, who was capable of speculating on political tendencies, or Brewster, whose early position had compelled him to observe them, had augured concerning the prospect of public affairs in their native country, no record tells; while the rustics of the Scrooby congregation, who fled from a government which denied them liberty in their devotions, could have had but little knowledge, and no agency, in the political sphere. The case was widely different with the founders of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. That settlement had its rise in a state of things in England which associated religion and politics in an intimate alliance.

The decline of the military system of the Middle Ages had brought about a necessity for new political organizations. The power of the great feudatories ceasing to be the controlling element in affairs, the monarchical and popular principles were to confront each other in open field. France took the lead among the states of Western Europe in bringing to a settlement the question, which of the two opposing forces was to prevail. When the necessities of the invasion from England excused Charles the Seventh for establishing "the first standing army in modern Europe,"[1] they enabled him to found a despotism. In Spain, whose constitutions were more popular

Rise of the conflict between arbitrary and popular principles.

1446.

[1] Ranke, Civil Wars and Monarchy in France, Chap. IV.

than those of the other kingdoms of the West,[1] the controversy came to a decision in the following century, and, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, was determined with the same issue. In England, the dynasty of the Tudors was far from wanting the vigor of character required to bring about an equally calamitous result. But in two respects the sovereigns of that line were at a disadvantage as compared with the Continental monarchs. One was, that the insular position of their realm withheld from them all excuse for the creation of that necessary instrument of arbitrary rule, a body of mercenary soldiers. The other was, that, when the claims of prerogative and the claims of a developed love of freedom were approaching a collision, religious questions had complicated themselves with the political dispute, and the courage of the people had been exalted by the enthusiasm of religious reform.

Its relations in England to religion.

The last of the Tudors left the controversy pending; and a gracious Providence, which had great things in store for England, and through England for the world, was pleased at this momentous juncture to place a learned fool upon the throne of that kingdom.[2] The reign of James the First is the period of the vital struggle between popular and arbitrary principles, though the open conflict and the fruits of victory did not come till later.

Its progress in the reign of James the First.

The pretensions and severities of Archbishop Bancroft, after the Conference and the Convocation at the beginning of this reign, rendered more distinct the positions of the two classes of religious malecontents. While the *Separatists*, of whom were the emigrants to Plymouth, re-

[1] Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, I. lxxix.

[2] "He had been bred up under Buchanan, one of the brightest geniuses and most accomplished scholars of that age, who had given him Greek and Latin in great waste and profusion; but it was not in his power to give him good sense." (Stith, History of Virginia, Pref., vii.)

linquished the communion of the Established Church, and set up distinct assemblies, the more numerous *Non-conformists* were scrupulous about the sin of schism, and chose rather to continue their protest against the prelatical ceremonies and discipline from a position within the pale of a Church which they owned to be pure in doctrine.[1] This position would naturally be preferred to that of separation, by such as were from temper more hopeful of improvement, or from circumstances more competent to attempt it, or, from repugnance to the forfeiture of social advantages, more inclined to a course of postponement or compromise. And accordingly, for a considerable period longer, the great conflict of the High-Churchmen and their royal coadjutor was not with Separatists, but with Non-conformists. By intimidation for the weak and banishment or harder measures for the resolute, dissent under the former phase was almost extirpated for the time in England. Under the latter, it maintained itself, with many defeats, but on the whole with a steady perseverance; and in the strife which followed, engaging men of the best ability on both sides, an attentive observer might discern a constant advance of the Non-conformist party towards an occupation of the Separatist ground. The argument, as it widened and warmed, drove the disputants further apart; and the harsh discipline, by which the Church sought to enforce the reasonings of her champions, had its natural effect on men who meant to be temperate, but who were liable to be provoked by injustice and presumption.

Meanwhile, none but the most loyal language was used by the disaffected clergy. "Let the bishops," wrote the Non-conformist ministers of Devon and Cornwall, "sift well our courses since his Majesty's happy entrance in among us, and let them name wherein we have done aught that may justly be said ill

1607. Loyalty of the Non-conformists.

[1] See above, p. 118.

to become the ministers of Jesus Christ? Have we drawn any sword? Have we raised any tumult? Have we used any threats? Hath the state been put into any fear or hazard through us? Manifold disgraces have been cast upon us, and we have endured them. The liberty of our ministry hath been taken from us, and, though with bleeding hearts, we have sustained it. We have been cast out of our houses, and deprived of our ordinary maintenance, yet have we blown no trumpet of sedition. These things have gone very near us, and yet did we never so much as entertain a thought of violence. We have petitioned the king and state; and who hath reason to deny us that liberty? We have craved of the prelates to deal with us according to law; and is not this the common benefit of every subject? We have besought them to convince our consciences by Scripture. Alas! what would they have us to do?"[1] Such submissive deportment did but embolden the insolence of power. Nothing short of the total eradication of dissent would satisfy the rulers in church and state. Dissent was not even permitted peaceably to betake itself to flight. A proclamation prohibited all persons from transporting themselves to Virginia, without special license from the king;[2] and it appears to have been under an authority professedly thus obtained, that the fugitives of Scrooby were arrested in their meditated flight to Holland.

1608.

Yet the morning of King James's reign was not one of unbroken sunshine. Before his predecessor's death there had been tokens of the rising of that cloud which was destined to darken his own day, and burst in ruin on his children. Elizabeth had outlived her vast popularity. Thoughts, threatening, if as yet undefined, were stirred, by her arrogant obstinacy, in the minds of numbers of the best of her subjects. After the execution of Lord Essex, her uncontrolled ill-temper had be-

Restless state of public sentiment.

[1] Neal, History of the Puritans, Vol. II. Chap. I.

[2] Rapin, History of England, II. 176.

come a misery to herself and a terror to those about her person.[1] Her death scarcely occasioned a superficial and transient sorrow; to those who knew her best, it was rather a relief from gloomy apprehensions, both personal and public. There were now needed a capacity and a resolution at least equal to her own, to quell men who had grown impatient of her rigid sway, and who were not incapable of being instructed by the overthrow of free institutions in Spain, and their more recent creation in the Low Countries.

1604. March 19. Conduct of James at his accession.

It was perhaps unfortunate for the influence of James with his Parliament, that it was necessary to postpone its first meeting for a year from his accession, by reason of an epidemic sickness then raging in London, which carried off thirty thousand persons, one fifth part of the population. The interval gave opportunity for his ridiculous peculiarities of mind, person, and manners to make their impression, and to reassure the popular energies, which had almost learned to confront the majestic severity of the late sovereign. To whatever height his ulterior views aspired, good policy evidently recommended to him a modest deportment on ascending the English throne. In him it would have been graceful and conciliating to abstain from the present assertion of claims which, of however questionable validity, Elizabeth could not perhaps have yielded with dignity. But as, in his treatment of the Millenary Petition and his management of the Conference at Hampton Court, he had lost the most favorable opportunity for harmonizing the Protestant interests, so, on the occasion which soonest presented itself, at his first meeting with the great council of the realm, he gave alarm to the friends of civil liberty by enormous pretensions of prerogative.[2]

[1] Her godson Harrington told more on this subject than has got into the graver histories. (Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 317–323.)

[2] King James's Speech, in the Journals of the House of Commons, I. 142–146.

Parliament, it is true, responded in a subservient strain; for the vague expectations from a new reign repressed the spirit of fault-finding, and as yet there was no organized opposition to utter a potent voice of dissent. Courtiers, too, were diligent in establishing their interest with the new monarch; and Cecil, who had to ratify by services the peace secretly made with him after incurring his displeasure by the prosecution of the Earl of Essex, had great weight with the House of Commons. Parliament passed what was called an "Act of Recognition," in which, overlooking earlier precedents in English history, as well as that settlement in the reign of Henry the Eighth in violation of which James now ascended the throne, they asserted that "the imperial crown of the realm of England did, by inherent birthright and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come to his most excellent Majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole heir of the blood royal of the realm"; — language regarded by some learned writers as the first authoritative declaration in England of an indefeasible hereditary right belonging to its royal line.[1]

March 19. Proceedings of his first Parliament at its first session.

March 31.

Yet even James's first Parliament did not prove itself obsequious up to the measure of his desire or his expectation. In opposition to a clause in the king's proclamation for convoking them, the House of Commons asserted with some spirit their privilege of deciding on the election returns. They made bold to tell him, through their Speaker, that "new laws are to be instituted, imperfect laws reformed, and inconvenient laws abrogated, only by the power of the high court of Parliament," — that is, "by the unity of the Commons' agreement, the Lords' accord, and his Majesty's royal and legal assent"; that to him belonged the right "either negatively to frustrate or af-

[1] Hallam, Constitutional History of England, Chap. VI. — "This is the era of hereditary right." (Bolingbroke, Dissertation on Parties, Letter II.)

firmatively to confirm, but not to institute."[1] They presented to the House of Lords a list of various grievances; among others, the canons recently established in the Convocation of the Clergy. They complained of the abuses of the ancient right of *purveyance*, by which carriages and food might be impressed, at insufficient prices, for the royal service. And they were so slow in preparing an expected bill for a subsidy, that the king, apprehensive of their intending the affront of withholding it altogether, sent a message that he should find no fault with their passing it by. They took him at his word, and vindicated their course of proceeding in a vigorous address, which they called "A Form of Apology and Satisfaction to be delivered to his Majesty."[2]

The king had rated altogether too low the power which he ventured to disgust. It was to a Parliament, which, with some exaggeration, perhaps, but not without a semblance of truth, the French ambassador had represented to his court as being "composed mostly of Puritans," that the new monarch said, in his opening speech, "I acknowledge the Roman Church to be our mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions; I wish not the downthrowing of the temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from corruption"; "the Puritans and Novelists" are "a sect unable to be suffered in any well-governed commonwealth."[3] High-born and well-nurtured men, who listened to such a menace against themselves and what they regarded as the treasure of divine truth in their keeping, could not be expected to do more than suppress and suspend their discontent. And at times it would send out flashes, portending the conflagration at hand. It was at this session that, in a conference of the Lords with a committee of the Lower House, the remarkable language was used: "A people

[1] House Journal, I. 146.
[2] Parliamentary History, I. 1030.
[3] House Journal, I. 144.

may be without a king; a king cannot be without a people."[1]

The next session opened with the announcement of the discovery and defeat of the Gunpowder Plot. But even this narrow escape did not so soften the hearts of the Commons, but that they voted to delay proceeding to the business of a subsidy for the king's supply, till the grievances which they had presented should have received consideration.[2] Nor were they likely to be quickened by that clause in the speech from the throne, which declared "the cruelty of the Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to the Papists."[3] The question of a legislative union with Scotland, pressed ineffectually by the king at the previous session, was again discussed.[4] His precipitancy in assuming the style of "King of Great Britain," making Scotch coin a legal tender in England by proclamation, quartering the royal arms of Scotland with those of the sister realm, and demolishing the gates of the frontier towns, had occasioned jealousy and irritation. But the real question, understood, at least on one side, probably on both, to lie at the bottom of this discussion, was that of the extension or confinement of the royal prerogative. While Parliament were intent on restricting or defining the traditional rights of a king of England, they had no mind to admit, with the laws and customs of another realm, a new element of contradiction and uncertainty. They could not even be prevailed upon to assent to the king's doctrine of the naturalization in England of his subjects born in Scotland after the union of the crowns, implying, as it did, that the crown carried with it all attributes and relations of nationality.[5] They again presented a list of grievances in church and state, but consented to make

1605. Nov. 9. Second session.

[1] House Journal, I. 156.
[2] Parliamentary History, I. 1069.
[3] Ibid., 1057.
[4] Ibid., 1069.
[5] Ibid., 1081 – 1099.

a grant of money, to the amount of three subsidies and six fifteenths, or about four hundred thousand pounds.[1]

Inspired with a delusive confidence by this slow liberality, the king urged his wishes in a bolder strain. In his speech at the next meeting with his Parliament, he advised them not to be "like Icarus the son of Dædalus, who soared so near the sun with his wings of wax, that his wax melted, and his wings failed, and down he fell." He recommended to them, "if any plebeian tribunes should incur any offence, or commit any error, to correct them for it, ... that the whole body receive not a wound by one ill member thereof." And he gave them to understand, that, if they should prove contumacious in respect to his favorite scheme of uniting the kingdoms, he had authority to carry it into effect without their aid.[2] A later speech, in which, complaining of their obstinacy, he told them that after the prorogation they would be amenable to the courts of law, had no tendency to close the widening breach. "I am your king," he said; "I am placed to govern you, and shall answer for your errors; I am a man of flesh and blood, and have my passions and affections as other men; I pray you do not too far move me to do that which my power may

1606. Nov. 18. Third session.

[1] A subsidy was a direct tax on land or movables, of a specified proportion of their value, which proportion was different in different levies. A *fifteenth* meant a tax on movables to the amount of that proportion of their rated worth. In corporate towns, the assessment was half as much more, or a tenth. But both fifteenths and tenths were collected upon the basis of an ancient valuation, so that their real was much less than their nominal amount. The estimate, in the text, of the value of three subsidies and six fifteenths is that of Hume, who quotes for it a speech of Lord Bacon in the House of Lords (Chap. XLVI.) Hume says elsewhere (Appendix to the Reign of James I.): "The whole amount of a tenth and a fifteenth throughout the kingdom, or a fifteenth, as it is often more concisely called, was about twenty-nine thousand pounds. The amount of a subsidy was not invariable, like that of a fifteenth. In the eighth of Elizabeth, a subsidy amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; in the fortieth, it was not above seventy-eight thousand; it afterwards fell to seventy thousand, and was continually decreasing." Hallam (Constitutional History, Chap. VI.) expresses the opinion that Hume undervalued the *subsidy*.

[2] Parliamentary History, I. 1072–1074.

tempt me unto."[1] Some years earlier, such language, from the lips of the daughter of

> "the majestic lord
> That broke the bonds of Rome,"

might have intimidated. From those of her "slobbering" cousin, it could only exasperate and estrange. The feeling of the Lower House was significantly expressed by its passing a bill making void all ecclesiastical canons adopted by the Convocation without the consent of Parliament, even though they should be ratified, as those of the recent Convocation had been, by the king's letters-patent under the great seal.

1610. Feb. 9. Fourth session.

The next meeting of Parliament (previous to which the humble flock of Robinson, smarting under their own griefs, but little knowing the signs in the upper political sky, had escaped to Holland) was postponed as long as the necessities of the treasury allowed. The opponents of the court — the *Country Interest*, as they began to be called — came together in a more determined mood, with increased mutual confidence and more definite conceptions of the common object. Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury and prime minister, told the House of Commons, when he asked a supply, that "it was a mark of esteem which could not be denied to a king, who was not only the wisest of kings, but the very image of an angel." But they took time to consider, and proceeded first to the question of the public grievances. A message of disapprobation from the king was delivered by the Speaker, who in reply received a reprimand from the House for his officiousness. A royal speech, full of high-prerogative doctrines, drew out a vigorous address in assertion of the rights of the Commons of England and of their representatives in Parliament.[2] A negotiation was entered into, proposing so much annual revenue on one side, for so much relinquishment of doubtful or offensive

[1] House Journal, I. 367, 368.

[2] Ibid., 430, 431.

claims upon the other. But the parties could not agree upon terms, and the undertaking proved abortive, a prorogation being ordered as soon as the king had secured himself for the present by obtaining the scanty grant of a hundred thousand pounds.[1] His recent experience had not encouraged him to hope anything from this Parliament; and after another short session, in which it discovered no easier temper, it was dissolved in its seventh year. The dissolution was hastened by disgust conceived by the king at a petition of the House of Commons for the relief of Puritan ministers from the obligations of subscription and of conformity to the ceremonies, and at a remonstrance against not only the oppressions, but the jurisdiction, of the High-Commission Court. Among other matters of complaint were the royal pretension to give to proclamations the force of law; the issue of patents of monopoly; and some trifling impositions, by the crown, of duties on foreign merchandise, chiefly important for the precedent they might establish.

Fifth session.

Dec. 3. Parliament dissolved.

The tone of the House of Commons afforded a partial indication of the progress of popular principles in the nation at large, and not least in the circles of intelligence and rank. On the other side were the courtiers, the High-Churchmen, and the legal tribunals. The Common-Law courts, however, were far from being uniformly sycophantic. Though not seldom biassed, and sometimes even corrupted, by power, the instincts of legal science have always been among the main safeguards of the liberties of the English race. The king, indeed, obtained the opinion of the judges, that "the deprivation of Puritan ministers by the High-Commissioners, for refusing to conform to the ceremonies appointed by the last canons, was lawful," and that the framing of

State of opinion among the courtiers and the lawyers.

[1] "One subsidy and one fifteenth, which would scarcely amount to a hundred thousand pounds." (Hume, Chap. XLVI.)

petitions "as the Puritans had done, with an intimation to the king that, if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented, was an offence finable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment; for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion, and discontent among the people."[1] But, on the other hand, when the arrogant archbishop, in what were called the *Articuli Cleri*, claimed for the ecclesiastical courts jurisdiction independent of that of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, the judges, under the lead of Sir Edward Coke, repelled and silenced the pretension. And at a later period they informed the monarch, through the same great jurist, that he could not by proclamation create any new offence, and that he possessed no prerogative whatever except by the law of the land.[2]

1605.

1610.

The ecclesiastics of the High-Church party, nursing the follies of the king, were unconsciously the main agents in leading on his family to its destruction, and his subjects to their higher destinies. The canons framed by the Convocation had inculcated the obligation of unlimited obedience to the sovereign. One Blackwood, a clergyman, published a book, in which he maintained, that, by virtue of the Conquest in the eleventh century, William of Normandy and his heirs were absolute and unrestricted masters of the realm of England; and Cowell, vicar-general to Bancroft, in a "Law Dictionary," dedicated to that prelate and understood to be produced under his auspices, asserted the doctrines, that "the king is above the law by his absolute power," and that "he may alter or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate." The House

High prerogative doctrines of the Church.

1607.

[1] Neal, Puritans, Vol. II. Chap. I.

[2] Lord Campbell, Lives of the Chief Justices, Chap. VIII. — At another time, the Chief Justice had "a very sharp reprehension" administered to him by James for telling him that "his Highness was defended by his laws." His Highness told him that "he spoke foolishly, and said that he was not defended by his laws, but by God."

of Commons took high offence, and asked a conference with the Lords, when James was prudent enough to parry their resentment by a proclamation forbidding the circulation of the book.

The king's experience for six years had naturally disgusted him with Parliaments, and his mind was inclining to expedients for governing without them. It was not easy to dispense with their provisions for the treasury; but, on the other hand, the doctrine that supplies for the service of the crown are a voluntary grant of the Commons, was by no means yet cleared from all uncertainty. The "Act for a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage," customary at the beginning of a reign, and giving the new monarch authority for life to collect certain customs, had been passed at the first session of the preceding Parliament. James had exceeded the power therein conferred, by laying an additional duty of five shillings a hundred-weight on imported currants. A London merchant, named Bates, contested the payment at law. The question, of which the momentous significance was already apparent to some minds, having been adjudged in the Court of Exchequer in favor of the crown, James proceeded, in what was called the "Book of Rates," to impose duties, by his own authority, on various articles of merchandise. These impositions, after receiving some cursory attention at an earlier time, had been vigorously protested against in the last session but one of the recent Parliament; but a bill which the House of Commons had been bold enough to pass for correcting the abuse, had been thrown out by the Peers.

Imposition of illegal duties on imports.

1605.

1608. July.

For the next ten years, there was scarcely anything of the nature of legislative action to denote the tendencies of thought in England. Only one Parliament was convoked; it sat only two months, and enacted not a single law. In the poverty of his exchequer, it might have seemed natural for the king to add

Discontinuance of Parliaments.

to those illegal exactions from commerce which, notwithstanding the discontent they had occasioned, had escaped rebuke from the estates of the kingdom. But it seems that, after all his bluster, his courage was not equal to the continuance of the experiment, or that more prudent counsels on the part of those about him prevailed. Such expedients as a public lottery, excessive fines in the Court of Star-Chamber, and the sale of timber from the crown forests, of monopolies, of investitures of baronetcy and knighthood, and of patents of nobility, afforded an inadequate supply. In the existing state of the public mind, that fear of royal vengeance which in former times had made *benevolences* a convenient resource, could no longer be so much relied upon. Crown lands were set up for sale, but found no purchasers, from distrust of the goodness of the title; and the Corporation of London refused to lend money.

Expedients to obtain a revenue.

During the ten years of this unsatisfactory provision for the public expenses, the king's reluctance to meet a Parliament was once overcome by an engagement of some of his courtiers, thence called *undertakers*, so to manage the elections as to return a House of Commons favorable to prerogative. From the moment when the Houses assembled, it was manifest that the scheme had failed. "I protest," he said, when he met them, "as I shall answer it to Almighty God, that my integrity is like the whiteness of my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firmness and clearness like the precious stones I wear, and my affections natural like the redness of my heart."[1] They endured his rhetoric, and took time to consider his demands. They disputed the right of his Attorney-General, Sir Francis Bacon, to a seat in the House, and only conceded it with a proviso that it should not be a precedent for incumbents of the same office in future Parliaments.

1614. April 15. Proceedings of King James's second Parliament.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1150.

One of the *undertakers* was expelled for tampering with the recent elections. A resolve against the king's power of imposing taxes was now carried by a unanimous vote; a remarkable homage, apparently, to an aroused public feeling. A full list of grievances was prepared, the severities exercised towards Non-conformists being prominent among them; and the whole course of proceeding indicated that the consideration of these would have precedence of any grant of money, though it was known that the king was more than a million of pounds in debt. Neale, Bishop of Lincoln, having in debate reflected on the policy of the Commons, that body sent up a message complaining of the insult, and were only appeased by a reply from the Lords that the Bishop had disavowed, with prayers and tears, all intention of the kind imputed. After a dissolution, by which James relieved himself from the vexation of a hopeless contest, he gratified his spleen by sending some of the leading patriots to the Tower; but good advice prevailed with him speedily to release them, and the outrage had no other effect than to produce an exasperation, which encouraged a still more prompt and steady refusal of *benevolences*.

June 17.

The financial exigencies were now greater than ever. A temporary supply was obtained by a measure which added another weight to the king's burden of unpopularity. A sum of money, lent by Elizabeth to the Netherlanders in their insurrection against Spain, had been secured to England by the occupation of what were called *the cautionary towns*, Flushing, the Brille, and Rammekins. The Grand Pensioner, Barneveldt, saw the advantage of the time, and easily induced James to surrender the towns for a payment of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, about one third of the amount due. With this help, added to his permanent means, he struggled on a few years more. But at length further supplies seemed

Surrender of the Dutch cautionary towns.

1616.

indispensable, and again the unwelcome expedient of a Parliament was perforce adopted.

The impulse which moved all this energetic resistance was too obvious to escape even the king's slow perceptions; at all events, it was too apparent to elude the notice of his ministers. Protestant religion was educating the English people for civil liberty. "Plead not," said James in the Star-Chamber, "upon Puritanical principles, which make all things popular, but keep within the ancient limits." Puritanism experienced (as for its best training it needed) the alternate discipline, on the part of the court, of extreme and of relaxed severity. The hardship brought it to try and understand its power; the relaxation helped it to advance its claims, and gain a stronger position for the next contest. Archbishop Bancroft died just at the time of the dissolution of James's first Parliament. His six years' administration was terribly harsh, and not unskilful for its purpose; though it was a mere exaggeration of Lord Clarendon to say that "he had almost rescued the Church out of the hands of the Calvinian party, ... and, if he had lived, would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva."[1] If non-conformity was restrained, discontent was not at all abated. Perhaps it was even extended, by a natural repugnance to coercion in many minds of that sort which attaches little importance to theories.

1610. Nov. 2. Death of Archbishop Bancroft.

The successor of Bancroft in the primacy was Dr. George Abbot, previously Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and then of London. A weakness of the king served, at this critical juncture, the Puritan and popular cause. Nothing was more important to his objects than the aid of an archbishop, enterprising, courageous, and severe, a bigot to the state religion and to the royal prerogative. To oblige, it

Lenity and Puritanical tendencies of Archbishop Abbot.

[1] Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, Book I.

is said, one of his favorites, the Earl of Dunbar, he selected for this momentous trust a churchman of benevolent temper, of indolent habits, and in sentiment (if his enemies told the truth) a semi-Puritan. Abbot speedily showed himself inclined to no further strictness in enforcing the discipline of the Church, and obedience to the Articles and Canons, than was required by express obligation, or the obvious decencies of his place; and his inert and indulgent administration emboldened the Nonconformists as much as it embarrassed and annoyed the king. The Archbishop was charged with a signal instance of disaffection, in forbidding the promulgation, at a residence of his in Lancashire, of a royal proclamation for the encouragement of Sunday sports and recreations. Papists abounded in Lancashire, and it had been ordered that the proclamation should be read in all the churches of that county.

The occasion for convening the next Parliament had a relation to foreign politics. James had espoused his eldest child, the Princess Elizabeth, to Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine. The Protestants of Bohemia, in arms against their sovereign, offered the crown to Frederic, who, accepting the doubtful boon, became immediately involved in a war against a league of Catholic princes of the empire. They not only dispossessed him of his ephemeral throne in Bohemia, but overran his patrimonial possessions, and drove him to seek an asylum in the Low Countries. The religious sympathies of Englishmen were naturally enlisted in his behalf. James did not share in them. He had watched the whole proceeding of his son-in-law with apprehension and displeasure. He prided himself on his pacific disposition. His high notions of prerogative forbade him to countenance insurgents; and the course of Frederic embarrassed his negotiation with the king of Spain, long pursued with a fond solicitude,

Foreign relations of England. 1613.

1619.

1620.

for the marriage of an Infanta with his son. The most he could be prevailed upon to do, by the clamor which surrounded him, was to send four thousand volunteers on an unavailing enterprise to protect the authority and person of Frederic in his inherited dominions.

This charge he had been able to meet by the proceeds of a voluntary contribution of some of the more zealous English Protestants, and of a loan on usurious interest. The general enthusiasm was wrought up to a higher pitch by Frederic's overthrow; and the ministry advised their master to profit by it to obtain the supplies of money of which he was desperately in want. It was with much difficulty that they brought him to that step, and persuaded him to disarm the contumacious spirit which he dreaded, by proposing some not costly concessions of points hitherto in dispute.

In his speech at the opening of his third Parliament, he bewailed the little influence which hitherto he had been able to exert over the public deliberations. "I may truly," said he, "say I have often piped unto you, but you have not danced; I have often mourned, but you have not lamented."[1] He compared his condition, on account of his accumulated necessities, to an approach to the time of parturition; "only," he said, "instead of months, myself have gone ten years, and therefore it is full time that I should be delivered of my wants." He complained of the uncharitable constructions which had been put upon his conduct. He unfolded some of his plans of economy, executed and projected. He vindicated his apparent lukewarmness in the cause of his son-in-law, and of Protestantism on the Continent. He left "to the Jesuits to make religion a cause to take away crowns"; and he professed himself "not a fit judge, for they might say, as one said to Moses, 'Who made thee a judge over us?'" Finally he enacted the coaxing parent:

1621. Jan. 30. King James's third Parliament.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1176.

"How happy a fame will it be, that I am reverenced by my people, and reciprocally love them! How shall I be honored by my neighbor princes!"

The courtiers pressed for immediate supplies; but the House of Commons understood its position and took its time. After some measures for the further restraint of Popish recusants, it represented to the king the breach of its privileges in the imprisonment of members at the close of the last Parliament. James replied with an earnest protestation of his purpose to maintain liberty of speech, and was immediately rewarded with a grant of two subsidies, or about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, an extremely measured liberality, which, however, he deemed it prudent to recognize as a token of restored good understanding.

Feb. 13.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 16.

The House next turned its attention to an abuse which had grown up, consisting in grants of monopolies by royal patent. There was one for the licensing of inns; another for the exclusive manufacture of gold and silver lace. The patentees, who were knights, were sentenced by the Lords to imprisonment, heavy fines, and degradation from their order; and the king was fain to conceal his chagrin, and even to increase the severity of their punishments, under the pretence that they had imposed upon him by false representations.

Proceedings against monopolies.

The Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, now Viscount St. Albans, had rendered himself odious by the prostitution of his vast genius to the mercenary service of the court. The Commons revived an ancient right of theirs by impeaching him before the Upper House for bribery and corruption. He made a full confession, and was sentenced to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to be incapable of sitting in Parliament, or holding any place of trust or profit. Other cases of impeachment, of

Impeachment of Lord St. Albans. May 3.

inferior importance, showed the confident temper which possessed the grand inquest of the realm.

The king became uneasy. Four months' deliberation had brought the hoped-for supplies no nearer. He informed the Houses by message, that he intended their present session should last only another week. He kept his word, and the parties separated with less mutual satisfaction than ever.

June 14.

During the recess, which lasted five months, the two popular leaders, Coke and Sandys, were molested by a prosecution, ostensibly for official misdemeanors. When Parliament again came together, the sergeant-at-arms was ordered to take the accusers of Coke into custody, and measures were adopted to establish the charge of a conspiracy on their part against him, in revenge for the part which he had taken in the House. As to Sandys, the king declared that he had not punished him for anything done in his place in Parliament, but at the same time vindicated his right to do so at his discretion.

Nov. 14.

This dispute was eminently inauspicious to future harmony. The House lost no time in drawing up a petition, in which, among other things, they prayed that an army might be forthwith despatched to Germany, and that the heir apparent might be betrothed to a Protestant princess. Nothing could exceed the bewildered exasperation of the king, on being informed of this proceeding. "We have heard," he said in a letter to the Speaker, "by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the Houses of Parliament, caused by our indisposition of health, hath emboldened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the House of Commons to argue and debate publicly matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonor, and breach of prerogative royal. These are therefore to command you to make known, in our name, unto the House, that none

Increase of dissension between the king and the Parliament.

therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government or mysteries of state; namely, not to speak of our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honor of that king, or any other our friends and confederates. . . . . And if they have already touched any of these points, which we have here forbidden, in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that, except they reform it before it comes to our hands, we will not deign the hearing or answering of it."[1]

The House replied by a new remonstrance, respectful in language, but in a tone of unprecedented firmness. They repeated their dissuasion from the Spanish match, and their recommendation of a Continental policy of opposition to the Catholic interest; they asserted their privilege to advise the crown on all occasions which to their judgments should seem fit; and they claimed in the most unqualified terms, as an inheritance from their ancestors, a right to freedom of debate, and an exclusive right to punish any member who should abuse that freedom.[2]

The king's reply helped on the quarrel. "We cannot allow," he said, "of your style in mentioning your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, but could rather have wished that ye had said that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us; for most of them grow from precedents, which shows rather a toleration than inheritance." "The difference is no greater in your pretending to advise us on our reasons for demanding a supply, than if we should tell a merchant that we had great need to borrow money from him for raising an army, that thereupon it would follow that we were bound to follow his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon." "And touching your excuse of not determining anything concerning the match of our dearest son, but only to tell your

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1326, 1327. [2] Ibid., 1333–1336.

opinion, and lay it down at our feet, first, we desire to know, how you could have presumed to determine in that point, without committing of high treason; and next, you cannot deny but your talking of his match after that manner was a direct breach of our commandment and declaration out of our own mouth."[1]

Protestation of the House of Commons.

Apprehending a speedy dissolution, the House of Commons caused to be entered upon their Journal a *Protestation*, conceived in firm but measured and temperate language, in which were incorporated the pretensions that had been brought into controversy. The king, hearing of it, came to London in a rage, sent for the Journal book, and tore from it the Protestation with his own hand. He then prorogued the Parliament; and, in the proclamation by which they were soon after dissolved he made known his reasons for that course, alleging himself to have been enforced to it "by the undutiful behavior of the Lower House." Lastly, he indulged his resentment by committing to the Tower, to the Fleet, and other prisons, some of the most conspicuous opposition members, among them Sir Edward Coke, from whose masculine understanding the free spirit of the Common Law had now fully prevailed to root out the severity of his earlier predilections. No act had been passed at this session except an act for a grant of two subsidies. An incidental indication of the Puritan spirit which prevailed was the expulsion of a member of the Lower House, for maintaining, in the debate upon a bill for the stricter observance of Sunday, that that day was erroneously identified with the Jewish Sabbath, and that relaxations and sports did not profane it. In this Parliament, for the first time since the Reformation, several distinguished noblemen placed themselves in opposition to the court. They were the first fruits of a large secession.

Dissolution of the third Parliament. 1622. March.

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1338–1344.

The freedom with which political affairs were now canvassed is evinced by the royal proclamations, repeatedly issued, to prohibit "excess of lavish speech of matters of state," and the "disorderly printing, uttering, and dispersing of seditious, Popish, and Puritanical books and pamphlets."[1]

The definitive failure of the long-protracted negotiation with Spain for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, as it involved the loss of the dowry which had been expected with the Infanta, presented an inducement to James for the convocation of another Parliament. At the same time it promised a better mutual understanding, now that Parliament would be relieved of its apprehensions of Spain and Romanism. The event corresponded to that promise. The new views of the favorite, Buckingham, who, since his breach with the Spanish court, had been in communication with the Puritan leaders, gave a tone to the king's opening speech. "The properties and causes of calling a Parliament," he said, "are to confer with the king, and give him their advice in matters of greatest weight and importance"; and he solicited their counsel respecting his relations to Spain. "For matters of privileges, liberties, and customs," said he, "be not over curious. I am your own kindly king. Ye never shall find me curious in these things. Therefore, do what you ought, and no more than your lawful liberties and privileges will permit, and ye shall never see me curious to the contrary. I had rather maintain your liberties, than alter them in anything. Show a trust in me, and go on honestly as ye ought to do, like good and faithful subjects; and what you have warrant for, go on with, and I will not be curious, unless you give me too much cause."[2] The Speaker, one of those who had fallen under the royal displeasure in the last Parliament, replied in loyal terms, taking care, however, to make prominent the importance

King James's fourth Parliament. 1624. Feb. 12.

[1] Rymer, Fœdera, XVII. 275, 522, 616.

[2] Parliamentary History, I. 1373–1376.

of some bills which had failed through the late dissolution, and the propriety of the king's depending on his Parliament for supplies.

The account which Buckingham gave of the perfidy of the Spanish court added a profound sense of insult to the displeasure with which the alliance had always been viewed by the Puritan patriots. The Houses united in a declaration to the king, that, on the dissolution of the treaties, they would "be ready in a Parliamentary manner, with their persons and abilities, to assist him."[1] Delighted with this novel cordiality, he asked a grant of five subsidies and ten fifteenths to meet the expenses of a war, besides an annual allowance of one subsidy and two fifteenths for the discharge of his debts. But the Commons had not got over their distrust, and had no mind to make their sovereign independent, nor to part with so much money till they had some assurance as to its use. After full debate, they voted three subsidies and three fifteenths for a present supply;[2] subject, however, to the unprecedented condition, that it should be lodged for disbursement in the hands of a committee of Parliament. An Act "concerning Monopolies" declared that kind of privilege to be contrary to English law and to the liberties of the English people. Little other business of importance was concluded at this session, except that the House of Commons, by the prosecution of the Earl of Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, confirmed the precedent of its right of impeachment, which had been revived after long disuse in the case of Lord St. Albans. There was a wide range and great freedom of discussion on various matters of

[1] Parliamentary History, I. 1377, 1395.

[2] "Less than three hundred thousand pounds." (Hume, Chap. XLIX.) — Mrs. Macaulay (History of England, &c., I. 229, note) prints a letter from the Duke of Buckingham, in which he rebukes the king for fickleness in his course with Parliament, and tells him that, until he can resolve "once constantly to run one way," he (the Duke) means to keep away from him. It is signed "Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog, Steenie," and addressed to the writer's "Dear dad and gossip."

domestic and foreign policy. And for the first time in this reign, the monarch and his Parliament parted in apparent mutual good humor. It was the last time that their harmony was to be brought to a test. Early in the next year, James sickened of a fever, which proved fatal after a few days.

May 29.

Death of King James. 1625. March 27.

His wretched reign marked the transition from a scarcely disturbed acquiescence in arbitrary government to the incipient triumph of popular principles in England. The history of legislation faintly indicates the progress which had been made. Parliament had abolished monopolies, and had maintained its freedom of debate, and its exclusive right to levy duties at the custom-houses. The House of Commons had recovered its privilege of impeachment, and secured that of deciding questions respecting the election of its members. Little else had been effected in the form of Parliamentary action. But the spirit and courage of men in public and private life had been raised; and the exigencies of the time had led to investigations into the principles of politics, which were destined to bear abundant fruit.

Progress of popular principles in his reign.

The mild temper of Archbishop Abbot was hindered in softening the rigor of ecclesiastical authority by the despotic policy of the Lord Keeper, Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, the first churchman who had presided in the chancery since the deposition of Wolsey. Williams was a sycophant rather than a bigot; his imputed bigotry disappeared, when he lost court favor; but till that time it was active. "As the sun," said he, in a letter defending the king's instruction to the justices to release recusant Papists,—"as the sun in the firmament appears to us no bigger than a platter, and the stars are but as so many nails in the pommel of a saddle, because of the enlargement and disproportion between our eye and the object, so is there such an unmeasurable distance between the deep resolution of a prince

Influence of Bishop Williams in the Church.

and the shallow apprehensions of common and ordinary people."[1] James's "deep resolution" the pliant but able minister set himself vigorously to carry out, which he was enabled to do with less embarrassment in consequence of the inaction of his ecclesiastical superior. The good-natured primate had withdrawn from court, partly in disgust at the sentiments which prevailed there, partly because of an occurrence which was liable to be construed as creating a canonical disability. By accident, in hunting, he had shot a gamekeeper, inflicting a mortal wound.

Accession of Charles the First.

The accession of a new sovereign invited the friends of freedom in the English church and state to mark out a definite policy for the future. The experience of the last reign had alike shown the need and the practicability of strong proceedings, and afforded encouragement as to their happy effect. Whether the patriots had been more or less admonished by their observations of the character of the young successor to the throne, at any rate his close ties with the corrupt courtier who had swayed his father's counsels were enough to make him liable to their extreme distrust, — a distrust aggravated by the disappointment of the hopes into which the favorite had recently beguiled them. The accession of Charles was greeted with none of the enthusiasm which is wont to welcome a young king. The transient popularity with the Puritans, won for him and his minister by the rupture of the Spanish match, had been lost at once by his matrimonial contract with a daughter of France, which was fulfilled immediately on his coming to the throne.

His first Parliament. June 18.

Owing to the expenses of the Spanish war and the extravagance of his father's civil list, he found the crown in debt to the amount of more than seven hundred thousand pounds. To the Parliament, which he speedily convoked, he communicated

[1] Rushworth, Historical Collections, I. 63.

no details of his pecuniary embarrassment; an omission which may have served as an excuse for their parsimony, when they voted him only a supply of two subsidies, amounting to about one hundred and twelve thousand pounds.[1] But, in truth, this was only an indication of a resolve which had been deliberately taken, to control the new monarch through the emptiness of his exchequer. The wise men, whom the time had raised up, understood that, while the Commons of England kept the purse, they could arrest the sword. As long as their king could be made to look to them for money, they could enforce a good administration of the government; if he should prove able to get it without their consent, he was a despot and they were slaves. This issue they had now made up their minds to try. As yet, there was not, properly speaking, an English Constitution. They were resolved that there should be. They saw that the time had come for determining whether the English people should live in future under an absolute or under a limited and balanced monarchy; and they launched upon the course of measures which was to decide that momentous question.[2]

Its policy of reform.

Shutting his eyes to the motive of the mortification which had been inflicted on him, Charles flattered himself that further acquaintance with his necessities would make Parliament more generous; and, abandoning the delicacy of his first application, he caused a detailed statement of his financial situation to be presented to them, and asked immediate relief to the amount of no less than five hundred thousand pounds. It was of no avail. The House of Commons replied by representations of the growth of Popery, and by requesting a stricter adminis-

[1] So Hume (Chap. L.). But Hallam (Chap. VII.) values these two subsidies at £ 140,000.

[2] Hume (Chap. L.) has plenty of other reasons to give for the conduct of this Parliament; but he has to recognize this as one "of considerable moment."

tration of the laws for its suppression, and more indulgence to the Non-conformist clergy. Disgusted with their impracticableness, the king made the prevalence of an epidemic sickness an excuse for dissolving his first Parliament. The Lower House had not only been penurious as to an immediate supply, but had made the important innovation upon the practice of two centuries, of voting the grant of tonnage and poundage for one year only, and not for the king's life; a restriction which caused the Lords to reject the bill, and leave the royal treasury without legal right to that resource. The patriots had been highly irritated at this juncture by the discovery of a treacherous design on the part of the king and the duke to employ an English fleet in the service of Louis the Thirteenth against the Protestants of Rochelle.[1]

Its dissolution. Aug. 12.

By a forced loan, the king obtained sufficient money for an attempt to retrieve his affairs by an attack on a rich Spanish fleet in the harbor of Cadiz. The expedition failed, and he was compelled to have recourse to a new Parliament. It met in no better temper than the last, though deprived of several leaders by the artifice of an appointment which they received to be sheriffs of their counties. The House of Commons came to a resolution to gratify the king with four sub-

His second Parliament 1626. Feb. 10.

[1] The pretence was, that the fleet was to act with the French against the Genoese, who were allies of Spain. When it arrived at Dieppe, the sailors, who had become convinced that they were to be employed against their fellow-Protestants, prepared a remonstrance in the form of a *round-robin*, and had it laid under the prayer-book of Pennington, the Admiral. Pennington said that, sooner than fight against French Protestants, he would go home and be hanged; and immediately returned to England with the fleet. Buckingham ordered it back again, and succeeded in creating a belief that the king of France had made peace with his Protestant subjects. On arriving a second time at Dieppe, the officers and men found that they had been again deceived; upon which Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded a ship, weighed his anchor and returned home, though the Admiral opened a fire upon him. The court did not venture to bring him to trial for this act of mutiny. (Rushworth, Collections, I. 176, 325, 326, 337. Fairfax, Correspondence, I. 20, 21.)

sidies and three fifteenths, but refused for the present to give to the grant the form of law, clearly intimating that its consummation would be contingent upon compliances of the court. They then proceeded to frame articles of impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham, whom, while this measure was pending, the king, as if to express contempt for it, recommended to the University of Oxford as its Chancellor. A royal message threatened them that, if ample supplies were not soon provided, Parliament would be dissolved, and the king would try "new counsels." He imprisoned two members who had been appointed managers of the impeachment, and released them only when the House declared that it would do no business while they were detained. The House set to work upon a remonstrance against levying tonnage and poundage without the authority of Parliament; and upon a petition for a removal of the favorite from the king's person and service, instead of the impeachment which had been proposed at first. Compelled to see that he could do nothing with this Parliament, the king announced its dissolution in ungracious terms; but not till the House of Commons had completed the preparation of their remonstrance, which was in the nature of a popular appeal in justification of their course.

Its dissolution. June 1.

When the king was thus left destitute of means for military enterprise, the commonest prudence would have dictated to him to hasten the conclusion of a peace with Spain, and so gain time to devise measures for a system of administration accordant with his temper and his theories. But his rashness was the security which Providence furnished to his people against the encroachments of his perfidious ambition. As if there were not business enough already upon his hands, he immediately plunged into a war with France, under the pretence of a purpose to become the protector of the French Protestants, but probably from no better motive than to gratify

War with France.

a personal pique of the favorite. He extorted the payment of customs, as if the grant of them had been duly made. He encumbered the crown lands. He rigorously enforced fines for religious delinquency. He exacted loans, among others one of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds from the city of London. He compelled the ports to provide armed vessels, and instructed the lord-lieutenants of the counties to bring the militia into an efficient condition. His arrogant pretensions kept even pace with his outrages. By responsible persons they were frankly announced to be not his necessity, but his system. A court chaplain preached, that "the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subjects' rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes, without common consent in Parliament, doth oblige the subjects' conscience upon pain of eternal damnation"; and another ecclesiastic taught, that "the prince, who is the head, makes his court and council; it is his duty to direct and make laws; he doth whatsoever pleases him, and who may say unto him, 'What dost thou?'"[1] For refusing to license the sermon which contained this language, Archbishop Abbot was suspended from his office, which was put in commission.[2] The presiding commissioner was Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who now assumed a conspicuous place in the administration.

Expedients for a revenue.

1627.

Bishop Laud.

But this heyday of absolutism was not to go on unchecked. Buckingham, with a powerful fleet and army, was driven back disgracefully from the

Oct. 30.

[1] Neal, Vol. II. Chap. III. — Parliamentary History, II. 389.

[2] A curious little contemporaneous tract, entitled "The Court and Character of King James, written and taken by Sir A. W. [Sir Anthony Weldon], being an Eye and Ear Witness," ascribes (p. 78) the disgrace of Abbot to his refusal to be concerned in the proceedings in the case of the Earl of Somerset and Lady Essex. The tract was reprinted by Sir Walter Scott in a collection called "Secret History of the Court of James the First."

coast of France. The exchequer was bankrupt. Charles's counsellors represented to him the extreme danger of further attempts to obtain money by illegal exactions, and prevailed on him to convoke a Parliament. He retracted his consent after the summons had been issued. But a clamor not to be defied immediately reached his ears, and he reluctantly yielded to the necessity of his helpless condition.

He addressed his third Parliament, at its opening, in that tone of ungracious assumption which scarcely in any exigency of his fortunes could he consent to suppress. "I have called you together," he said, "judging a Parliament to be the ancient, speediest, and best way . . . . . to give such supply as to secure ourselves and save our friends from imminent ruin. Every man now must do according to his conscience; wherefore, if you (which God forbid) should not do your duties in contributing what this state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening (for I scorn to threaten any but my equals); but an admonition from him that, both out of nature and duty, hath most care of your preservations and prosperities."[1]

1628. March 17. King Charles's third Parliament.

In the new Parliament, the king found a fixedness of purpose which should not have taken him by surprise. The House of Commons came to a resolution to grant five subsidies within a year, but delayed to put it in the shape of a bill. Having thus signified their policy, they proceeded to other matters. They passed unanimous votes denying the power of the king or his Council to imprison or restrain the person of the subject without lawful cause, or to levy a tax, loan, or benevolence without authority of the Estates of the realm; and

Its courageous tone.

[1] Parliamentary History, II. 218.

while the former of these questions was before the Lords, where it was strenuously contested by the court party, the Commons followed it up by the famous *Petition of Right*, praying that forced loans, commitments without cause assigned, quartering of soldiers in private houses, and proceedings of military tribunals in cases cognizable by the courts of law, might thenceforward be discontinued, as being "wholly and directly contrary" to the rights and liberties of the subject, and "the laws and statutes of the realm."[1]

Petition of Right. May 28.

The king was infinitely perplexed. Money was indispensable; but a price was demanded for it which he could not easily bring himself to pay. He tried a half-way measure. In place of the customary brief expression of royal assent to legislative acts, he substituted the following form: "The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself, in conscience, as well obliged, as of his own prerogative."[2] The ominous silence, with which this annunciation was received by the Commons, was followed by a stormy debate of three days' duration, with closed doors. The king's courage wavered. He came into the House, and ordered the usual reply to be recorded, "Let right be done as is desired"; adding, "Now I have done my part; wherefore, if this Parliament hath not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours; I am free of it."[3] Thus far all was well, and the bill for subsidies was immediately passed.[4]

June 2.

But the grants of tonnage and poundage were still in reserve, and they were the main permanent reliance of the crown. It was believed that a wise use of the power of the Commons in respect to them might extort further

[1] Parliamentary History, II. 374–377.
[2] Ibid., 377.
[3] Ibid., 409.
[4] Ibid., 410.

concessions, and a remonstrance was presented, setting forth the evils which oppressed the civil and religious interests of the kingdom, ascribing them mainly to the malign agency of the Duke of Buckingham, and praying his removal from the royal councils. But Charles had made up his mind not to be so constrained. Having given his assent to the subsidy bill, he prorogued the Parliament, after a few words in explanation of the construction put by him on the Petition of Right. "As for tonnage and poundage," he said, "it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, never meant (I am sure) by me to grant."[1]

June 26.

The assassination of the Duke of Buckingham shortly after, by an obscure enthusiast named Felton, was an indication of the excitement which had reached all ranks of the English people.[2] That event left the king without his accustomed guidance, and for a while he was his own chief counsellor. The Duke received his death-blow at Portsmouth, whence he was preparing to sail with a fleet to retrieve the disasters of the English arms at Rochelle. Under the feeble command of the Earl of Lindsay, who succeeded him, the expedition, provided at immense cost, utterly miscarried.

Aug. 23. Murder of the Duke of Buckingham.

Against the re-assembling of Parliament, the king made the new experiment of corrupting some of the leaders of the popular party. One accession to the court interest was of especial importance. Sir Thomas Wentworth belonged to that class of men of rare energy and ability, who from time to time shock the moral sense of the world by deserting for some price the great service of humanity for which they seem marked

Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.

[1] Parliamentary History, II. 433.

[2] "On June the 18th, Dr. Lamb, a favorite of his [Buckingham's], lost his life by injuries received from a mob who had collected for that purpose. On that occasion a couplet appeared, which tells volumes respecting the spirit of the people: —

'Let Charles and George do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Doctor Lamb.'" —
Autobiography of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, I. 378, note.

out by nature. From the beginning of his early public life he had been among the most conspicuous opponents of royal usurpation. He watched his time to make terms with the favorite, between whom and himself there had existed an intense personal hostility; and his defection was proclaimed by his elevation to the peerage as a baron, which was soon followed by his advancement to a higher rank; "the first Englishman to whom a peerage was not an addition of honor, but a sacrament of infamy."[1] While the civil and military administration passed into his hands, that of the High-Commission Court, and of ecclesiastical affairs in general, devolved upon his friend, the intolerant and narrow-minded Laud. With Laud, conformity gave little protection, where there was the suspicion of a taint of Puritan opinions. His rigor was one of the subjects of discontent set forth in the Parliamentary Remonstrance, which complained of "the discountenancing orthodox and painful ministers, though conformable and peaceable in their behavior." And he obtained from the king a proclamation against "unnecessary disputations, which may nourish faction in the church or commonwealth," "the main end of which declaration" was construed by the House of Commons to be, "to suppress the Puritan party, and yet to give liberty to the contrary side."[2] "The counter-reformation of Laud" was fully inaugurated.[3]

July 22.

Dec. 10.

Advancement of Laud.

The new session was opened by a demand from the king for an immediate consideration of the bill for tonnage and poundage, those duties having now been levied nearly four years without Parliamentary authority. The House of Commons had other business to

1629. Jan. 20.

[1] Edinburgh Review, XLVIII. 114, in an article ascribed to Lord Macaulay.

[2] Rushworth, Collections, I. 653.

[3] I take the expression from the masterly "Introductory Lectures" by the Reverend Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford.

transact first. It had become known to them, that to the copies of the Petition of Right which had been sent out in print, Charles, with that treachery which was his ruling instinct, had caused to be appended the ambiguous form of assent which he had at first proposed, and not the simple and customary one which he had ultimately been compelled to adopt,—a fact naturally destructive of whatever might still exist of confidence in his integrity. They learned, that, in violation of the terms of that instrument, one Savage had been mutilated under a decree of the Star-Chamber Court; and that the clergymen whose high-prerogative principles had incurred their rebuke had been pardoned and promoted. They raised committees to investigate the causes of the feeble administration of the laws against Popery, and, proceeding to the business of the revenue, deliberated on a remonstrance against the levying of tonnage and poundage without authority of law. The Speaker, who had instructions from the king not to take the vote, would have risen to break up the House, but he was forcibly detained in his seat by two members; while a further motion was made to declare every one who should advise or assist in the illegal imposition to be "a capital enemy to the kingdom and government," and whoever should pay it, "a betrayer of the liberties of England and an enemy to the same." The king, provoked beyond bounds by this intelligence, sent a message by an officer. He was denied admittance, and was about to force the door, when the House adjourned for a week.

March 2.

It met again only to be dissolved, and from that day England was an absolute monarchy for eleven years. With what confidence the royal resolution had been taken, was not left to be matter of conjecture. Scarcely had the members dispersed, before several of the most eminent were committed to the Tower or other prisons. When they were claimed by a writ

March 10. Disuse of Parliaments for eleven years.

of *habeas corpus*, the Lieutenant of the Tower was forbidden to produce his prisoners in court. At length, they were condemned to pay fines, to be detained during the king's pleasure, and to make submission to him before they should be discharged. One of them, Sir John Eliot, the very head of the patriot movement, lingered in prison three years, and then died. All hope of legislative as well as of judicial relief was at an end for the present. "By our frequent meeting with our people," said Charles in a proclamation, — he had now reigned less than four years, — "we have showed our love to the use of Parliaments; yet the late abuse having for the present driven us unwillingly out of that course, we shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time unto us for Parliaments, the calling, continuing, and dissolving of which is always in our own power; and we shall be more inclinable to meet in Parliament again, when our people shall see more clearly into our interests and actions." [1]

March 27.

So stood the contest between the liberties of England and the crown at the dissolution of the third Parliament of King Charles the First. The chief actors on one side were, and were to be, the Puritan religionists. The system of faith and politics which overruled the course of English affairs for the remainder of the century, and brought about the establishment of constitutional freedom in England, had now definitely assumed its main characteristics.

Full development of the Puritan system.

The Puritan was a Scripturist, — a Scripturist with all his heart, if, as yet, with imperfect intelligence. Romanism he detested as a fiction of human contrivance. In extreme opposition to it, he cherished the scheme of looking to the word of God as his sole and universal directory. That word had been but lately made common property by the Reformation. The preparation for interpreting it possessed by the best scholars of the

Its use of Scripture.

[1] Rymer, XIX. 63.

day was inadequate, and the judicious application of such learning as existed was disturbed by the rashness of enthusiasm and novelty. The Puritan searched the Bible, not only for principles and rules, but for mandates, — and, when he could find none of these, for analogies, — to guide him in precise arrangements of public administration, and in the minutest points of individual conduct. By it he settled cases of conscience, and in this casuistry his learning and ingenuity were largely employed. His objections to the government of the Church by bishops were founded, not so much on any bad working of that polity, as on the defect of authority for it in the New Testament; and he preferred his plain hierarchy of pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons, not primarily because it tended more to edification, but because Paul had specified their offices by name. He took the Scriptures as a homogeneous and rounded whole, and scarcely distinguished between the authority of Moses and the authority of Christ. The position of violent antagonism, into which he was brought by passing circumstances, led him to resort for guidance even more readily to the Old Testament than to the New. The opposing party in the state was associated in his mind with the Philistine and Amorite foes of the ancient chosen people; and he read the doom of the king and his wanton courtiers in the Psalm which put the "high praises of God" in the mouth of God's people, "and a two-edged sword in their hand, to bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters of iron." His theory of municipal law aimed at the emendation of the traditional system of his country by an adoption of provisions promulgated to a people of peculiar position and destiny, in a distant age and land; he would have witchcraft, Sabbath-breaking, and filial disobedience weighed in the judicial scales of a Hebrew Sanhedrim. His forms of speech were influenced by this fond reverence for the Bible. The history of the Israelitish tribes was his favorite storehouse for topics of

argument and eloquence, and he named his children after the Christian graces, still oftener after the worthies of Palestine, or, with yet more singularity, after some significant clause of holy writ.[1]

Its morality.

The Puritan was a strict Moralist. He might be ridiculed for being over-scrupulous, but never reproached for laxity. Most wisely, by precept, influence, and example, — unwisely by too severe law, when he obtained the power, — he endeavored to repress prevailing vice, and organize a Christian people. His error was not that of interfering without reason, or too soon. When he insisted on a hearing, villanous men and shameless women, whose abominations were a foul offence in the sight of God, and of all who reverenced God, were flaunting in the royal drawing-rooms. The foundations of public honor and prosperity were sapped. The influences which descend from high life into the mass of society were poisoned at their source. It is not from the Puritan's representations alone that we learn the political corruption, and the impurity of private manners, that disgusted him with the court and its retainers. Writers who assailed his religious position, at the same time echoed his complaints of the prevailing immorality. The drama of that period, imported from Catholic Italy, survives to testify to the tastes and character of the audiences which welcomed it, and which in turn it educated with its seductive lessons of wickedness.[2] The Puritan's mistake

[1] This practice began at least as early as the beginning of the century. It is ridiculed in Ben Jonson's "Alchemist," first acted in 1610, and in his "Bartholomew Fair," acted in 1614. Characters in the former are "Tribulation Wholesome, a pastor of Amsterdam," and "Ananias, a deacon there"; and in the latter, "Zeal of the Land Busy." Men who were forty years old when the Long Parliament assembled, had received their baptismal names in the reign of Elizabeth.

[2] "The court of this king [James the First] was a nursery of lust and intemperance. . . . . To keep the people in their deplorable security, till vengeance overtook them, they were entertained with masks, stage-plays, and all sorts of ruder sports. Then began murder, incest, adultery, drunkenness, swearing, fornication, and all sort of ribaldry,

at a later period was, that he undertook by public regulation what public regulation can never achieve, and, by aiming to form a nation of saints, introduced hypocrites among them to defeat their objects and bring scandal on their cause, while the saints were made no more numerous and no better. But, at the time to which the preceding narrative relates, nothing in his course was apparent but the eminently upright and Christian purpose. What there was of practical indiscretion and error, was to be made manifest in the experiment of a later period.

In politics, the Puritan was the Liberal of his day. If he construed his duties to God in the spirit of a narrow interpretation, that punctilious sense of religious responsibility impelled him to limit the assumptions of human government. In no stress, in no delirium, of politics, could a Puritan have been brought to teach, that, for either public or private conduct, there is some law of man above the law of God. Penetrated with the opposite conviction, he found himself enforced, at last, to overset the Stuart throne. Service which he believed the authority of God to claim, he saw himself forbidden by human authority to pay. That issue, presented to

Its public action.

to be no concealed, but countenanced vices, because they held such conformity with the court example." (Mrs. Hutchinson, Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, I. 117, 118.) This is the language of a dissenter, indeed, but of a high-bred and delicate woman. Any one who would see how the same subject is treated by a courtier, not too far gone to have kept his sense of decency, may look at Harrington's sketch of a drawing-room scene during the visit of the king of Denmark to London in 1606. (Nugæ Antiquæ, I. 348.) And to know how it was looked upon by a plain-spoken man, — no dissenter at all, but a prelate of the Church, — one may turn over a few pages of the folio volume of the Works of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter. The Bishop's "Censure of Travel" may be taken as *instar omnium*. Massinger, Webster, Shirley, — not Shakespeare, and scarcely Jonson, or Beaumont and Fletcher, — were the favorite play-writers of the time. It was of a play of Shirley, unsurpassed, if surpassable, in indecency, that King Charles the First is recorded, not only to have said "it was the best play he had seen for seven years," but to have himself furnished the plot. — The North British Review (XXV. 1–46) treats this subject with admirable wisdom and learning, in an article entitled "Plays and Puritans," said to be from the pen of the Reverend Charles Kingsley.

him, made him in politics a casuist, an innovator, the architect of a new system. From the time when the problem, with which for a while he struggled, was worked out, governments over the British race were to rest on the public consent, and to be administered for the public benefit. Such was the brightness of the light to which he made his way through many scenes of darkness.

When, after the restoration of the Stuart line, an unbridled licentiousness of manners had succeeded to his austerity, — when an ornate beastliness was the fashion of the men and women in high places, and such writers as Wycherley and Mrs. Behn expressed and formed the morals of so many clamorers for Lord Clarendon's creed, — the ribald wits of the time so grossly marred the record of the Puritan, that it is difficult even for those who sympathize with his views in religion and politics to recover a just conception of his dignified and manly character, as it existed in the days which must be referred to for a true delineation. Nor has this been wholly the result of injustice on the part of writers depicting what they wanted the moral capacity to estimate with justness. The character had itself degenerated, in reaching the time when it came under their observation. Puritanism, from the outbreak of the Great Rebellion, was subjected to the infelicities and abuses which necessarily attend a formidable and successful party. When it clothed itself with the associations of power and grandeur, vulgar men, without being sordid or ambitious, followed its modes, and by their vulgarity exaggerated and degraded them. When it came to have honors and fortunes to bestow, base men attached themselves to it for the promotion of their base ends; and the excesses of the dishonest pretender brought into discredit and ridicule the practices of the sincere devotee.

Its habits and manners.

But, whatever may have taken place later, the Puritanism of the first forty years of the seventeenth century was

not tainted with degrading or ungraceful associations of any sort. The rank, the wealth, the chivalry, the genius, the learning, the accomplishments, the social refinements and elegance of the time, were largely represented in its ranks. Not to speak of Scotland, where soon Puritanism had few opponents in the class of the high-born and the educated, the severity of Elizabeth scarcely restrained, in her latter days, its predominance among the most exalted orders of her subjects. The Earls of Leicester, Bedford, Huntington, and Warwick, Sir Nicholas Bacon, his greater son, Walsingham, Burleigh, Mildmay, Sadler, Knollys, were specimens of a host of eminent men more or less friendly to, or tolerant of it. Throughout the reign of James the First, it controlled the House of Commons, composed chiefly of the landed gentry of the kingdom; and, if it had less sway among the Peers, this was partly because the number of lay nobles did not largely exceed that of the Bishops, who were mostly creatures of the crown. The aggregate property of that Puritan House of Commons whose dissolution has been just now related, was computed to be three times as great as that of the Lords.[1] The statesmen of the first period of that Parliament which by and by dethroned Charles the First, had been bred in the luxury of the landed aristocracy of the realm; while of the nobility, Manchester, Essex, Warwick, Brooke, Fairfax, and others, and of the gentry, a long roll of men of the scarcely inferior position of Hampden and Waller, commanded and officered its armies and fleets. A Puritan was the first Protestant founder of a college at an English University. Among the clergy, representing mainly the scholarship of the country, nothing is more incontrovertible, than that the permanent ascendency of Puritanism was only prevented by the severities of the governments of Elizabeth and her Scottish kinsmen, under the several administrations of Parker, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud.

[1] Hume, Chap. LI.

It may be easily believed that none of the guests whom the Earl of Leicester placed at his table by the side of his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, were clowns. But the supposition of any necessary connection between Puritanism and what is harsh and rude in taste and manners, will not even stand the test of an observation of the character of men who figured in its ranks, when the lines came to be most distinctly drawn. The Parliamentary general, Devereux, Earl of Essex, was no strait-laced gospeller, but a man formed with every grace of person, mind, and culture, to be the ornament of a splendid court, the model knight, — the idol, as long as he was the comrade, of the royal soldiery, — the Bayard of the time. The position of Manchester and Fairfax, of Hollis, Fiennes, and Pierrepont, was by birthright in the most polished circle of English society. In the Memoirs of the young regicide, Colonel Hutchinson, recorded by his beautiful and high-souled wife, we may look at the interior of a Puritan household, and see its graces, divine and human, as they shone with a naturally blended lustre in the most strenuous and most afflicted times.[1] The renown of English learning owes something to the sect which enrolled the names of Selden, Lightfoot, Gale, and Owen.[2] Its seriousness and depth of thought had lent their inspiration to the delicate muse of Spenser.[3] Judg-

[1] The following contemporaneous portrait of an officer of the Puritan Commonwealth corresponds little with the *ideal* which has since been received. Colonel Hutchinson "could dance admirably well, but neither in youth nor riper years made any practice of it; he had skill in fencing, such as became a gentleman; he had great love to music, and often diverted himself with a viol, on which he played masterly; he had an exact ear and judgment in other music; he shot excellently in bows and guns, and much used them for his exercise; he had great judgment in paintings, graving, sculpture, and all liberal arts, and had many curiosities of value in all kinds; he took great delight in perspective glasses, and, for his other rarities, was not so much affected with the antiquity as the merit of the work; he took much pleasure in improvement of grounds, in planting groves and walks and fruit-trees, in opening springs, and making fish-ponds." (Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson, I. 33, 34.)

[2] The "painful' Owen, carrying within his broad forehead the concentrated extract of a thousand folios, was considered in his time something of a coxcomb in personal appearance. (Tayler, Religious Progress in England, 95.)

[3] See the Fifth Eclogue of Spenser, and his "Mother Hubberd's Tale,"

ing between their colleague preachers, Travers and Hooker, the critical Templars awarded the palm of scholarly eloquence to the Puritan. When the Puritan lawyer Whitelock was ambassador to Queen Christina, he kept a magnificent state, which was the admiration of her court, perplexed as they were by his persistent Puritanical testimony against the practice of drinking healths.[1] For his Latin secretary, the Puritan Protector employed a man at once equal to the foremost of mankind in genius and learning, and skilled in all manly exercises, proficient in the lighter accomplishments beyond any other Englishman of his day, and caressed in his youth, in France and Italy, for eminence in the studies of their fastidious scholars and artists.[2] The king's camp and court at Oxford had not a better swordsman or amateur musician than John Milton, and his portraits exhibit him with locks as flowing as Prince Rupert's.[3] In such trifles as the fashion

verses 484 *et seq.* His relations to the Earl of Essex may well have brought him under Grindall's influence.

[1] "How could you pass over their very long winter nights?" the Protector asked Whitelock at the audience of return from his embassy. "I kept my people together," was the reply, "and in action and recreation, by having music in my house, and encouraging that and the exercise of dancing, which held them by the eyes and ears, and gave them diversion without any offence. And I caused the gentlemen to have disputations in Latin, and declamations upon words which I gave them." And the dialogue proceeded: — *Cromwell.* "Those were very good diversions, and made your house a little academy." *Whitelock.* "I thought these recreations better than gaming for money, or going forth to places of debauchery." *Cromwell.* "It was much better." (Whitelock, Embassy to Sweden, II. 438, 439. The book, lately republished, is very interesting for its illustrations of manners in the time of the Commonwealth, as well as for its other contents.)

[2] "Haste then, nymph, and bring with thee
Jest, and youthful Jollity,
. . . . .
Sport, that wrinkled Care derides,
And Laughter, holding both his sides."

Such verses do not express the morbidness of any Malachi Malagrowther.

[3] The "prick-eared knaves" to whom Sir Geoffrey Peveril gave the credit of trowling his Cavalier friends down "like so many ninepins, at Wiggan Lane," certainly did not set the fashion of hairdressing to all their party. "King Pym," for a time the representative Roundhead, wears, on the canvas of Houbraken, the same moderate *chevelure* as is now thought becoming for a chamberlain of Queen Victoria. But when the body of Hampden, the "Great Brother," as Strafford called him, (Lord Nugent, Life of Hampden, I. 150,) was disinterred, twenty-five years ago, it was thought at first to be a woman's, from

of apparel, the usage of the best modern society vindicates, in characteristic particulars, the Roundhead judgment and taste of the century before the last. The English gentleman now, as the Puritan gentleman then, dresses plainly in "sad" colors, and puts his lace and embroidery on his servants.

the profusion of long hair. Mrs. Hutchinson says (Memoirs, 181), that her husband, "having naturally a very fine thick-set head of hair, kept it clean and handsome, so that it was a great ornament to him"; and in his portrait, it rolls in curls down his shoulders and over his mail.

CHAPTER VIII.

Position of Puritans in the Church. 1621.

YEARS had passed since the severity of the government had overcome the Separatists, forcing them either to disband their congregations, or flee from the kingdom. From the time when Bishop Williams was made Keeper of the Great Seal, four years before the death of King James, the High-Commission Court again became active, and the condition of Puritans in the Church was day by day more uneasy. While some among them looked for relief to a happy issue of the struggle which had been going on in Parliament, and resigned themselves to await and aid the slow progress of a political and religious reformation in the kingdom, numbers, less confident or less patient, pondered on exile as their best resource, and turned their view to a new home on the Western continent. There was yet a third class, who, through feeble resolution or a lingering hope of better things, deferred the sacrifices which they scarcely flattered themselves that they should ultimately escape, and, if they were clergymen, retained their preferments by a reluctant obedience to the canons.[1] The coquetry of Buckingham with the Puritans, inspiring false hopes, was not without effect to excuse indecision, and hinder a combined and energetic action.

[1] "We have feared a judgment a long time. But yet we are safe. Therefore it were better to stay till it come. And either we may fly then, or, if we be overtaken in it, we may well be content to suffer with such a Church as ours is." Such was one of the "Objections" replied to in a paper, which was circulated in England in 1629, and was probably from the pen of Winthrop. It is printed in Dr. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," 271. It contains pregnant hints as to the object of the emigration proposed in it. Of course, to publish the plan in plain language, and in its full extent, would have been to defeat it.

Among the eminent persons who had reconciled themselves to the course of compromise and postponement was Mr. John White, an important name, which at this point takes its place in New-England history. White, who, since the second year of King James's reign, had been rector of Trinity Church in Dorchester, was a man widely known and greatly esteemed, alike for his professional character and his public spirit.[1] The subject of New-England colonization, much canvassed everywhere among the Puritans, who were numerous in the part of the kingdom where he lived, was commended to his notice in a special form. Dorchester, near the British Channel, the principal town of the shire, furnished numbers of those who now made voyages to New England for fishing and trade; and they were often several months upon the coast without opportunity for religious worship or instruction. Mr. White interested himself with the ship-owners to establish a settlement where the mariners might have a home when not at sea, where supplies might be provided for them by farming and hunting, and where they might be brought under religious influences. The result of the conferences was the formation of an unincorporated joint-stock association, under the name of the "Dorchester Adventurers," which collected a capital of three thousand pounds.

The Reverend Mr. White.

The Dorchester company turned its attention to the spot on Cape Ann where now stands the town of Gloucester. It has been mentioned that the Council for New England, perpetually embarrassed by the oppugnation of the Virginia Company and the reasonable jealousy of Parliament, had recourse to a variety of expedients to realize the benefits vainly expected by its projectors. In carrying out one scheme, that of a division of

The Dorchester company.

[1] "Mr. John White, a famous Puritan divine, usually called *the Patriarch of Dorchester*. ..... He was a man of great gravity, presence, and influence in his party for several years." (Echard, History of England, 653.)

the common property among the associates, the country about Cape Ann was assigned to Lord Sheffield, better known as a patriot leader under his later title of Earl of Mulgrave.[1] Of him it was purchased for the people of New Plymouth by Edward Winslow, when in England on the business of that colony; and they in turn conveyed to White and his associates such a site as was wanted for their purposes of fishing and planting.[2]

1622.

1624. Jan. 1.

The Dorchester company had probably anticipated this arrangement by despatching a party of fourteen persons to pass the winter. They carried out live stock, and erected a house, with stages to dry fish, and vats for the manufacture of salt. Thomas Gardner was overseer of the plantation, and John Tilley had the fishery in charge. Everything went wrong. Mishaps befell the vessels. The price of fish went down. The colonists, "being ill chosen and ill commanded, fell into many disorders, and did the company little service." An attempt was made to retrieve affairs by putting the colony under a different direction. The Dorchester partners heard of "some religious and well-affected persons that were lately removed out of New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of rigid separation, of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, a religious, sober, and prudent gentleman."[3] He was then at Nantasket, with Lyford and Oldham.[4] The partners

1623. Plantation at Cape Ann.

1625.

[1] See page 222.

[2] "There hath been a-fishing this year upon the coast about fifty English ships. And by Cape Ann there is a plantation a-beginning by the Dorchester men, which they hold of those of New Plymouth, who also by them have set up a fishing-work. Some talk there is of some other pretended plantations, all whose proceedings the eternal God protect and preserve." (Smith, Generall Historie, 247, edit. 1624.)

[3] Hubbard, History of New England, Chap. XVIII. — It is not known when Conant came over, or to what part of New England. Nothing appears in any of the Plymouth documents to confirm Hubbard's statement that Conant was one of the party of Lyford and Oldham at Plymouth. But there is no improbability in the statement of his having been there, and Hubbard was likely to be well informed upon that point.

[4] See above, p. 221.

engaged Conant "to be their governor" at Cape Ann, with "the charge of all their affairs, as well fishing as planting." With Lyford they agreed that he should "be the minister of the place," while Oldham, "invited to trade for them with the Indians," preferred to remain where he was, and conduct such business on his own account. The change was not followed by the profits that had been hoped, and the next year "the adventurers were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution of this design, and took order for the dissolving of the company on land, and sold away their shipping and other provisions."[1] Another seemed added to the list of frustrated adventures in New England.

1626.

But Mr. White did not despair of its renewal. All along, it is likely, he had regarded it with an interest different from what had yet been avowed. At his instance, when "most part of the land-men returned," "a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind, and to take charge of the cattle sent over the year before. And not liking their seat at Cape Ann, chosen especially for the supposed commodity of fishing, they transported themselves to Nahumkeike, about four or five leagues distant to the southwest from Cape Ann."[2]

Removal to Naumkeag. 1626.

White wrote to Conant, exhorting him "not so to desert the business, faithfully promising that, if himself, with three others, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, viz. John Woodbury, John Balch, and Peter Palfrey, employed by the adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever

[1] Hubbard, Chap. XVIII.— Planter's Plea, Chap. VII., VIII. The Planter's Plea, published anonymously in London, in 1630, was reprinted, in 1838, by Mr. Force, of Washington, in the second volume of his "Tracts and other Papers," &c. Its authorship is, on satisfactory grounds, attributed to Mr. White. It urges, for encouragement to colonization, the example of the Plymouth colony (Chap. VII.).

[2] Ibid., Chap. IX.

they should write for, either men, or provision, or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians."[1] With difficulty Conant prevailed upon his companions to persevere. They "stayed to the hazard of their lives."[2] Woodbury was sent to England for supplies. 1627.

"The business came to agitation afresh in London, and, being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar; insomuch that, some men showing some good affection to the work, and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master Endicott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered, which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new colony upon the old foundation."[3]

The scheme on foot was no longer one of Dorchester fishermen looking for a profitable exercise of their trade. It had "come to agitation in London," where "some men" had offered "the help of their purses," and a man of consequence, Humphrey, probably from a county as distant as Lincoln, was already, or very soon after, Treasurer of the fund.[4] Matters were ripe for the step of securing a domain for a colony, and the dimensions of the domain show that the colony was not intended to be a small one. A grant of lands extending from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean, and in width from a line of latitude three miles north of the River Merrimac to a line three miles

[1] Hubbard, Chap. XVIII.

[2] Conant's petition of May 28, 1671, in the Massachusetts archives.

[3] Planter's Plea, Chap. IX.

[4] Hubbard (Chap. XVIII.) makes Humphrey the Treasurer of the Associates when Conant was first written to: "Mr. White engaged Mr. Humphrey, the Treasurer of the joint adventurers, to write to him in their names," &c. But I should not think it entirely safe to rely upon this.

south of the Charles,[1] was obtained from the Council for New England by "Sir Henry Roswell and Sir John Young, knights, and Thomas Southcote, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whitcomb, gentlemen," for themselves, "their heirs, and associates." Roswell and Young were gentlemen of Devon, Southcote was probably of the same county, and Whitcomb is believed to have been a London merchant.

1628. March 19. Grant of Massachusetts from the Council for New England.

Gorges, though not in the counsels of the patentees, supposed himself to understand their object. Having mentioned the angry dissolution by King Charles of his second Parliament, and his imprisonment of some of the patriot leaders, he proceeds to say, that these transactions "took all hope of reformation of church government from many not affecting episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the Common Prayers of the Church; whereof there were several sorts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike of those particulars. Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the affairs of New England to settle a colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice-honored Lord of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation, so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son Robert Gorges's interests, whereof he had a patent under the seal of the Council. Hereupon, there was a grant passed as was thought reasonable."[2]

[1] The patentees among whom the eastern coast of New England had been partitioned six years before, surrendered their claims (see above, pp. 222, 285). I confidently put this construction on the following record of the meeting of the Company, September 29, 1629, viz.: "It is thought fit and ordered that the Secretary shall write out a copy of the former grant to the Earl of Warwick and others, which was by them resigned to this company, to be presented to his Lordship." (Massachusetts Colony Records, I. 53.)

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, &c., Chap. XXVI.

After three months, Endicott, one of the six patentees, was despatched, in charge of a small party, to supersede Conant at Naumkeag as local manager.[1] Woodbury had preceded them. They arrived at the close of summer. The persons quartered on the spot, the remains of Conant's company, were disposed to question the claims of the new-comers. But the dispute was amicably composed, and, in commemoration of its adjustment, the place took the name of "Salem," the Hebrew word for *peaceful*. The colony, made up from the two sources, consisted of "not much above fifty or sixty persons,"[2] none of them of special importance except Endicott, who was destined to act for nearly forty years a conspicuous part in New England history.[3]

June 20.

John Endicott's company at Salem. Sept. 6.

Before the winter, an exploring party either began, or made preparations for, a settlement at Mishawum, now Charlestown.[4] With another party, Endicott, during Morton's absence in England, visited his diminished company at Merry-Mount, or, as Endicott called it, *Mount Dagon*, "caused their May-pole to be cut down, and re-

[1] Mr. Haven has satisfactorily shown that the first page of the Records of the Company of Massachusetts Bay relates to preparations for the voyage of Endicott. (Archæologia Americana, III. 3.)

[2] Planter's Plea, Chap. IX.

[3] Gott, Davenport, Trask, and Ralph and Richard Sprague, companions of Endicott, as well as Conant, Palfrey, and Woodbury, of the "old planters," were afterwards Deputies to the General Court. Davenport was a lieutenant in the Pequod war, and subsequently captain of the fort in Boston harbor.

[4] According to the Charlestown records, — which, however, are not a document of the first authenticity, not having been made till more than thirty years afterwards, — some of the emigrants of 1628 had come over "at their own charge"; from which it has been inferred that they were not of Endicott's company. (Everett, Address at Charlestown, June 28, 1830.) The visitors found at Mishawum "an English palisaded and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith." — It is greatly to be regretted, that for this brief but very interesting period we have so little information except from the unsatisfactory narrative of Hubbard. It is an important fact, however, that he must have conversed much with Roger Conant, who lived to old age and was his neighbor. It would be curious to point out traces of his adoption of Conant's prejudices, as well as other tokens of the state of mind in which he wrote, if the discussion were worth the space which the necessary citations would occupy.

buked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look there should be better walking." The winter proved sickly; an "infection that grew among the passengers at sea, spread also among them ashore, of which many died, some of the scurvy, other of an infectious fever." Endicott sent to Plymouth for medical assistance, and Fuller, the physician of that place, made a visit to Salem.[1]

Charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay. 1629. March 4.

The new Dorchester Company,[2] like that which had preceded it, and like the company of London Adventurers concerned in the settlement at Plymouth, was but a voluntary partnership, with no corporate powers.[3] The extensive acquaintance of Mr. White with persons disaffected to the rulers in church and state was probably the immediate occasion of advancing the business another step. Materials for a powerful combination existed in different parts of the kingdom, and they were now brought together for united action. The Company having been "much enlarged,"[4] a royal charter was solicited and obtained, creating a corporation under the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."[5] This

[1] Bradford, History, 238, 263.

[2] I follow usage in employing this name in relation to Roswell and his five associates, though I am more than doubtful as to the correctness of the application to them. Their patent is lost. It does not appear that any one of the patentees was a Dorchester man. Nor do I know any other authority than Hubbard's for the statement of their being persons "about Dorchester."

[3] The silence of the "Planter's Plea" respecting the patent from the Council for New England to Sir Henry Roswell and his five associates, favors the idea that it was taken simply as a transition step. Its language, next following the mention of the engagement of Endicott, is (Chap. IX.): "Hereupon divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable sum of money, a patent was granted with large encouragements every way by his most excellent Majesty." The fact that five persons joined Endicott in securing the territory of Massachusetts by a deed from the Council, while measures were in progress for obtaining the royal charter, is passed over as immaterial.

[4] Cradock's Letter of February 16, 1629, to Endicott.

[5] Both these proper names were used in early times in different senses. Governor Winthrop, when he entitled his work a "History of *New England*," intended by that name to denote the Massachusetts Colony, and this appears to have been the prevailing use for some years after its settlement. In 1644, Roger Williams's colony was called in

is the instrument under which the Colony of Massachusetts continued to conduct its affairs for fifty-five years. The patentees named in it were Roswell and his five associates, with twenty other persons, of whom White was not one.[1] It gave power for ever to the freemen of the Company to elect annually, from their own number, a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants, on the last Wednesday of Easter term, and to make laws and ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England, for their own benefit and the government of persons inhabiting their territory. Four meetings of the Company were to be held in a year, and others might be convened in a manner prescribed. Meetings of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants were to be held once a month, or oftener. The Governor, Deputy-Governor, and any two Assistants, were authorized, but not required, to administer to freemen the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. The Company might transport settlers not "restrained by special name." They had authority to admit new associates, and establish the terms of their admission, and elect and constitute such officers as they should see fit for the ordering and managing of their affairs. They were empowered to "encounter, repulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, all such person and persons as should at any time thereafter attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance to the said plantation or inhabitants." Nothing was said of religious liberty. The government may have relied upon its power to restrain it, and the emigrants on their distance and obscurity to protect it.[2]

its charter "Providence Plantations in *New England*." Anciently, by *Massachusetts Bay* was commonly meant what is now often called *Boston Bay*, within Nahant and Point Allerton.

[1] One of the twenty, Goffe, had formerly been among the Adventurers in partnership with the planters at Plymouth. At least five others of those Adventurers, viz. White (of London), Pocock, Sharp, Revell, and Andrews, were subsequently members of the Massachusetts Company. (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48.) The charter is said to have cost £2,000. (Hutch. Hist., II. 1.)

[2] The charter is in Hazard, I. 239.

The first step of the new corporation was to organize a government for its colony. It determined to place the local administration in the hands of thirteen Counsellors, to retain their offices for one year. Of these, seven besides the Governor (in which office Endicott was continued) were to be appointed by the Company at home; these eight were to choose three others; and the whole number was to be made up by the addition of such as should be designated by the persons on the spot at the time of Endicott's arrival, described as "old planters."[1]

April 30. Organization of the colony at Salem.

A proposal had just been accepted from certain "Boston men," to interest themselves in the adventure to the amount of five hundred pounds, being a hundred pounds in addition to what, it appears, they had previously promised, "and to provide able men to send over."[2]

March 2

Unfortunately, no letter has been preserved of those sent by Endicott to England at this interesting juncture. There are, however, two letters addressed to him by the Company, and one by Cradock, appointed in the charter to be its first Governor. With various directions as to the details of his administration, they speak of the "propagation of the Gospel" as "the thing they do profess above all to be their aim in settling this plantation." They enjoin the keeping of "a diligent eye over their own people, that they live unblamable and without reproof." They forbid the planting of tobacco, except under severe restrictions. They order satisfaction

Instructions from the Company.

[1] Records in Archæologia Americana, III. 30f, 30g.

[2] Mass. Colonial Records, I. 28. — Dudley, perhaps one of these Boston men, says: "About the year 1627, some friends, being together in Lincolnshire, fell into discourse about New England, and the planting of the Gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons, by letters and messages, to some in London and the West Country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length, with often negotiation, so ripened that, in the year 1628, we procured a patent," &c. (Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.) From the language, "about the year 1627," I think it is natural to infer, that the subject was canvassed in Lincolnshire as well before as after that year. It was in 1627 that White wrote from Dorsetshire, urging Conant to remain where he was. According to the old style, which Dudley used, the patent was procured, as he says, "in the year 1628."

to be given to the "old planters," by the offer of incorporation into the Company and of a share in the lands. They speak of unsuccessful negotiations with Oldham, who asserted a claim under the patent of Robert Gorges, and give orders for anticipating him in taking possession of Massachusetts Bay. They direct that persons who may prove "not conformable to their government," or otherwise disagreeable, shall not be suffered "to remain within the limits of their grant," but be shipped to England. They prescribe a distribution of the servants among families, with a view to domestic order and Christian instruction and discipline. They enjoin a just settlement with the natives for lands. And they transmit a form of oaths to be taken by the Governor and members of the Council.

After the organization under the charter, no time was lost in despatching a reinforcement of colonists. Six vessels were prepared, and license was obtained from the Lord Treasurer for the embarkation of "eighty women and maids, twenty-six children, and three hundred men, with victuals, arms, and tools, and necessary apparel," and with "one hundred and forty head of cattle, and forty goats." A committee of the Company were careful "to make plentiful provision of godly ministers." Mr. Skelton, Mr. Higginson, and Mr. Bright, members of the Council, with Mr. Smith, another minister, sailed in the first three vessels, which reached Salem about the same time, and were soon followed by the residue of the fleet. Mr. Graves, another of the Counsellors, was employed by the associates as an engineer. Immediately on arriving, he proceeded with "some of the Company's servants under his care, and some others," to Mishawum, where he laid out a town.[1] Bright,

1629. April 16.

May 4, 11. Higginson's company at Salem. June.

[1] This very prompt movement towards Charlestown was connected with the claim of Oldham. And not improbably the visit made to that peninsula in the previous autumn had a similar meaning. The patent of Robert Gorges which brought him to Weymouth in 1623 (see above, p. 206) was for ten miles "on the northeast side of *Massachusetts Bay*," according

who was one of his party, returned to England in the following summer, dissatisfied, probably, with the ecclesiastical proceedings which had taken place. Smith went for the present to the fishing station at Nantasket.

Higginson wrote home: "When we came first to Naumkeag, we found about half a score houses, and a fair house newly built for the Governor. We found also abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well-liking. And we brought with us about two hundred passengers and planters more, which, by common consent of the old planters, were all combined together into one body politic, under the same governor. There are in all of us, both old and new planters, about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are settled at Naumkeag, now called Salem, and the rest have planted themselves at Masathuset's Bay, beginning to build a town there, which we do call Charton, or Charlestown. . . . . But that which is our greatest comfort and means of defence above all other is, that we have here the true religion and holy ordinances of Almighty God taught among us. Thanks be to God, we have here plenty of preaching and diligent catechizing, with strict and careful exercise and good and commendable orders to bring our people into a Christian conversation with whom we have to do withal. And thus we doubt not but God will be with us; and if God be with us, who can be against us?" [1]

Of the new-comers, Skelton and Higginson, who had been Non-conformist clergymen of the Church of England, were the only persons that exerted a material influence on the affairs of the infant colony.[2] Of the early life of the

to a contemporaneous meaning of that name; that is, for a territory extending from Charles River to Nahant. At the death of Robert Gorges, his right, better or worse, was inherited by his brother, John, who, two months before the charter of the Massachusetts Company, sold it in two parts, one to John Dorrell and John Oldham, the other to Sir William Brereton. The Massachusetts Company always maintained that Robert Gorges's patent was not good in law.

[1] Higginson, New England's Plantation, 123, 124.

[2] Of the five persons associated with them by the Company as Counsellors to

former, scarcely anything is known; he had been educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and Endicott had "formerly received much good by his ministry." [1] Higginson, of Jesus College and St. John's, Cambridge, and subsequently rector of one of the churches of Leicester, had been deprived of his benefice for non-conformity. After the practice of the time, he became a *lecturer*,[2] and was so employed among his former parishioners when he received the application of the Massachusetts Company to proceed to their colony.[3]

Samuel Skelton.

Francis Higginson.

A day within four weeks from their arrival was appointed for the choice of a pastor and a teacher; and, after prayer, fasting, and a sermon, Mr. Skelton was chosen to the former office, and Mr. Higginson to the latter. Having accepted the trust, they were set apart to it with simple solemnity. Mr. Higginson and three or four of the gravest men laid their hands on Mr. Skelton's head and prayed, and then, for the consecration of Mr. Higginson, the same service was repeated by his colleague. The next step was to gather a church, or society of communicants. Mr. Higginson drew up "a confession of faith and church covenant, ac-

Ecclesiastical organization. July 20.

Endicott, only Samuel Sharpe is known to have remained in the colony. John and Samuel Browne were sent home after only five or six weeks, under circumstances presently to be related. Bright, as has been mentioned, remained scarcely a year, and Graves soon disappears from the documents.

[1] Cradock's letter to Endicott, April 17, 1629.

[2] One method taken by the Puritans to supply the deficiency of evangelical preachers, of which they complained, was to employ *lecturers* to preach on Sunday afternoons and market-days. They were supported from funds raised by voluntary contribution, and held by trustees. (Neal, History of the Puritans, Vol. II. Chap. IV.) Laud broke up the system in 1633. He said the lecturers were "the most dangerous enemies of the state."

[3] "23d of March, 1628 [1629]. At this meeting, intimation was given by Mr. Nowell, by letters from Mr. Isaac Johnson, that one Mr. Higgeson, of Leicester, an able minister, proffers to go to our plantation; who being approved for a reverend, grave minister, fit for our present occasions, it was thought by those present to entreat Mr. John Humphrey to ride presently to Leicester, and, if Mr. Higgeson may conveniently be had to go this present voyage, that he should deal with him." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 37.)

cording to Scripture," of which copies were delivered to thirty persons, and an invitation was despatched to the church at Plymouth to send messengers to witness the further proceeding. The day appointed for it having arrived, the two ministers prayed and preached; thirty persons assented to the covenant, and associated themselves as a church; the ministers, whose dedication to the sacred office had appeared incomplete till it was made by a church constituted by mutual covenant, were ordained to their several offices by the imposition of the hands of some of the brethren appointed by the church; and Governor Bradford "and some others with him, coming by sea," and being "hindered by cross winds that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity and a blessed success unto such good beginnings."[1]

Aug. 6.

How much of the church system thus introduced had already been resolved upon before the colonists of the Massachusetts Company left England, and how long a time, if any, previous to their emigration such arrangements were made, are questions which we have probably now insufficient means to determine. Thus much is certain; that, when Skelton[2] and Higginson reached Salem, they found Endicott, who was not only their Governor, but one of the six considerable men who had made the first movement for a patent, fully prepared for the ecclesiastical organization which was presently instituted. In the month before their arrival, Endicott, in a letter to Bradford, thanking him for the visit of Fuller,[3] had said: "I rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship; it is, as far as I yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in

1629. May 11.

[1] Morton, Memorial, 146. [2] See Vol. II. p. 83, note 5. [3] Bradford, 265.

mercy revealed himself unto me." And the promptness with which the system was adopted in Salem favors the idea of previous concert respecting it, at least on the part of the leading men.

But whether distinctly preconcerted in England or not,[1] and whether anticipated by a greater or smaller portion of the emigrants, some such system, under the circumstances, could scarcely have failed to grow up on the soil. To persons with minds so prepossessed, a six weeks' voyage away from familiar scenes must needs have opened a long religious experience.[2] In a North American wild, the power of conventional associations was broken. The minds of the serious exiles could find nothing to repose upon but the naked simplicity of evangelical truth. Sincerely desirous, above all things else, to know and to do God's will, they had heretofore found their inquiries and their service obstructed and restrained. They had long led a troubled life for conscience' sake. They had now made well-nigh the last sacrifice, placing a wide ocean between themselves and most earthly objects of their love. Having paid the heavy price, why should they not fully enjoy the purchase? Withdrawn beyond the reach of persecutors, why leave the strange liberty unused? Why not betake themselves at once to the letter of Scrip-

[1] Cotton Mather relates that, "taking the last look at his native shore, Higginson said, 'We will not say, as the Separatists were wont to say at their leaving of England, "Farewell, Babylon; farewell, Rome!" But we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell, the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there. We do not go to New England as separatists from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it. But we go to practise the positive part of church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America.'" (Magnalia, Book III. Part II. Chap. I.) It is not necessary here to raise the general question of the trustworthiness of the testimony of Cotton Mather. It is enough to say, that, in this instance, he is testifying, in 1697, to words represented to have been uttered in 1629, on the other side of the water.

[2] On the voyage, Higginson had enjoyed some prelibations of his liberty "with singing a psalm, and prayer that was not read out of a book." (Relation of the Last Voyage, &c., in Hutchinson's Collection, &c., 46.) — See Winthrop, in Hutchinson's Collection, 130.

ture, and as freely as the primitive disciples, as freely as if neither mitre nor canon had ever been made, erect their religious institutions after what they understood to be the pattern in the authentic Gospel? In their position, such words as Non-conformity and Separatism ceased to be significant. It was of great moment that they should conform to the Bible. It was of very little moment if, in doing so, they should be found to be separated in discipline and usages from a Church thousands of miles away. As one party after another of earnest men came to confer together on New England soil, it is striking to observe to what an extent they had grown to be of one mind respecting the duty of rejecting the whole constitution of the English Establishment. If scruples presented themselves, they were dismissed with summary decision; not a fragment of the hierarchical order found a place in the fabric of the New England churches.

Expulsion of two malecontents.

The transaction which determined the religious constitutions of New England gave offence to two of the Counsellors, John and Samuel Browne. Considering the late proceedings, as well they might do, to amount to a secession from the national establishment, they, with some others of the same mind, set up a separate worship, conducted according to the Book of Common Prayer. Endicott and his friends were in no mood to tolerate this schism. The brothers, brought before the Governor, said that the ministers "were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists." The ministers replied, "that they came away from the Common Prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much for their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God." There was no composing such a strife; "and therefore, finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and prac-

tices tending to mutiny and faction, the Governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, and therefore he sent them both back for England at the return of the ships the same year."[1] The brothers made their complaint to the Corporation at home, who agreed to submit to referees the adjustment of the difference. The Company wrote letters of caution to Endicott and the ministers. "It is possible," they said, "some undigested counsels have too suddenly been put in execution, which may have ill construction with the state here, and make us obnoxious to any adversary."[2] This language, with more of the same tenor, appears to have been prompted, not so much by want of sympathy with the course of the colonists, as by an apprehension of the unfavorable effect which might be produced by it in high quarters in England.

Sept. 19.

Oct. 16.

This proceeding had first raised, and for the present issue had decided, a question of vast magnitude. The right of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay to exclude at their pleasure dangerous or disagreeable persons from their domain, they never regarded as questionable, any more than a householder doubts his right to determine who shall be the inmates of his home.[3] No civilized man had a right to come,

Anti-Episcopal policy at Salem.

[1] For want of a detailed contemporaneous account, I take this from Morton's Memorial (148). The transaction was one of special interest to the Plymouth people, and it may be presumed that they were correctly informed concerning it. It is not unlikely that some, who had come to the ordination, remained long enough to witness the consequent proceedings.

The difference between the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies has not been understood by English students of our history. Not only is it overlooked by so good and so recent a writer as Lord Mahon (History of England, &c., Chap. XLIII.), whose object did not distinctly require him to observe it. It appears to be equally unknown to Mr. Marsden (History of the Early Puritans, Chap. XI.). And Mr. Anderson, in his learned and not uncandid "History of the Church of England in the Colonies" (I. 362 *et seq.*), charges the treatment of the Brownes, above described, to the Plymouth people, and founds upon this mistake some strictures on an American writer.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 408.

[3] "We have thought fit to give you this order, that, unless he [Ralph Smith] will be conformable to our government,

or to be, within their chartered limits, except themselves and such others as they, in the exercise of an absolute discretion, saw fit to harbor. The policy of such a use of their right as was now made by their officer and representative, it is easy to understand, would, in existing circumstances, appear to him equally evident. The English hierarchy was immensely powerful, both in its own resources and in the favor of an absolute monarch. Of its vigilance and cruelty the colonists had had a well-nigh ruinous experience. If it could keep its arms about them, they thoroughly knew from the past what they had to expect from it in the future. They had fled from it to the wild solitude of another continent. Should they suffer it to follow them, if they were able to keep it off? A conventicle of a score of persons using the Liturgy might be harmless; but how long would the conventicle be without its surpliced priest, and when he had come, how far in the distance would be a bishop, armed with the powers of the High-Commission Court?

Religious intolerance, like every other public restraint, is criminal wherever it is not needful for the public safety; it is simply self-defence, whenever tolerance would be public ruin. It may be, no doubt, that the danger, supposed to demand it, is overrated by a timid imagination. But where it is strictly true that two sets of people cannot live with security in each other's presence, it is an idle casuistry which condemns the earlier comer and the stronger possessor for insisting on the unshared occupation of his place of residence. He may not only, through cowardice or ill-temper, too easily persuade himself that exclusiveness is essential to possession; he may further use unnecessary harshness in vindicating his exclusive

you suffer him not to remain within the limits of our grant." (Letter of the Company to Endicott, April 17, 1629.) — "We desire, if it may be, that errors may be reformed with lenity or mild correction; and if any prove incorrigible, and will not be reclaimed by gentle correction, ship such persons home." (Ibid.) — Comp. Winthrop, I. 45, under the date of November 11, 1630.

claim to his own. But it is preposterous to maintain that, in the supposed circumstances, the right to exclude is not his, or that its exercise is not his bounden duty. And the right becomes of yet more value, and the duty more imperative and inevitable, when the good in question is one of such vast worth as religious freedom, to be protected by the possessor, not only for himself, but for the myriads, living and to be born, of whom he assumes to be the pioneer and the champion.

Meanwhile, a movement of the utmost importance, probably meditated long before, was hastened by external pressure. The state of public affairs in England in the spring and summer of this year had brought numbers to the decision which had been heretofore approached with sorrowful reluctance, and several persons of character and condition resolved to emigrate at once to the New World. It was necessary to their purpose to secure self-government, as far as it could be exercised by British subjects. Possibly events might permit and require it to be vindicated even beyond that line. At any rate, to be ruled in America by a commercial corporation in England, was a condition in no sort accordant with their aim. At a General Court of the Company, Cradock, the Governor, "read certain propositions conceived by himself; viz. that for the advancement of the plantation, the inducing and encouraging persons of worth and quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and for other weighty reasons therein contained, [it is expedient] to transfer the government of the plantation to those that shall inhabit there, and not to continue the same in subordination to the Company here, as now it is."[1] The Corporation entertained the proposal, and,

Transfer of the charter to New England.

1629. July 28.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 49. — "Mr. Governor read certain propositions conceived by himself." So writes Mr. Secretary Burgis in the Journal. But it is not likely that Cradock told Burgis whom he had been talking with for two or three years, or even that Burgis felt called upon to record all that he might know of the preparations behind the scene. Hubbard says (Chap.

in view of "the many great and considerable consequences thereupon depending," reserved it for deliberation. Two days before its next meeting, twelve gentlemen,[1] assembled at Cambridge, pledged themselves to each other to embark for New England with their families for a permanent residence, provided an arrangement should be made for the charter and the administration under it to be transferred to that country.[2] Legal advice was obtained in favor of the authority to make the transfer; and on full consideration it was determined, "by the general consent of the Company, that the government and patent should be settled in New England." The old officers resigned, and their places were filled with persons of whom most or all were expecting to emigrate.[3] John Winthrop was chosen Governor, with John Humphrey for Deputy-Governor, and eighteen others for Assistants. Humphrey's departure was delayed, and, on the eve of embarkation, his place was supplied by Thomas Dudley.

Agreement at Cambridge. Aug. 26.

Aug. 29.

XVIII.), that, when Endicott was despatched, in 1628, "he was fully instructed with power from the Company to order all affairs, in the name of the patentees, as their agent, *until themselves should come over, which was at that time intended*, but could not be accomplished till the year 1630."

[1] Six of them are known to have been already members of the Massachusetts Company, viz. Saltonstall, Vassall, Nowell, Pynchon, Johnson, and Humphrey, the name of the last of whom suggests the means of communication between the Dorchester and the Cambridge confederates. (See above, p. 287, note 3.) Of the rest, Winthrop and Dudley first appeared at a court of the Company, October 15, 1629, and Thomas Sharpe, October 20.

[2] "We will so really endeavor the execution of this work as, by God's assistance, we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our several families as are to go with us, to embark for the said plantation by the first of March next, to pass the seas, under God's protection, to inhabit and continue in New England. Provided always, that, before the last of September next, the whole government, together with the patent for the said plantation, be first legally transferred." (Agreement at Cambridge, August 26, 1629, in Hutchinson's Collections, 25, 26.)

[3] Cradock, the former Governor, was chosen one of the Assistants; but I do not know that he ever intended to come over. The same may be said of Samuel Aldersey, Thomas Goffe, and Nathaniel Wright, the last of whom opposed the transfer of the charter. Cradock, Goffe, and Wright were three of the five persons in England intrusted soon after (December 1st) with the care of the joint stock, of which Aldersey was also Treasurer; and this may have been the reason for choosing them to be Assistants.

Winthrop, then forty-two years old, was descended from a family of good condition, long seated at Groton in Suffolk, where he had a property of six or seven hundred pounds a year, the equivalent of at least two thousand pounds at the present day. His father was a lawyer and magistrate. Commanding uncommon respect and confidence from an early age,[1] he had moved in the circles where the highest matters of English policy were discussed, by men who had been associates of Whitgift, Bacon, Essex, and Cecil. Humphrey was "a gentleman of special parts, of learning and activity, and a godly man";[2] in the home of his father-in-law, Thomas, third Earl of Lincoln, the head, in that day, of the now ducal house of Newcastle, he had been the familiar companion of the patriotic nobles. Of the Assistants, Isaac Johnson, esteemed the richest of the emigrants, was another son-in-law of Lord Lincoln, and a landholder in three counties. Sir Richard Saltonstall, of Halifax, in Yorkshire, was rich enough to be a bountiful contributor to the Company's operations.[3] Thomas Dudley, with a company of volunteers which he had raised, had served, thirty years before, under Henry the Fourth of France; since which time he had managed the estates of the Earl of Lincoln. He was old enough to have lent a shrill voice to the huzzas at the defeat of the Armada, and his military service had indoctrinated him in the lore of civil and religious freedom. Theophilus Eaton, an eminent London merchant, was used to courts, and had been minister of Charles the First in Denmark. Simon Bradstreet, the son of a Non-conformist minister in Lincolnshire, and grandson of "a Suffolk gentleman of a fine

New officers of the Company.

[1] Cotton Mather says (Book II. Chap. IV. § 3), that Winthrop was "made, at the unusually early age of eighteen, a Justice of the Peace." But the statement wants better evidence.

[2] Winthrop, History of New England, I. 332.

[3] I do not know how the name of Richard Saltonstall, mentioned by Sir Simonds D'Ewes (Autobiography, I. 121, 140) as his contemporary at Cambridge in 1618 and his "very entire friend," is to be connected with this gentleman.

estate," had studied at Emanuel College, Cambridge. William Vassall was an opulent West-India proprietor. "The principal planters of Massachusetts," says the prejudiced Chalmers, "were English country gentlemen of no inconsiderable fortunes; of enlarged understandings, improved by liberal education; of extensive ambition, concealed under the appearance of religious humility." [1]

Position and character of its members.

But it is not alone from what we know of the position, character, and objects of those few members of the Massachusetts Company who were proposing to emigrate at the early period now under our notice, that we are to estimate the power and the purposes of that important corporation. It had been rapidly brought into the form which it now bore, by the political exigencies of the age. Its members had no less in hand than a wide religious and political reform, — whether to be carried out in New England, or in Old England, or in both, it was for circumstances, as they should unfold themselves, to determine. The leading emigrants to Massachusetts were of that brotherhood of men who, by force of social consideration as well as of intelligence and resolute patriotism, moulded the public opinion and action of England in the first half of the seventeenth century. While the larger part stayed at home to found, as it proved, the short-lived English republic, and to introduce elements into the English Constitution which had to wait another half-century for their secure reception, another part devoted themselves at once to the erection of free institutions in this distant wilderness.

In an important sense, the associates of the Massachusetts Company were builders of the British, as well as of the New-England Commonwealth. Some ten or twelve of them, including Cradock, the Governor, served in the Long Parliament. Of the four commoners of that Parliament distinguished by Lord Clarendon as first in influence,

[1] History of the Revolt of the American Colonies, I. 58.

Vane had been Governor of the Company, and Hampden, Pym, and Fiennes, (all patentees of Connecticut,) if not members, were constantly consulted upon its affairs. The latter statement is also true of the Earl of Warwick, the Parliament's Admiral, and of those excellent persons, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, both of whom at one time proposed to emigrate. The Company's meetings placed Winthrop and his colleagues in relations with numerous persons destined to act busy parts in the stirring times that were approaching; — with Brereton and Hewson, afterwards two of the Parliamentary Major-Generals; with Philip Nye, who helped Sir Henry Vane to "cozen" the Scottish Presbyterian Commissioners in the phraseology of the Solemn League and Covenant;[1] with Samuel Vassall, whose name shares with those of Hampden and Lord Say and Sele the renown of the refusal to pay ship-money, and of courting the suit which might ruin them or emancipate England; with John Venn, who, at the head of six thousand citizens, beset the House of Lords during the trial of Lord Strafford, and whom, with three other Londoners, King Charles, after the battle of Edgehill, excluded from his offer of pardon; with Owen Rowe, the "firebrand of the city"; with Thomas Andrews, the Lord Mayor who proclaimed the abolition of royalty. Sir John Young, named second in the original grant from the Council for New England, as well as in the charter from King Charles, sat in Cromwell's second and third Parliaments. Others of the Company, as Vane and Adams, incurred the Protector's displeasure by too uncomplying principles. Six or seven were members of the High Court of Justice for the king's trial, on which occasion they gave a divided vote. Four were members of the Committee of Religion, the most important committee of Parliament; and one, the Counsellor John White, was its Chairman.[2]

[1] Rushworth, Historical Collections, V. 466, 467. — Clarendon, History of the Rebellion, II. 232, 292.

[2] In the third volume of Archæologia Americana (xlvii. *et seq.*) the learned Secretary of the American

A question has been raised, whether the Company had a right, and was legally competent, to convey the charter across the ocean, and execute on a foreign soil the powers conferred by it. Certain it is that no such proceeding is forbidden by the letter of the instrument; and a not disingenuous casuistry might inquire, If the business of the Company may be lawfully transacted in a western harbor of Great Britain, why not under the king's flag in a ship at sea, or on the opposite shore? It cannot be maintained that such a disposition of a colonial charter would be contrary to the permanent policy of England; for other colonial charters, earlier and later, were granted, — Sir William Alexander's, William Penn's, Lord Baltimore's, those of Rhode Island and Connecticut, — to be kept and executed without the realm.

Right of the Company to convey its charter to America.

As to the purpose of the grantor, those were not times for such men as the Massachusetts patentees to ask what the king wished or expected, but rather how much of freedom could be maintained against him by the letter of the law or by other righteous means; and no principle of jurisprudence is better settled, than that a grant is to be interpreted favorably to the grantees, inasmuch as the grantor, being able to protect himself, is to be presumed to have done so to the extent of his purpose.[1] The eminent Puritan counsellor, John White, the legal adviser of the Company in all stages of this important proceeding, instructed them that they could legally use the charter in this manner. Very probably it had been drawn by his own hand, in the form in which it passed the seals, with

Antiquarian Society, Mr. Haven, has presented a body of most curious information, from which I have borrowed above, in respect to the early freemen of the Company. His catalogue exhibits 110 names. He says (Ibid., cxxi.) that it "contains, doubtless, the greater proportion of members, and all who were at all prominent or influential."

[1] This is the general doctrine of the common law. There is an exception for royal grants. (Plowden, 243.) But to exclude this exception, it is sometimes provided that grants shall be construed "most favorably on the behalf" of the grantees; and this provision is made in the charter of the Massachusetts Company. (Hazard, I. 255.)

a care to have it free from any phraseology which might interfere with this disposition of it. Certainly Winthrop and his coadjutors may be pardoned for believing that it was legally subject to the use to which they put it, since such was the opinion of the crown lawyers themselves, when, in the second following generation, the question became important. In the very heat of the persecution which at length broke down the charter, the Chief Justices, Rainsford and North, spoke of it as "making the Adventurers a corporation upon the place," and Sawyer, Attorney-General in the next reign, expressed the same opinion; — "The patent having created the grantees and their assigns a body corporate, they might transfer their charter, and act in New England." [1]

[1] Chalmers, Annals, 173. — In treating this subject, Grahame (History of the Rise and Progress of the United States, I. 259) says: "An English corporation, *appointed by its charter to reside in London*, resolved itself, by its own act, into an American corporation, and transferred its residence to Massachusetts." On the contrary, the absence from the charter of any limitation of residence appears to me to be one of the important points in the case. The Council for New England, chartered to hold and govern territory there, had been constituted "one body politic and corporate," "in our town of Plymouth, in the county of Devon." (See Hazard, I. 107.) The Massachusetts Company had not been "appointed by its charter to reside" anywhere.

And if this omission seems significant, there is express language which appears not less so. The charter empowers the Company and their assigns, not to "*send*, carry, and transport," but, "out of any our realms and dominions whatsoever, to *take*, *lead*, carry, and transport, for and into their voyages, and for and towards the said plantation in New England, all such and so many of our loving subjects, or any other, strangers, that will become our loving subjects and live under our allegiance, as shall willingly *accompany* them in the same voyages and plantation." (Ibid., 111, 112.) Edward Johnson, who was one of the emigrants of 1630, says (Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour, Chap. VII.): "It was thought meet a pattern [patent] should be procured, comprised after the manner of a corporation company or brotherhood, with as large liberty for government of this association as could be got under the broad seal of England, which accordingly was done by advice of one Mr. White, an honest counsellor at law, as also further by the honored Mr. Richard Bellingham." Both of these gentlemen were deeply interested in the movement. The former was the counsellor who has been mentioned as having been consulted upon the interpretation of the instrument; the latter was afterwards Governor of the Company and the Colony. Whether Johnson had been correctly informed or not, I incline strongly to the opinion that the charter was drawn by some one who had its ultimate transfer to America in

Public-spirited and comprehensive design of the movement.

He who well weighs the facts which have been presented in connection with the principal emigration to Massachusetts, and other related facts which will offer themselves to notice as we proceed, may find himself conducted to the conclusion, that, when Winthrop and his associates prepared to convey across the water a charter from the king, which, they hoped, would in their beginnings afford them some protection both from himself and through him from the powers of Continental Europe, they had conceived a project no less important than that of laying, on this side of the Atlantic, the foundations of a nation of Puritan Englishmen, foundations to be built upon as future circumstances should decide or allow. It would not perhaps be pressing the point too far to say, that, in view of the thick clouds that were gathering over their home, they contemplated the possibility that the time was near at hand when all that was best of what they left behind would follow them to these shores; when a renovated England, secure in freedom and pure in religion, would rise in North America; when a Transatlantic English empire would fulfil, in its beneficent order, the dreams of English patriots and sages of earlier times.[1]

If such were the aims of the members of the Massachusetts Company, it follows that commercial operations were a merely incidental object of their association. And, in fact, it does not appear that, as a corporation, they ever

view, and that the project of that transfer was no afterthought, as it has been considered. It is worthy of remark, that Johnson's omission, as well as White's (see above, p. 290), to notice the patent obtained from the Council for New England, confirms the idea that the obtaining of that patent was only a subordinate transition step towards the royal charter which had been already in contemplation.

[1] Few things worth notice escaped the discernment of Burke. "This colony received its principal assistance from the discontent of several great men of the Puritan party, who were its protectors, and who entertained a design of settling amongst them in New England, if they should fail in the measures they were pursuing for establishing the liberty and reforming the religion of their mother country." (Account of the European Settlements in America, II. 145.)

held for distribution any property except their land; or that they ever intended to make sales of their land in order to a division of the profits among the individual freemen; or that a freeman, by virtue of the franchise, could claim a parcel of land even for his own occupation;[1] or that any money was ever paid for admission into the Company, as would necessarily have been done, if any pecuniary benefit was attached to membership. Several freemen of the Company — among others, the three who were first named in the charter,[2] as well as in the patent from the Council for New England — appear to have never so much as attended a meeting. They were men of property and public spirit, who, without intending themselves to leave their homes, gave their influence and their money to encourage such as were disposed to go out and establish religion and freedom in a new country.

The Company had no *stock*, in the sense in which that word is used in speaking of money corporations. What money was needed to procure the charter, to conduct the business under it, and carry out the scheme of colonization, was obtained neither by the sale of negotiable securities, nor by assessment, but by voluntary contributions from individuals of the Company, and possibly from others, in such sums as suited the contributors respectively.

[1] John and Samuel Browne were freemen of the Company, named as such in the charter; but when they were "proposing to take their passage in the Company's ships for New England," where they were to be Counsellors, it was "agreed by those present that for their passage and diet they should pay five pounds each, and that for their encouragement land should be allotted to them there, as if they had subscribed fifty pounds in the general stock." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 34.)

[2] Of Roswell, Young, and Southcote, Hutchinson says (History, I. 16): "It is very likely the three persons first named in this grant had nothing more in view by the purchase than a settlement for trade with the natives, or for fishing, or for other advantageous purposes. As soon as a colony for religion was projected, we hear no more of them." The fact is, we never hear of them *till* a colony for religion was projected, and then we hear of them at the head of the movement in its first two important public stages.

These contributions made up what is called in the records the *Joint Stock*, designed to be used in providing vessels and stores for the transportation of settlers. It is true that these contributors, called *Adventurers*, had more or less expectation of being remunerated for their outlay; and for this purpose two hundred acres of land within the limits of the patent were pledged to them for every fifty pounds subscribed,[1] in addition to a proportional share of the trade which the government of the Company was expecting to carry on. But a share of the profits of trade, as of the land, was to be theirs, not because they were freemen, but because they were contributors, which many of the freemen were not, and perhaps others besides freemen were.[2]

Arrangement of financial affairs.

When the transfer of the charter and of the government to America had been resolved upon, it was agreed, that at the end of seven years a division of the profits of a proposed trade in fish, furs, and other articles should be made among the Adventurers agreeably to these principles; and the management of the business was committed to a board consisting of five persons who expected to emigrate, and five who were to remain in England. But this part of the engagement appears to have been lost sight of; at least never to have been executed. It is likely that the commercial speculation was soon perceived to be unpromising; and the outlay had been distributed in such proportions, that the loss was

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 42, 43.

[2] In respect both to object and to methods, there is a resemblance, rendering them mutually illustrative, between the Company of Massachusetts Bay and the Kansas Aid Society, separated from each other in time by two centuries and a quarter. The latter society, as well as the former, had a conditional arrangement for reimbursing the contributors to its funds. But the only effectual motive for contributions was a public one. For years after the establishment of the colony in Massachusetts, it continued to be benefited by the bounty of its English patrons. (Winthrop, II. 342.) And as this must have been principally bestowed by the friends of the Assistants and other leading men, it must have operated as a means of sustaining their influence in the internal administration.

not burdensome in any quarter. The richer partners submitted to it silently, from public spirit; the poorer, as a less evil than that of a further expense and risk of time and money.[1]

From the ship Arbella,[2] lying in the port of Yarmouth, the Governor and several of his companions took leave of

[1] Appropriations of land in the plantation, on the principle which has been explained, were made, not only to resident contributors, but equally to non-residents, the lands to be occupied by their servants; as at Malden, Ipswich, and Marblehead to Cradock, who never came over, and at Watertown to Sir Richard Saltonstall, who stayed but a year. The question of a method of reimbursement to the contributors was frequently under deliberation during the last five or six months before the departure of the expedition. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 54–67.) A reduced valuation of claims was agreed to, and the scheme, as finally matured, authorized the ten Trustees to accumulate funds for their redemption, at the expiration of seven years, from half the trade in furs, and from monopolies of the manufacture of salt, of the transportation of passengers and freight, and of the providing of magazines for storage. On the other hand, the Adventurers so privileged were to be charged with half the expense of churches and ministers, and of fortifications and other public works. These were mutual liabilities, which probably, after a little experience, it was thought to be for the interest of both parties to release. An indication of a tendency towards this conclusion appears in a vote of a court of the Company, held December 1st: "That if those that intend to inhabit upon the plantation shall, before the first of January next, take upon them all the said engagements and other charges of the joint stock, then the power and privileges of the undertakers to determine, and all the trade, &c., to be free." (Ibid., 55, 56, 59, 62–66.) Samuel Aldersey was chosen, December 1st, to be Treasurer of the Trustees. (Ibid., 65, 69.) But we hear nothing of him after the embarkation. In February, 1630, a few weeks before Winthrop sailed, another appeal to benevolence was made. "It was propounded that a 'common stock' [so to be called in distinction from the "joint stock"] should be raised from such as bear good affection to the plantation and the propagation thereof, and the same to be employed only in defrayment of public charges, as maintenance of ministers, transportation of poor families, building of churches and fortifications, and all other public and necessary occasions of the plantation." (Ibid., 68.) Of this fund George Harwood was chosen Treasurer. The contributors to it were to look for their reimbursement to the fixed allowance of two hundred acres of land for every fifty pounds, and were to have no interest with the previous *Adventurers* in the profits of the trade. In 1634 (Ibid., 128) and 1638 (Ibid., 238) the General Court called on Harwood for his account. In 1635, the Colony paid Cradock fifty-five pounds (Ibid., 165), and in 1647 (Ibid., II. 226) his executrix made a claim for six hundred and eighty pounds.

[2] Formerly *The Eagle*. She was of three hundred and fifty tons' burden, carried twenty-eight guns, and was navigated by fifty men. She had been bought by the Company, and received her new name in compliment to Lady Arbella (wife of Isaac) Johnson.

their native country by an address, which they entitled "The Humble Request of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects, the Governor and the Company late gone for New England, to the Rest of their Brethren in and of the Church of England." They asked a favorable construction of their enterprise, and good wishes and prayers for its success. With a tenacious affection which the hour of parting made more tender, they said: "We esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother,[1] and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes. . . . . Wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably, befall us, and so commending you to the grace of God in Christ, we shall ever rest your assured friends and brethren." The address is said to have been drawn up by Mr. White of Dorchester.

Departure of Winthrop's company. 1630. April 7.

Their "Humble Request."

The incidents of the voyage are minutely related in a journal begun by the Governor on shipboard off the Isle of Wight. Preaching and catechizing, fasting and thanksgiving, were duly observed. A record of the writer's meditations on the great design which occupied his mind while he passed into a new world and a new order of human affairs, would have been a document of the profoundest interest for posterity. But the diary contains nothing of that description. On the

March 29.

Their voyage.

[1] This profession of attachment to the Church of England has been construed as a profession of attachment to its government and ritual. But what the government and ritual would ultimately be, was then uncertain, and neither one nor the other was the Church, nor were both. The question upon their forms was then in agitation in England, as well as in Scotland. As to Scotland, it was ultimately determined in one way; as to England, in another.

voyage Winthrop composed a little treatise, which he called "A Model of Christian Charity." It breathes the noblest spirit of philanthropy. The reader's mind kindles as it enters into the train of thought in which the author referred to "the work we have in hand. It is," he said, "by a mutual consent, through a special overruling Providence, and a more than an ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship *under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical.*"[1] The forms and institutions under which liberty, civil and religious, is consolidated and assured, were floating vaguely in the musings of that hour.

The Arbella arrived at Salem after a passage of nine weeks, and was joined in a few days by three vessels which had sailed in her company. The Assistants, Ludlow and Rossiter, with a party from the west country, had landed at Nantasket a fortnight before, and some of the Leyden people, on their way to Plymouth, had reached Salem a little earlier yet. Seven vessels from Southampton made their voyage three or four weeks later. Seventeen in the whole came before winter, bringing about a thousand passengers.[2] June 12. Their arrival.

It is desirable to understand how this population, destined to be the germ of a state, was constituted. Of members of the Massachusetts Company, it cannot be ascertained that so many as twenty had come over. That

[1] Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVII. 45.

[2] For the common reckoning of *fifteen hundred* I suppose there is no earlier or better authority than the Charlestown Records, compiled in 1664. Winthrop, in a letter to his wife from Cowes, says (Winthrop, I. 368): "We are, in all our eleven ships, about seven hundred persons, passengers, and two hundred and forty cows, and about sixty horses. The ship which went from Plymouth [Ludlow's, the Mary and John] carried about one hundred and forty persons, and the ship which goes from Bristowe carrieth about eighty persons." These eighty persons, however, were destined for Plymouth, leaving eight hundred and forty for the number of emigrants to Massachusetts Bay; and the four other vessels of the seventeen did not so much convey passengers as stores and goods for trading

Company, as has been explained, was one formed mainly for the furtherance, not of any private interests, but of a great public object. As a corporation, it had obtained the ownership of a large American territory, on which it designed to place a colony which should be a refuge for civil and religious freedom. By combined counsels, it had arranged the method of ordering a settlement, and the liberality of its members had provided the means of transporting those who should compose it. This done, the greater portion were content to remain, and await the course of events at home, while a few of their number embarked to attend to the providing of the asylum which very soon might be needed by them all. It may be safely concluded that most of the persons who accompanied the emigrant members of the Company to New England, sympathized with them in their object. It may be inferred from the common expenditures which were soon incurred, that considerable sums of money were brought over. And almost all the settlers may be presumed to have belonged to one or another of the four following classes: — 1. Those who paid for their passage, and who were accordingly entitled on their arrival to a grant of as much land as if they had subscribed fifty pounds to the "common stock" of the Company;[1] 2. Those who, for their exercise of some profession, art, or trade, were to receive specified remuneration from the Company in money or land;[2] 3. Those who paid a portion of their expenses, and, after making up the

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 34, 35. This liberality, however, was perhaps peculiar to the case of individuals, whom it was thought desirable to tempt to make the voyage. The allowance of land afterwards set against passage-money was only fifty acres instead of two hundred. Compare Archæol. Amer., III. 28. — Of the emigration which "followed Governor Winthrop from his own county," that learned English antiquary, the Reverend Mr. Hunter, says (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXX. 171) that it "consisted very much of persons who, though not of the very first rank, were yet men of substance and good alliances, ... will-making families, families high in the subsidy-books, while some of them, as the Winthrops, were among the principal gentry of the county."

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 29, 30, 37.

rest by labor at the rate of three shillings a day, were to receive fifty acres of land;[1] 4. Indented servants, for whose conveyance their masters were to be remunerated at the rate of fifty acres of land for each.[2] All Englishmen were eligible to the franchise of the Massachusetts Company; but, until elected by a vote of the existing freemen, no one had any share in the government of the plantation, or in the selection of its governors.

The reception of the new-comers was discouraging. More than a quarter part of their predecessors at Salem had died during the previous winter, and many of the survivors were ill or feeble. The faithful Higginson was wasting with a hectic fever, which soon proved fatal. There was a scarcity of all sorts of provisions, and not corn enough for a fortnight's supply after the arrival of the fleet. "The remainder of a hundred and eighty servants," who, in the two preceding years, had been conveyed over at a heavy cost, were discharged from their indentures, to escape the expense of their maintenance. Sickness soon began to spread, and, before the close of autumn, had proved fatal to two hundred of this year's emigration.[3] Death aimed at the "shining mark" he is said to love. Lady Arbella Johnson, coming "from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble earldom, into a wilderness of wants,"[4] survived her arrival only a month; and her husband, singularly esteemed and beloved by the colonists, died of grief a few weeks after. "He was a holy man and wise, and died in sweet peace."[5]

Sickness and want.

Aug. 6.

Sept. 30.

Giving less than a week to repose and investigations at Salem, Winthrop proceeded with a party in quest of some more attractive place of settlement. He traced the Mys-

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 35.
[2] Archæol. Amer., III. 28.
[3] Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln.
[4] Hubbard, 133.
[5] Winthrop, I. 34.

Examination of the country.

tic River a few miles up from its mouth, and, after a three days' exploration, returned to Salem to keep the Sabbath. When ten or eleven vessels had arrived, a day of public thanksgiving was observed in acknowledgment of the Divine goodness which had so far prospered the enterprise.

June 17.

July 8.

After a sufficient pause for deliberation and conference concerning the forms of organization of the new society, the subject of an ecclesiastical settlement was the first matter to receive attention. On a day solemnized with prayer and fasting, the Reverend Mr. Wilson, after the manner of proceeding in the year before at Salem, entered into a church covenant with Winthrop, Dudley, and Johnson.[1] Two days after, on Sunday, they associated with them three of the Assistants, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Sharpe, and Mr. Bradstreet, and two other persons, Mr. Gager and Mr. Colburn.[2] Others were presently added; and the church, so constituted, elected Mr. Wilson to be its teacher, and ordained him to that charge at Mishawum. At the same time, Mr. Nowell was chosen to be ruling elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall to be deacons. From the promptness of these measures, it is natural to infer that they had been the subject of consideration and concert before the landing.[3]

Ecclesiastical settlement.

July 30.

Aug. 27.

[1] For this Covenant, see Drake's History of Boston, 93, or Emerson's Historical Sketch of the First Church, 11.

[2] Letter of Fuller and Winslow to Bradford, in Bradford, 277–279.

[3] Before Phillips, presently minister of Watertown, had been on shore a fortnight, he told Fuller that, "if they would have him stand minister by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he would leave them." (Fuller's Letter to Bradford, June 28, in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 74.) Yet Phillips had been one of the signers of the "Humble Request." (See above, p. 312.) Fuller wrote: "We have some privy enemies in the Bay; but, blessed be God, more friends. The Governor hath had conference with me, both in private, and before sundry others. Opposers there is not wanting, and Satan is busy; but, if the Lord be for us, who can be against us? The Governor hath told me he hoped we will not be wanting in helping them, so that I think you will be sent for. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, a Boston man, who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them. Captain Endicott, my dear friend and a friend to us all, is a second Bar-

But there was some lingering scruple respecting the innovation on accustomed forms; and either for the general satisfaction, or to appease some doubters, "the imposition of hands" was accompanied with "this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation." [1]

In the choice of a capital town, attention was turned to Mishawum, already called Charlestown. Here, ten weeks after the landing, the first Court of Assistants on this side of the water was convened.[2] The Assistants present were Saltonstall, Ludlow, Rossiter, Nowell, Sharpe, Pynchon, and Bradstreet. Three others were in the country; Johnson, Endicott, and Coddington. The question first considered was that of provision for the ministers. It was "ordered that houses be built for them with convenient speed at the public charge. Sir Richard Saltonstall undertook to see it done at his plantation [Watertown] for Mr. Phillips, and the Governor at the other plantation for Mr. Wilson." Allowances of thirty pounds a year to each of these gentlemen were to be made at the common charge of the settlements, "those of Mattapan and Salem exempted," as being already provided with a ministry.[3] Provision was also

Courts of Assistants. Aug. 23.

row." All this evidently expresses Fuller's solicitude respecting the pending question of the ecclesiastical constitution of the new colony. Fuller, as has been related, had secured Endicott's sympathy and concurrence in the preceding year

[1] Winthrop, I. 31 – 33.

[2] Johnson (Wonder-Working Providence, Chap. XVII.) says that the Court was holden on board of the Arbella, and that it chose Winthrop and Dudley to be respectively Governor and Deputy-Governor The former statement may be correct, but scarcely the latter. Winthrop and Dudley had been already chosen in England for the year. The public records say nothing of an election, which in such a matter may be considered decisive. Besides, this was only a Court of Assistants, and the Assistants had no power of such election by the charter, nor, as yet, by any order of the Company, though an order to that effect was made soon after. That learned antiquary, Mr. Drake, (History of Boston, 94,) argues very ingeniously in defence of Johnson's statement, but I cannot come to his conclusion.

[3] Rossiter and Ludlow, who, "with many godly families and people from Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire," had set sail from Plymouth two or three weeks before Winthrop, in a vessel of four hundred tons, were accompanied by two ministers, Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick. The proceedings in respect to these gentlemen are

made for Mr. Gager as engineer and Mr. Penn as beadle. It was ordained "that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawers, and thatchers should not take above two shillings a day, nor any man should give more, under pain of ten shillings to taker and giver"; and "sawers" were restricted as to the price they might take for boards. The use or removal of boats or canoes, without the owner's leave, was prohibited, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Saltonstall, Johnson, Endicott, and Ludlow were appointed to be Justices of the Peace, besides the Governor and Deputy-Governor, who were always to have that trust by virtue of their higher office. And "it was ordered that Morton, of Mount Woolison, should presently be sent for by process."[1] Morton had lately been brought back to Plymouth by Allerton (who incurred much censure on that account),[2] and, repairing to Mount Wollaston, had resumed his old courses.

August.

A recital of the action of the Board of Assistants at their first meetings on this continent will explain the early exigencies of their administration, and the view entertained by them of their duties and powers. At a second Court, held at Charlestown, the following business

remarkable, exhibiting no less than the adoption by Massachusetts emigrants, before leaving England, of the congregational model of church government, and that too with the countenance of Mr. White of Dorchester, who for this occasion seems to have set light by his relation to the Established Church. "These godly people resolved to live together; and therefore, as they had made choice of those two reverend servants of God, Mr. John Warham and Mr. John Maverick to be their ministers, so they kept a solemn day of fasting in the new hospital at Plymouth in England, spending it in preaching and praying; where that worthy man of God, the Reverend Mr. John White of Dorchester, in Dorset, was present, and preached the word of God in the fore part of the day; and in the latter part of the day, as the people did solemnly make choice of and call those godly ministers to be their officers, so also the Reverend Mr. Warham, a famous preacher at Exeter, and Mr. Maverick did express the same." Clap, who records this transaction (Memoirs of Captain Roger Clap, 21), appears to represent himself as an eyewitness to it. — Prince (Chron. Hist., 200), on the authority of a manuscript letter, says that Warham and Maverick were "at the same time ordained." — Rossiter's company, having landed at Nantasket (May 30), first proceeded to the site of Watertown, and then to that of Dorchester (Mattapan), where they concluded to fix themselves.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 73, 74.

[2] Bradford, 252, 253.

was transacted. It was agreed "that every third Tuesday there should be a Court of Assistants held at the Governor's house." It was "ordered that Thomas Morton of Mount Wollaston should presently be set into the bilboes, and after sent prisoner to England by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; that all his goods should be seized upon to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he unjustly took away from them; and that his house should be burned down to the ground, in sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for many wrongs he hath done them from time to time." Mr. Clarke was directed to pay to John Baker the sum of thirty-eight shillings, for cheating him in a sale of cloth. A stipend was granted to Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill, as military instructors and officers. The names of Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown were assigned to the places which still bear them. And it was ordered that no plantation should be made within the limits of the patent, without permission from a majority of the board of Governor and Assistants, and that "a warrant should presently be sent to Agawam [Ipswich], to command those that are planted there forthwith to come away."[1] Sept. 7.

At a third Court, also held at Charlestown, regulations

[1] The friends of the colonists at home were meanwhile exerting themselves successfully in their behalf. 1630, September 29, the Lords of the Privy Council received a petition from the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, praying, — 1. leave to transport provisions (which was granted); 2. a stopping of the disorderly trade of fishermen and other interlopers, by enforcement of the proclamation of the twentieth year of James, November 6, "with some other needful and beneficent additions, which might tend to the safety and prosperity of the said plantation. The Board, being always ready to give their best assistance to works of this kind, which aim at the propagation of the Christian religion, the honor of his Majesty, and increase of trade, thought fit, and ordered, that his Majesty's Attorney-General shall be prayed and required to call unto him the Governor or such Assistants of the said Company *as are here in England*, and, upon conference with them, to insert them into a draft of a proclamation, and prepare a bill fit for his Majesty's signature." (Journal of the Privy Council.) Secretary Coke was present at the meeting.

were enacted against allowing the Indians the use of fire-
Sept. 28. arms, and against parting with corn to them, or sending it out of the jurisdiction, without a license. Constables were appointed for Salem and Dorchester. The wages of common laborers were fixed at sixpence a day, and those of mechanics who were employed in building at sixteen pence, in addition to "meat and drink." Order was given for the seizure of "Richard Clough's strong water, for his selling great quantity thereof to several men's servants, which was the occasion of much disorder, drunkenness, and misdemeanor." The execution of a contract between certain parties for the keeping of cattle, was defined and enforced. Sir Richard Saltonstall was fined four bushels of malt for absenting himself from the meeting. Thomas Gray, for "divers things objected against him," was ordered "to remove himself out of the limits of this patent before the end of March next." "For the felony committed by him, whereof he was convicted by his own confession," John Goulburn, as principal, and three other persons, as accessaries, were sentenced "to be whipped, and afterwards set in the stocks." Servants, "either man or maid," were forbidden to "give, sell, or truck any commodity whatsoever, without license from their master, during the time of their service." An allowance was made to Captains Underhill and Patrick for quarters and rations; and, for their maintenance, a rate of fifty pounds was levied, of which sum Boston and Watertown were assessed eleven pounds each, Charlestown and Dorchester seven pounds each, Roxbury five pounds, and Salem and Mystic each only three pounds, — a sort of indication of the estimated wealth of those settlements respectively.

The public business proceeded at the next two Courts after the same manner. A restriction, which it seems had
Nov. 9. existed under Endicott's administration, on the price of beaver, was removed. A bounty was of-

fered for the killing of wolves, to be paid by the owners of domestic animals in sums proportioned to the amount of their stock. Encouragement was given, by a legal rate of toll, to the setting up of a ferry between Charlestown and Boston. A servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall was sentenced to "be whipped for his misdemeanor towards his master"; and bonds were taken for good behavior in a case of "strong suspicion of incontinency." Sir Richard Saltonstall was fined five pounds for whipping two persons without the presence of another Assistant. A man was ordered to be whipped for fowling on the Sabbath-day; another for stealing a loaf of bread; and another for breaking an engagement to pilot a vessel, with the privilege, however, of buying off the punishment with forty shillings. The employers of one Knapp, who was indebted to Sir Richard Saltonstall, and of his son, were directed to apply half of their wages to the discharge of the debt. An assessment of sixty pounds was laid on six settlements for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips, of which sum Boston and Watertown were to pay twenty pounds each, and Charlestown half as much; and Roxbury, Mystic, and Winnisimmet were charged with six pounds, three pounds, and one pound respectively.[1]

Nov. 30.

An epidemic sickness at Charlestown was ascribed to the want of good water.[2] An ample supply of it being found in Boston, a portion of the people removed to that peninsula;[3] and there, for the first time after their arrival on this continent, was held one of those quarterly General Courts of the Company of

General Court in Boston. Oct. 19.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 75 – 78, 81, 82.

[2] "Almost in every family lamentation, mourning, and woe was heard, and no fresh food to be had to cherish them. It would assuredly have moved the most locked-up affections to tears, no doubt, had they passed from one hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in. And that which added to their present distress was the want of fresh water." (Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence, Chap. XVII.)

[3] Blaxton is said to have invited them across the channel. He had probably come to Boston Bay with Robert Gorges in 1623. (See above, p. 206.)

Massachusetts Bay, which were prescribed in a provision of the charter.

A hundred and eighteen persons, including several of the earlier planters, gave notice at this Court of their desire to be admitted to the freedom of the Company. Perhaps it was in anticipation of the doubtful result of such an irruption of strangers, that a rule was adopted, materially differing from that of the charter, for the choice of the highest magistrates, the enacting of laws, and the appointment of ministerial officers. The Company delegated important attributes of their power to the Assistants. It was ordered that Assistants only, "when there are to be chosen," should in future be chosen by the Company at large; and that the Assistants, with a Governor and Deputy-Governor, to be elected by them from their own number, "should have the power of making laws and choosing officers to execute the same." The arrangement soon proved to be out of harmony with the spirit of the time and the place. It is not difficult to understand why it was speedily abandoned; but neither is its adoption under the circumstances matter of surprise. By the time the emigrants had been four months on shore, the vastness of their enterprise must have begun to reveal to them its difficulties, and to be contemplated with profound solicitude. It had become evident that occasions were to arise, such as would call for great experience, capacity, and firmness in the government. It was not unnatural that the less qualified of the Company should shrink from such a trust, and should be inclined to repose it in such of their number as were esteemed the most competent, as well as that they should desire to obtain a degree of security against persons about to become their associates. But while considerations like these may have conciliated to the measure the approbation of disinterested men, whether possessing or not possessing the franchise, a further explanation of what took

Adoption of new rules for election and legislation.

place may be thought to present itself in the fact, that, in this general meeting which reposed such trust in the Magistrates, the eight Magistrates who were present perhaps constituted the majority of legal voters,[1] though it seems that on so important an occasion they thought it expedient to seek the concurrence of others who might presently be admitted to the Company, and the measure "was fully assented unto by the general vote of the people, and erection of hands."[2]

Settlements about Boston Bay.

The plantations through which the Massachusetts settlers were scattered were now eight in number; namely, Salem, Charlestown, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown, Roxbury (where Mr. Pynchon, one of the Assistants, had sat down with a party), Mystic (assigned to Mr. Cradock, and occupied for him by some

[1] Johnson and Higginson were now dead, and Vassall, Bright, Revell, and Thomas Sharpe had returned to England. So that, besides the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants, I think it cannot be positively shown that, in October, 1630, there was in Massachusetts a single freeman of the Company, except John Glover of Dorchester, who, from his having been a Deputy in the General Court, without being made a freeman on this side of the water, and from his subscription to the stock in May, 1628 (Felt, Annals of Salem, 509), may be concluded to have possessed the franchise before he emigrated. Samuel Sharpe of Salem, Abraham Palmer of Charlestown, William Colburn of Boston, and the ministers, Skelton and Phillips, had been variously connected with the Company in England; but it seems that they had not actually obtained its franchise there, since we find them to have applied for it in Massachusetts in October, 1630, (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 79, 80,) and to have received it accordingly, — Sharpe in July, 1632, the rest in May, 1631. (Ibid., 366, 367.) When Sharpe was chosen an Assistant in England, in October, 1629, (Ibid., 60,) it must have been only in anticipation of his becoming a freeman. And we read that, in February, 1630, "Mr. Roger Ludlow was chosen and sworn an Assistant in the room of Mr. Samuel Sharpe, who, by reason of his absence, had not taken the oath." (Ibid., 69.) He, as well as Palmer and Skelton, came over with Higginson almost immediately after the charter was in the Company's hands, and probably before arrangements were made for the admission of new associates. Phillips first appears in the records of the Company when the Arbella was off the Isle of Wight, ready to sail. Colburn signed the "Agreement at Cambridge," but his name does not otherwise occur in connection with the Company's doings in England, unless (which is altogether uncertain) he was the "Mr. Colbrand" who was present at two meetings in August, 1629. (Ibid., 50.)

[2] Ibid., 79.

servants), and Saugus (Lynn), to which place some emigrants of the last year had probably strayed from Salem.[1] Before winter, the Governor and several of the principal persons had erected and occupied some rude temporary habitations on the peninsula of Boston. A fortification was projected, and the narrow isthmus which connects Boston with Roxbury was fixed on for its site; but before anything was done further than to collect some materials, the spot which is now Old Cambridge was preferred, and the Governor and all but two of the Assistants engaged together to build houses there in the following year.[2]

Dec. 6.

Dec. 28.

With the wretched shelter which was all that most of the recent emigrants had been able to provide, the winter, from the last week in December, when the cold set in, to the middle of February, proved grievously severe. Many died of the scurvy, which disease, Winthrop thought, especially affected "such as fell into discontent, and hankered after their former conditions in England."[3] Suffering from want of food was added to the distresses of the time. Shell-fish had to serve for meat; ground-nuts and acorns for bread. It was a welcome relief when a vessel sent to the southern side of Cape Cod procured a hundred bushels of corn. The scarcity of bread-stuffs in England was such, that for every bushel of imported flour, when it was to be had, the colonists had paid fourteen shillings sterling. A fast had been appointed to be kept throughout the settlements, to implore Divine succor. The day

Sickness and famine.

November.

1631. Feb. 5.

[1] Lewis, History of Lynn, pp. 60, 61.

[2] Dudley, Letter to the Countess of Lincoln. They had, he says, before thought of a place "three leagues up Charles River." This would correspond to what is now Waltham or Weston, and I think it very likely to have been near the mouth of Stony Brook, which divides those two towns. It has been understood to be what is now Old Cambridge or Watertown; but this could not be, for Dudley says that the reason of their sitting down at Watertown and other near places was that they were too much disabled by sickness to carry their "ordnance and baggage so far" as "three leagues up Charles River."

[3] Winthrop, I. 45.

before that which was to be thus solemnized, a vessel arrived from England with supplies, and a public thanksgiving was substituted.[1] Feb. 22.

For three months, there is no record of Courts of Assistants after those whose proceedings have been related. They were probably suspended because of the cold weather. When resumed, they were generally held with regular intervals of three weeks, their business being that of adjudicating as well as legislating upon matters of organization, criminal and civil jurisprudence, probate, and police. An order was passed for reshipping to England six persons, of whose offence nothing more is recorded than that they were "persons unmeet to inhabit here," and for sending Sir Christopher Gardiner and Mr. Wright "prisoners into England by the ship Lion, now returning thither." The constable of Dorchester was fined five pounds "for taking

Renewal of Courts of Assistants.

March 1.

[1] Mather says (Magnalia, Book II. Chap. IV. § 6) that, when this vessel appeared, the Governor "was distributing the last handful of the meal in the barrel unto a poor man distressed by the wolf at the door." Contemporary relations are more to the purpose, as those of Clap and Johnson, who came with Winthrop's fleet. "O the hunger that many suffered!" writes Clap (Memoirs, p. 14), "and saw no hope in an eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams, and mussels, and fish." "In the absence of bread," says Johnson, "they feasted themselves with fish; the women once a day, as the tide gave way, resorted to the mussels, and clam-banks, which are a fish as big as horse-mussels, where they daily gathered their families food with much heavenly discourse of the provisions Christ had formerly made for many thousands of his followers in the wilderness. Quoth one, 'My husband hath travelled as far as Plymouth,' (which is near forty miles,) 'and hath with great toil brought a little corn home with him, and before that is spent, the Lord will assuredly provide.' Quoth the other, 'Our last peck of meal is now in the oven at home a-baking, and many of our godly neighbors have quite spent all, and we owe one loaf of that little we have.' Then spake a third, 'My husband hath ventured himself among the Indians for corn, and can get none, as also our honored Governor hath distributed his so far, that a day or two more will put an end to his store, and all the rest; and yet methinks our children are as cheerful, fat, and lusty with feeding upon those mussels, clam-banks, and other fish, as they were in England with their fill of bread; which makes me cheerful in the Lord's providing for us, being further confirmed by the exhortation of our pastor to trust the Lord with providing for us, whose is the earth and the fulness thereof.'" (Wonder-Working Providence, Chap. XXIV.)

upon him to marry" a couple. The employment of Indians in families, without license from the Court, and payments to them in silver or gold coin, were forbidden. A quack was sentenced to pay a fine, besides being made liable to an action for damages, for pretending "to cure the scurvy by a water of no worth nor value, which he sold at a very dear rate." A "surveyor of the ordnance and cannoneer" was appointed, with an annual stipend of ten pounds. Sir Richard Saltonstall was ordered to satisfy two Indians for the loss of their wigwams, burned by his careless servants. "Thomas Fox, servant of Mr. Cradock," was sentenced to be whipped, for uttering scandalous speeches against the Court.

March 8.

The charter required the presence of seven Assistants with the Governor or Deputy-Governor to give legal force to the action of a Court of Assistants. A departure from this provision seemed to be demanded by the necessity of the case; and a Court of Assistants, "in regard the number of Assistants were but few, and some of them going for England," adopted the rule, "that, whensoever the number of Assistants resident within the limits of this jurisdiction should be fewer than nine, it should be lawful for the major part of them to keep a Court; and whatsoever orders or acts they made should be as legal and authentical as if there were the full number of seven or more."[1] Sooner than keep up the legal number of Assistants by an election of inferior men, they did not scruple to disregard the restrictions of their fundamental and constituent law.

The rule which had limited the wages of artificers and workmen was rescinded. Towns were ordered to take care to have every person within their limits, "except magistrates and ministers," provided with arms, those of ability at their own expense, others at that of the town. Such as had "cards, dice, or tables in their houses," were to "make away with them before the next Court,

March 22.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 82–84.

under pain of punishment." Three men were sentenced to be "whipped for stealing three pigs." Patrols of four men were appointed to be kept every night at Dorchester and at Watertown, the southern and western outposts; and military companies were to be trained every Saturday. The amount of ammunition to be kept by each soldier was prescribed; and the firing of a gun after the night watches were set was made punishable by whipping, and a second offence by measures more severe. Travellers to Plymouth were never to go single or unarmed. A servant of Mr. Humphrey was ordered to be "severely whipped" at Boston and Salem for striking an overseer "when he came to give him correction for idleness in his master's work." To a servant of Mr. Pelham was awarded a whipping for "unjust selling of his master's tools." John Norman was "fined for his not appearing at the Court, being summoned." Rules were made for restraining stray cattle and swine, and for compensating any damages done by them. The indentures of a servant were transferred from one master to another. Walford, the smith, found at Charlestown, was fined forty shillings, "for his contempt of authority and confronting officers," and was enjoined to depart with his wife "out of the limits of this patent before the twentieth day of October next, under pain of confiscation of his goods." The Court entertained a charge against Endicott for assault and battery, and caused a jury to be impanelled which amerced him in forty shillings.[1]

April 12.

May 3.

[1] On this occasion, Endicott, writing from Salem to Winthrop on other business, said: "Sir, I desired the rather to have been at Court, because I hear I am much complained on by goodman Dexter, for striking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in striking him, understanding since that it is not lawful for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seen the manner of his carriage, with such daring of me with his arms on kembow, &c. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write no more of it, but leave it till we speak before you face to face. Only thus far further, that he hath given out, if I had a purse he would make me empty it, and if he cannot have justice here, he will do wonders in England, and if he cannot prevail there, he will

There were very few natives in the neighborhood of the new settlements. Chickatabot, said to have been then chief sachem of the Massachusetts, visited Governor Winthrop with an attendance of his principal men and their wives, bringing from his home on Neponset River the present of a hogshead of Indian corn.[1] Pleased with his hospitable reception, he repeated his visit in a few weeks, and a communication of good offices was established.[2] The Massachusetts Indians were interested to make the English their protectors against the Tarratines, of whose hostility they were in constant dread.

Visit of Chickatabot. March 23.

April 13–15.

A visit from another native had after a time more important consequences. An Indian from Connecticut River came to the Governor, with a request "to have some Englishmen to come plant in his country, and offered to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver; and that the country was very fruitful, &c., and wished that there might be two men sent with him to see the country." The object appeared to be to obtain an alliance with the English against the Pequots. "The Governor entertained them at dinner, but would send none with him."[3]

Embassy from Connecticut River. April 4.

At the opening of spring, several of the emigrants went to England; some, as Wilson and Coddington,[4] to bring their families; others, discouraged or for other reasons,

try it out with me here at blows. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it at blows, and he a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain; but I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course." (Hutchinson, Collections, 51, 52.)

[1] Dudley says of Chickatabot (Letter, &c.) that he "hath between fifty and sixty subjects. This man least favoreth the English of any sagamore we are acquainted with, by reason of the old quarrel between him and those of Plymouth, wherein he lost seven of his best men." (See above, pp. 202, 203.)

[2] Winthrop, I. 49, 54.

[3] Ibid., 52.

[4] In his "Demonstration of True Love unto you the Rulers of the Colony of the Massachusetts," published in 1674, Coddington says: "Before Boston was named, ... I built the first good house, in which the said Governor [Bellingham] and merchant Braxel now dwell." (p. 4.)

not designing to return.[1] A number of the congregation assembled at the Governor's house to bid their teacher farewell. There was a magistracy on the spot, and the civil order could proceed; but in the teacher's absence, some provisional arrangement was necessary for the well-being of the church. Mr. Wilson, "praying and exhorting the congregation to love," committed to Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell the ruling elder, the trust of conducting public worship; and, at his request, the Governor commended him and his fellow-voyagers to the Divine protection with prayer.[2]

Return of some of the emigrants. March 30.

It had been intended that the vessel in which Wilson sailed for England should carry a passenger of very different character. Christopher Gardiner was one of those mysterious visitors whose appearance in remote settlements so easily stimulates the imaginations of men of more staid habits, and better mutual acquaintance. Who he was, and whence and why he came to New England, which he did just before the arrival of Winthrop, was never known with certainty.[3] It is not improbable that he was an agent, or spy, of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with whom he is known to have corresponded.[4] Perhaps he was only one of those eccentric lovers of roaming and adventure who are attracted

Sir Christopher Gardiner.

[1] After several months' experience of the country, Dudley had written: "If any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home, he commits an error of which he will soon repent him; but . . . . . if any godly men, out of religious ends, will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning." (Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.) Winthrop had written to his wife (I. 453): "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ. Is not this enough? What would we have more? I thank God, I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming. And if I were to come again, I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions."

[2] Winthrop, I. 50.

[3] "He came into these parts under pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course; not unwilling to put himself on any mean employments and take any pains for his living, and sometime offered himself to join to the churches in sundry places." (Bradford, 294.)

[4] Winthrop, History, I. 57.

by newly opened regions and new forms of life. He called himself *Sir* Christopher Gardiner; and that he was entitled to the designation may be inferred from its being given to him in some proceedings of the Privy Council.[1] Among other particulars of the ill repute which followed him, one was, that he was a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre, and another that he was a "nephew" (a kinsman at some remove) of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester in Queen Mary's day. Governor Dudley wrote,[2] that, according to information received by the magistrates, he had been a great traveller in Europe and the East, and had now two wives living in England, while in Massachusetts he was attended by a female companion whom he gave out to be his cousin, but who, when examined, appeared to know but little of his position or his objects. His *incognito*, his apparent immorality, and his imputed Popery (afterwards ascertained from some papers dropped by him at Plymouth) were so many causes of the disfavor under which he labored, and united to make his presence undesirable. The wives, or one of them, sent a complaint against him to the Governor, who set on foot measures for his apprehension, which coming to his knowledge, he took to flight, and wandered about for a month among the Indians. At length, he was given up by them at Plymouth, from which place Captain Underhill, in the service of the Massachusetts magistrates, brought him to Boston,[3] two months after the passage of the order which has been mentioned for his transportation to England. The master of the Lion could not be persuaded to take charge of him, and it was some months longer before he could be gotten rid of. Arrived in England, where he does not appear to have been restrained of his liberty, he soon found out the enemies of the colony, and engaged actively in intrigues to its prejudice.

August.

[1] See below, p. 365, note 2.

[2] Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

[3] Bradford, History, 295. — Winthrop, History, I. 55, 57.

CHAPTER IX.

It has been mentioned, that, at the time to which the history of the Massachusetts Colony has been brought down, the older settlement at Plymouth had increased to the number of about three hundred persons, and that, about the time of the discharge from their engagements to the London partners, they had extended their trading operations both to the east and to the west. The place of the crazy Rogers, the minister brought over by Allerton, and soon sent back, was supplied by Smith, who had come with Higginson's fleet. 1629. June. Some of the Plymouth people found him at Nantasket, "weary of being in that uncouth place, and in a poor house that would neither keep him nor his goods dry. So seeing him to be a grave man, and understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any such thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained and housed, ... and exercised his gifts among them, and afterwards was chosen into the ministry, and so remained for sundry years."[1]

A few weeks before the new minister came, thirty-five members of the Leyden church had joined their friends, accomplishing a long-deferred hope of both parties. August. Renewed emigration from Leyden. The poor people at Plymouth, just involved in new pecuniary obligations to an oppressive amount, were but too happy, not only to defray all the expenses of the new-comers, but to give them dwellings, and supply them with food for more than a

[1] Bradford, 363. — Smith probably left Plymouth in 1635. (See Mass. Hist. Coll., IV. 108.)

year, till there was time for them to make provision for themselves.[1]

Allerton, who on his late visit to England had endeavored without success to obtain an amendment of the patent, prospered better in a second attempt. The Coun-

Third patent of Plymouth. 1630. Jan. 13.

cil for New England conveyed to William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns, a tract of land including New Plymouth, and another on the Kennebec, — both of which, however, for want of geographical knowledge, were imperfectly defined. The patent recites, that it is given "in consideration that William Bradford and his associates have for these nine years lived in New England, and have there inhabited, and planted a town called by the name of New Plymouth, at their own proper costs and charges; and now, ... by the special providence of God and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their plantation to near three hundred people, and are upon all occasions able to relieve any new planters or other his Majesty's subjects who may fall upon that coast." It empowers Bradford, "his associates, his heirs, and assigns, at all times hereafter, to incorporate, by some usual or fit name and title, him or themselves, or the people there inhabiting under him or them, with liberty to them and their successors from time to time to frame and make orders, ordinances, and constitutions," not contrary to the laws of England, or to any frame of government established by the Council, "and the same to put or cause to be put in execution by such officers and ministers as he and they shall authorize and depute"; and, "for their several defence, to encounter, expulse, repel, and resist by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, by all ways and means whatsoever, and ..... to take, apprehend, seize, and make prize of all such persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempt to inhabit or trade with the savage people of that country within the

[1] Bradford, 245 – 248.

several precincts and limits of his and their several plantation, or shall enterprise or attempt, at any time, destruction, invasion, detriment, or annoyance to his and their said plantation." In short, the patent invested Bradford and his associates, in respect to the granted territory, with all the power which the Council, by its charter, was made capable of conveying to its assigns. A royal charter, with the same powers as that of the Massachusetts Company, was much desired by the Plymouth people. At Allerton's solicitation, orders were given by the Privy Council for the preparation of such an instrument; and the business seemed proceeding prosperously, when a clause for exonerating the colony from the payment of customs for seven years, which appears to have been inserted by Allerton without instructions,[1] occasioned objections, delay, and finally complete disappointment. New Plymouth Colony, though soliciting it often, and at no small expense, was never able, before its annexation to Massachusetts, to obtain any better foundation for its government than the patent of the Council for New England.[2]

May. Further emigration from Leyden.

Another party of Leyden people presently came over. The two cost their American friends five hundred and fifty pounds sterling for their outfit and transportation from Holland, in addition to the expense of their reception and of their support till the second following harvest; "and this charge of maintaining them all this while was little less than the former sum." But the burden was more than willingly borne; "a rare example," writes the reasonably complacent Governor, "of brotherly love and Christian care in performing

[1] Bradford, 252. Bradford thought that Allerton raised the question for a selfish purpose, "to have an opportunity to be sent over again, for other regards." Shirley supposed that not only Sir Ferdinando Gorges, but Cradock, Winthrop, and others of the Massachusetts Company, interested themselves against a charter for Plymouth. (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 71, 72.)

[2] The patent is in Hazard, I. 298 *et seq.* The original instrument, with the signature of the Earl of Warwick, and what remains of the seal of the Council, is kept at Plymouth, in the office of the Register of Deeds.

their promises and covenants to their brethren, and in a sort beyond their power."[1] The consequence of this generosity was eminently beneficial. In proportion as members of the Leyden congregation became numerous at Plymouth, the better party there — the party of Bradford, Brewster, and their compeers — was strengthened, and the colony was made to conform more to its original design.[2]

Soon after this increase of numbers, an incident occurred which occasioned much unhappiness. John Billington, of Plymouth, — a troublesome associate from the beginning, — having been convicted of wilful murder after trial by a jury, the magistrates consulted "Mr. Winthrop and other the ablest gentlemen in the Bay of the Massachusetts," respecting their competency to inflict the penalty of that crime. They advised, with unanimous consent, that the murderer "ought to die, and the land be purged from blood"; and he was executed accordingly.[3] It was the first instance of capital punishment in New England. The colonists might well question their right to inflict that penalty. But it was idle to think of finding the needed protection for their lives in courts three thousand miles away. And the necessity of the case seemed to impose upon them the responsibility of administering what they esteemed the law of nature and of God.

An execution for murder.

September.

For four or five years from this time, the business relations between the partners at New Plymouth and those at London became more and more complicated and unsatisfactory. Allerton, who passed back and forward between them as agent for the Plymouth associates, fell under their serious displeasure for transactions implicating them without their authority, as well as for other alleged misconduct, and was

[1] Bradford, 248, 249.

[2] "They were such as feared God, and were both welcome and useful," wrote Bradford (Letter-Book, in Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 70), though he regretted that they were not of the most considerable persons left at Leyden, nor of such as were best able to provide for themselves.

[3] Bradford, 276.

continued in his trust only through tenderness for Brewster, whose daughter was Allerton's wife. In two years he had raised their debt from four hundred to four thousand pounds. Still, under the honest and wise conduct of Bradford and his associates, affairs prospered on the small scale which belonged to them. "Though the partners were plunged into great engagements, and oppressed with unjust debts, yet the Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returns. . . . . Also the people of the plantation began to grow in their outward estates, by reason of the flowing of many people into the country, especially into the Bay of the Massachusetts, by which means corn and cattle rose to a great price, by which many were much enriched, and commodities grew plentiful."[1]

Increase of wealth at Plymouth.

A party of Narragansett Indians having pursued some Pokanoket allies of Plymouth to an English outpost, Winthrop sent twenty-seven pounds of powder to Standish, who had been despatched to their relief; upon which the Narragansetts withdrew. An event of no little interest was a visit of Governor Winthrop to Plymouth, accompanied by his pastor, Mr. Wilson. The journey took two days each way.[2]

1632. April 12.

October. Winthrop and Wilson at Plymouth.

[1] Bradford, 255, 256, 279, 280, 286, 289–291, 302, 309. — Allerton was discharged from his agency for the plantation in 1630. (Ibid., 276.) But he was chosen to be one of the Assistants as late as 1633. In the spring of 1635, he was at Marblehead, as appears from an order of the Massachusetts Assistants passed March 4, for his removal from that place. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 142.) Marblehead was part of Salem, and Allerton may have followed Roger Williams thither from Plymouth. A writing of his is preserved (Plym. Rec., II. 133), in which, under the date of Oct. 27, 1646, he styles himself "of New Amsterdam in the Province of New Netherlands." In 1643, Winthrop (II. 96) speaks of him as being at New Amsterdam, but calls him "Mr. Allerton of New Haven." He was at New Haven in February, 1645 (Ibid., 210), and is occasionally mentioned in its Records during the next seven years. He died there in February, 1659, and lies buried in the public square. (Dr. Bacon's Letter, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVII. 242.) He had "built a grand house on the creek, with four porches." (Stiles, History of Three of the Judges, 65.)

[2] Such an incident should be related in Winthrop's own words (I. 91–93):

As property and a sense of security increased, the people at Plymouth showed a disposition to disperse, for the convenience of more pasturage and other accommodations. "The town, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thin, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, though much. But the church must also be divided, and those that had lived so long together in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisions." A separate church and town, with the name of *Duxbury*, were established on the north side of the harbor, and pastures were assigned at *Marshfield* to such as engaged to keep them by servants, and not remove themselves

Duxbury and Marshfield.

"The Governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and the two captains, &c., went aboard the Lion [October 25], and from thence Mr. Peirce carried them in his shallop to Wessaguscus. The next morning Mr. Peirce returned to his ship, and the Governor and his company went on foot to Plymouth, and came thither within the evening. The Governor of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, (a very discreet and grave man,) with Mr. Brewster, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were very kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom) propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after, the Governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him the elder; then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the box, and then returned. . . . . About five in the morning [October 31], the Governor and his company came out of Plymouth; the Governor of Plymouth, with the pastor and elder, &c. accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The lieutenant, Holmes, with two others, and the Governor's mare, came along with them to the great swamp, about ten miles. When they came to the great river, they were carried over by one Luddam, their guide (as they had been when they came, the stream being very strong, and up to the crotch); so the Governor called that passage *Luddam's Ford*. Thence they came to a place called *Hue's Cross*. The Governor, being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the Papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it *Hue's Folly*. So they came, that evening, to Wessaguscus, where they were bountifully entertained, as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, &c., and the next day came safe to Boston."

from the original settlement.[1] In the year following this dispersion, Plymouth was afflicted by the spread of "an infectious fever, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty persons died, men and women, besides children, and sundry of them of their ancient friends who had lived in Holland; . . . . . and in the end, after he had much helped others, Samuel Fuller, who was their surgeon and physician, and had been a great help and comfort unto them, as in his faculty so otherwise, being a deacon of the church, a man godly and forward to do good, being much missed after his death; and he and the rest of their brethren much lamented by them, and caused much sadness and mourning amongst them."[2]

1633. Epidemic sickness.

Plymouth was the first of the English settlements to suffer from French depredation. The Plymouth partners, in connection with four of their London friends, had reluctantly consented to establish a trading-house on the Penobscot, under the charge of one Edward Ashley, with whom Allerton had treated for that purpose in London. Ashley did not remain long in America, and the post fell under the care of Allerton.[3] The third article of the treaty of St. Germain's ceded back to France the American territory lately conquered by England, including "all the places occupied in New France, Acadia, and Canada by subjects of his Majesty of Great Britain."[4] The extent of Acadia to the west was long a subject of dispute. Claiming the English post on the Penobscot as within the domain of their sovereign, a party of French, in a small vessel, attacked and rifled it, carrying off three hundred pounds' weight of beaver and other goods, to the

1630.

1632. March 29.

The French on the Penobscot.

[1] Bradford, 302, 304. The Governor contemplated this beginning of a dispersion with much uneasiness: "This, I fear, will be the ruin of New England, at least of the churches of God there, and will provoke the Lord's displeasure against them."

[2] Ibid., 314.

[3] Ibid., 257–259, 267, 275.

[4] The article is in Hazard, I. 319.

value of more than five hundred pounds sterling.[1] The following year an assault, accompanied with greater violence,

1633. was made upon a factory established by Ashley and others at what is now Machias. Not only was the property there deposited stolen, but two Englishmen were killed, and three were carried away prisoners.[2]

Their other eastern trading-house, on the Kennebec, gave occasion to a disaster of a different nature. Under

Affray on the Kennebec. their patent right to territory on this river, the Plymouth people claimed the monopoly of its Indian traffic. A person named Hocking, in command of a vessel from the Piscataqua belonging to Lord Say

1634. April. and Sele, insisted on going up the river to trade. Howland, the Plymouth commander, after unavailing remonstrance, ordered his men to cut the cable by which the ship was anchored. Hocking shot one of them, and was himself shot dead in return. The business, as threatening mischief to all the colonies, was taken up

May 14. by the General Court of Massachusetts. Alden, one of the party and a principal person of Plymouth, coming presently after on a visit to Boston, was detained to answer to the charge; and the Massachusetts Magistrates were scarcely induced to desist from a prosecution of it by explanations which Standish first, and after-

[1] Winthrop, 79. — Bradford, 293, 294. Bradford erroneously places this incident in 1631. Holmes says (Annals, I. 217): "The French. . . . . had rifled the trading-house, belonging to Plymouth, at Penobscot." But in a note he refers to the factory established on the Kennebec in 1628 (see above, p. 230), and adds: "Whether they had set up another at Penobscot, or whether these neighboring places were sometimes called by the same name, does not appear." I think there is no doubt that the trading-house robbed by the French was the same which the Plymouth people had joined with Ashley in establishing on the Penobscot, at Pentagoet [Point Bagaduce, Castine]. Their connection with him was unfortunate. He turned out as ill as they had augured from the beginning. (Bradford, 259.) On the 31st of December, 1631, the Attorney-General was ordered to proceed against him in the Star Chamber for furnishing arms and ammunition to the savages; and on the following 17th of February he was discharged from the Fleet Prison, (his offence having been committed before the royal proclamation forbidding it,) under a bond "not to offend in the like kind hereafter." (Journal of the Privy Council.)

[2] Winthrop, 117, 154; Bradford, 291, 292, 328.

wards Bradford, Winslow, and Smith, the minister, were sent to make in person. At last, at a conference in Boston, to which the Plymouth people invited all "the neighbor plantations," — but at which "none appeared, but some of the magistrates and ministers of the Massachusetts and their own," — it was agreed that, "though they all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay the blame and guilt on Hocking's own head."[1] Winslow soon after went a third time to England, partly on the errand of satisfying and conciliating Lord Say and Sele.

While these events occurred on the Eastern rivers, the enterprise of the Plymouth people had been taking a different direction. Though as yet their humble circumstances had kept them admonished of the necessity of cautious movements, they had not been inattentive listeners to information, brought from time to time by native and by Dutch visitors, of a river to the west of them, called the *Fresh River* and the *Connecticut River*, "a fine place both for plantation and trade." The descriptions of it by parties who had occasionally visited it, "not without profit," confirmed the favorable impressions which had been made. They had been informed of the visit made to Winthrop, in the first spring after his landing, by a chief and others, who had offered him a settlement on the Connecticut, with a yearly tribute of corn and beaver.[2] At length, the plan was conceived of a partnership among individuals of the two colonies in a trade to that region, and Winslow, who had himself visited it, repaired with Bradford to Boston for a conference. By building a forti-

Plymouth factory on the Connecticut.

1631. April 4.

1633. July 12.

[1] Winthrop, I. 131, 136. — Mass. Col. Rec., I. 116. — Bradford, 316 – 322. Bradford calls this "one of the saddest things that befell them since they came." Winthrop says (131) it had been feared that the transaction "would give occasion to the king to send a General Governor over, and besides had brought us all, and the Gospel, under a common reproach of cutting one another's throats for beaver."

[2] See above, p. 328.

fied trading-house, they proposed to anticipate the Dutch, who were reported to have the same scheme in view.[1]

Discouraged by what they had heard of the shallowness of the river, and the number of warlike Indians on its banks, the Massachusetts people concluded to take no part in the project. Those of Plymouth then prosecuted it alone, and sent a vessel with the frame of a house, and workmen and materials for its construction. At some distance up the river (where now is Hartford), they were challenged by a party of Dutch, who had thrown up a rude work, and mounted two small cannon. After a parley and mutual threats, the English passed on without being assailed, landed at what is now the town of Windsor, put up, fortified, and provisioned their house, and then separated, a part to hold it, the rest to return as they came. A company of seventy Dutch, who in the following year came from New Amsterdam to expel the intruders, having made their observations on the spirit and the dispositions of the little garrison, were prevailed on to retire without violence.[2] It was not by Dutchmen that the Plymouth people were to be dispossessed of Connecticut.

October.

1634. December.

All that is extant of what can properly be called the legislation of the first twelve years of the Colony of Plymouth suffices to cover in print only two pages of an octavo volume.[3] That of the first five years consists of the single regulation, "that all criminal facts, and also all manner of trespasses and debts between man and man, shall be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impanelled by authority in form of a jury upon their oath." For seven years more, the only standing laws which appear to have been found necessary were some simple prohibitions of the employ-

Early legislation at Plymouth.

1623. Dec. 17.

[1] Winthrop, 105.

[2] Bradford, 311–314. — Winthrop, I. 105, 113. — Brodhead, History of New York, I. 234, 235, 240–242.

[3] Brigham, Compact, with the Charter and Laws, of the Colony of New Plymouth, 28–30.

ment of handicraftsmen by "any strangers or foreigners till such time as the necessity of the Colony be served," of the exportation of timber, corn, beans, or pease "without the leave and license of the Governor and Council," and of the covering of dwelling-houses "with any kind of thatch"; with some arrangements respecting the division of lands and the accompanying rights of way, and respecting the gathering of fuel, fishing, hunting, and fowling. 1626. March 29. 1628. January 3.

In the thirteenth year of the settlement, a penal provision had to be adopted to protect the public weal against the prevailing absence of ambition for public office; and "it was enacted, by public consent of the freemen of this society of New Plymouth, that if now or hereafter any were elected to the office of Governor and would not stand to the election, nor hold and execute the office for his year, that then he be amerced in twenty pounds sterling fine; and, in case refused to be paid upon the lawful demand of the ensuing Governor, then to be levied out of the goods or chattels of the said person so refusing. It was further ordered and decreed, that if any were elected to the office of council and refused to hold the place, that then he be amerced in ten pounds sterling fine, and in case refused to be paid, to be forthwith levied. It was further decreed and enacted, that in case one and the same person should be elected Governor a second year, having held the place the foregoing year, it should be lawful for him to refuse without any amercement; and the company to proceed to a new election, except they can prevail with him by entreaty." [1] 1633. Jan. 1.

At his urgent request, Bradford was now for the first time excused from the office of Governor, and Edward Winslow, who some months before had returned from his second visit to England, was chosen his successor, Bradford taking his place as one of the Assistants. 1632. June 5.

[1] Plymouth Colony Records, I. 5.

Their number was at the same time raised from five to seven, and so remained during the separate existence of the Colony. At the end of Winslow's year of service as chief magistrate, Thomas Prince was made Governor. Perhaps Winslow pleaded the privilege of exemption allowed to him by the recent statute; perhaps the visit to England, which, in the public service, he made in the following year, was already contemplated. It had been "by full consent agreed upon and enacted, that the chief government be tied to the town of Plymouth, and that the Governor for the time being be tied there to keep his residence and dwelling, and there also to hold such courts as concern the whole."[1] The elections were made, as they had been heretofore, in the first week of January; but at the election of Prince it was ordered, that "the Governor and other officers . . . should not enter upon their offices till the twenty-seventh of March," and that the political year thenceforward should begin on that day.[2]

1633. Oct. 28.

1634. Jan. 1.

There is no original public register of Plymouth Colony of an earlier date than its seventh year, at which time Governor Bradford made a record of some of the principal transactions. The minutes of the Court at which Winslow was first made Governor begin a journal which, under the name of *Court Orders*, exhibits thenceforward the miscellaneous proceedings both of the General Courts, consisting of the body of freemen, and of the Courts of Assistants, in the threefold character corresponding to their legislative, judicial, and executive functions. The General Courts conferred the franchise, and appointed not only the magistrates, but also inferior officers, such as constables and assessors; but, with these exceptions, the courts of both kinds appear to have exercised generally the same

[1] It was at this time that so much fear was entertained of a dispersion from Plymouth (see above, p. 336). There may have been a special reason for the law, if it was already expected that the next choice of Governor would fall on Prince, since in fact he subsequently removed to Duxbury, and afterwards to Eastham.

[2] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 21.

powers, according as a meeting of the one or the other occurred most seasonably in reference to the business to be disposed of. By registration in their own Journal, they recognized marriages, and other private contracts, as of sale,[1] hire, labor, and the like. With the help of a jury, they heard and determined disputes about property, claims for service and for wages, complaints of assault, and all the miscellaneous controversies which social life creates. They apprenticed orphans, and enforced the good treatment of apprentices and other servants. They punished slanderers, runaways, libertines, drunkards, and disturbers of the peace, by fines and whipping. They assigned lands for cultivation and for permanent possession, and apportioned from year to year the common meadow grounds for mowing. They superintended the probate of wills and administration on estates. They took order for the building and maintenance of fences and highways. They regulated commerce by restrictions upon the export of necessary articles. They made rules for the alewife and herring fishery, and for hunting and fowling. They prescribed bounties for the destruction of hurtful animals, and defined damages for trespasses by cattle, and for injury by fires. They provided for the sealing of the measures used in trade. They established the pay of jurors, and restricted entertainment in public houses. And they gave diligent heed to arrangements for the military defence of the Colony.[2]

[1] One of the minutes is curious, as indicating the value of real estate at Plymouth in the second decade: "1633, Oct. 7. Richard Higgins hath bought of Thomas Little his now [present] dwelling-house and misted [homestead ?], for and in consideration of twenty-one bushels of merchantable corn, whereof twelve bushels to be paid in hand, and the remainder at harvest next ensuing." (Plym. Col. Rec., I. 16; comp. 33.)

[2] "Whereas our ancient work of fortification by continuance of time is decayed, and Christian wisdom teacheth us to depend upon God in the use of all good means for our safety, it is further agreed by the Court aforesaid, that a work of fortification be made . . . . by the whole strength of men able to labor in the Colony." (Plym. Col. Rec., I. 6.) At the same Court (January 1, 1633), it was "further ordered, that every free-

At the time of Prince's accession, a colonial tax of fifty-eight pounds and seventeen shillings was assessed on seventy-seven men and four women.[1] This fact will not warrant any precise inference respecting the amount of the adult male population, inasmuch as there can be no doubt that there were servants and others who were exempt, and, indeed, names of men occur in the Court-Orders which do not appear on the tax-list. The list of the next preceding year, the earliest which is extant, contains the names of eighty-six men and three women.[2] When the *Court-Orders* registry was begun, the freemen were sixty-eight in number.[3]

Taxation at Plymouth.

1633.

While Plymouth was advancing in its slow and quiet growth, the younger but more robust Massachusetts settlement was engaged with high questions of policy. The charter of the Massachusetts Company had prescribed no condition of investment with its franchise, — or with what under the circumstances which had arisen was the same thing, the prerogatives of citizenship in the plantation, — except the will and vote of those who were already freemen. At the first Cisatlantic General Court for election, "to the end the body of the commons

1631 May 18.

man or other inhabitant of this Colony provide for himself, and each under him able to bear arms, a sufficient musket and other serviceable piece for war, with bandeleroes, and other appurtenance, with what speed may be; and that, for each able person aforesaid, he be at all times ..... furnished with two pounds of powder, and ten pounds of bullet."

[1] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 27 – 29. — The lowest rate, nine shillings, was that of forty-five persons, including the four women, who were all widows. The largest sum (£ 2. 5) was assessed on Edward Winslow and on William Collier; the next largest (£ 1. 16), on Isaac Allerton, who, the year before, had been assessed £ 3. 11. Stephen Hopkins paid £ 1. 10. Bradford, Brewster, and five others whose names are not historical, paid each £ 1. 7; and Howland, Alden, and Jonathan Brewster, each £ 1. 4. It is matter of some surprise to see Standish rated in both years at only £0. 18. But perhaps this was in consideration of his public services. Collier, one of the two on whom the largest assessment was made, had lately arrived, and had been admitted to the franchise in the preceding January. He had been one of the London Adventurers. (Bradford, 201, 213.) He had now come over to reside, and was henceforward one of the most important men in the Colony.

[2] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 9 – 11.

[3] Ibid., 3, 4.

may be preserved of honest and good men," it was "ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." [1]

Religious test for the franchise.

The men who laid this singular foundation for the commonwealth which they were instituting, had been accustomed to feel responsibility, and to act upon well-considered reasons. By charter from the English crown, the land was theirs as against all other civilized people, and they had a right to choose according to their own rules the associates who should help them to occupy and govern it. Exercising this right, they determined that magistracy and citizenship should belong only to Christian men, ascertained to be such by the best test which they knew how to apply. They established a kind of aristocracy hitherto unknown. Not birth, nor wealth, nor learning, nor skill in war, was to confer political power; but personal character, — goodness of the highest type, — goodness of that purity and force which only the faith of Jesus Christ is competent to create.

The conception, if a delusive and impracticable, was a noble one. Nothing better can be imagined for the welfare of a country than that it shall be ruled on Christian principles; in other words, that its rulers shall be Christian men, — men of disinterestedness and integrity of the choicest quality that the world knows, — men whose fear of God exalts them above every other fear, and whose controlling love of God and of man consecrates them to the most generous aims.[2] The conclusive objection to the

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 87.

[2] "None are so fit to be trusted with the liberties of the commonwealth as church-members; for the liberties of the freemen of this commonwealth are such as require men of faithful integrity to God and the state, to preserve the same. Their liberties, among others, are chiefly these: — 1. To choose all magistrates, and to call them to account at the General Courts; 2. To choose such burgesses, every General Court, as, with the magistrates, shall make or repeal all laws. Now both these liber-

scheme is one which experience had not yet revealed, for the experiment was now first made. It is, that the scheme is incapable of being carried out, because there are no tests of religious sincerity which will guard the weak judgment of man against error. When power is appropriated to the religious character, the external signs of the religious character will be affected by the insincere and undeserving. Hypocrisy will manage to pass the barrier designed to turn back all but eminent virtue. A test of this nature may exclude scandalous vices, but certainly not the common workings of selfishness and passion. A trial will be sure to prove that such a project is but a generous dream. A government so constituted will not fail, before long, to show itself subject to the operation of the same disturbing causes as affect other forms of polity, through the frailty of those by whom they are administered.

Regarded in another point of view, the plan was at once less novel and more feasible. It has been no unusual thing for communities to regard the common welfare as requiring the exclusion from political trusts of persons professing spiritual subjection to a foreign power. It is only within a few years that the old realm of England has felt strong enough to dispense with this security; and a numerous party has lately arisen in America to insist that its institution is needful for the maintenance of freedom on this continent. When the fathers of Massachusetts established their religious test of citizenship, it was matter of fearful uncertainty what the faith and ritual of the Church of England would turn out to be. It was too painfully certain what had been the Church's treatment of themselves, and how hardly, without any further backsliding of its own, it was prepared to treat them again, should it come

ties are such as carry along much power with them, either to establish or subvert the commonwealth." (John Cotton, "Answer to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and other Persons of Quality,' in Hutchinson, I. 436.)

into power on their own soil. They were in error in supposing that, by the application of a religious test, they could exclude all but good men from their counsels. They were not so far from the truth, when they expected, by the application of such a test, to shut out from their counsels the emissaries of Wentworth and Laud; and, in their early weakness, nothing was more indispensable than this for their protection. They had lately set up a religious polity. The hopes and aims with which they had established it were of vital consequence to them. They knew that they could not maintain it, and the momentous interests, civil and religious, with which it seemed to them connected, should the council-chambers of their infant community admit the creatures of the English court and church.

The special circumstances of the time at which this condition of franchise was imposed, were probably thought to call for a prompt decision. Till then, there had been no freemen of the Company except those who had become such in England, and might be supposed to be solicitous to promote the generous objects of its institution. At its first Cisatlantic meeting, more than a hundred persons had presented themselves as candidates for admission. An irruption of strangers was impending, and it could not fail to be a subject of grave anxiety to those now in possession of the power, what would be the character and purposes of associates who, once received into the Corporation, would be able to control its action, and to carry out or defeat the designs for which it had been formed, and had been conducted hitherto at great cost and sacrifice. The social elements already collected on the spot were very diverse. What method should dispose them for harmonious and beneficent action? Among those to be now received were not a few "old planters," doubtfully sympathizing in the views of the more public-spirited new-comers, and not improbably cherishing the recent grudge, and so prepared

1630. Oct. 19.

for faction. Oldham's disturbing practices at Plymouth could not have been unknown, and he had just been disputing the title of the Company to its lands. Men of condition, like Blaxton, Maverick, Jeffries, and Burslem, had a similar adverse interest. Edward Gibbons, lately parted from the irregular adventurers at Mount Wollaston, was as yet a suspicious friend. Others, like Coles and Wignall, who soon afterwards gave trouble,[1] may have been already regarded with distrust. How many like Morton of Merry-Mount there might prove to be among the yet untried multitude, or of the class of the Brownes and others who in the last two years had tasked the prudence and vigor of Endicott, it was still for time to disclose; and it was the office of a wise forethought, to provide some security against damage from them to the public weal. From such as, on due advisement, should be admitted into covenant with the church, some security would be obtained. Sincere professors would be earnest fellow-workers in the great enterprise; insincere professors, if there were such, would be hampered and restrained.

A hundred and eighteen persons took the freeman's oath, and were admitted to the franchise.[2] Winthrop was re-elected Governor, "by the general consent of the Court, within the meaning of the patent,"[3] Dudley being again associated with him in the second office.

1631. May 18. Winthrop and Dudley re-elected.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 90, 91, 93, 107.

[2] It would be interesting to ascertain what proportion of these new freemen were church-members, but the imperfection of the early records of the churches prevents a precise answer to this question. An examination of the list of the freemen admitted at this time leads to the conclusion, that perhaps three quarters of them, certainly as many as one half, had previously connected themselves with some church. Others did so subsequently. It must be remembered that the rule of May 18, 1631, was prospective.

[3] This language is ambiguous. It may be interpreted to mean that the vote passed in October for the choice of the Governor by the Assistants had, on reflection, not met with approval, and that, notwithstanding that vote, the method prescribed by the charter, of a choice by the freemen, was now followed. But I think the words "within

Down to this time, and a little longer, while the freemen were without much mutual acquaintance, and so without preparation either for administration of the government or for combined resistance to encroachment on their charter rights, the Assistants appear to have been consolidating power in their own hands. As at the first General Court it had been determined to transfer the power of choosing the Governor and Deputy-Governor from the freemen to the Assistants, at the second it was determined, "with full consent of all the commons then present, that once in every year, at least, a General Court shall be holden, at which Court it shall be lawful for the commons to propound any person or persons whom they shall desire to be chosen Assistants; and, if it be doubtful whether it be the greater part of the commons or not, it shall be put to the poll; the like course to be holden when the said commons shall see cause, for any defect or misbehavior, to remove any one or more of the Assistants."[1] In the form of a grant of privileges to the freemen, this was clearly a substitution of the invidious and difficult process of removal for the irresponsible freedom of that annual election *de novo* which was contemplated by the charter. And, accordingly, there is no record of an election of Assistants this year. Without doubt, as many of the old Assistants as remained in the country retained their office; and so far a precedent was created for their permanent continuance in power.

Permanency of the office of Assistant.

The plan of establishing the capital at Newtown was relinquished. The site had been laid out, with lines for a fortification, and streets at right angles; the Deputy-Governor had established himself in a newly-built house; and the Governor had set up

Difference between Winthrop and Dudley.

the *meaning* of the patent" rather denote that the election was now made in the manner lately decided on, which the Court and its Secretary considered to be agreeable to the spirit of that instrument, though not to its letter. The early formal repeal of the rule of election of October, 1630, will be mentioned in its place (below, p. 354).

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 87.

the frame of one; when the tranquil aspect of relations with the natives seemed to render a concentration of the Colony less important, the superior advantages of the neighboring peninsula for residence and commerce had made themselves apparent, and Winthrop at last resolved to yield to the importunity of his neighbors, who urged him to remain in Boston. Dudley conceived a displeasure, which the Governor was not immediately able to pacify by the most friendly overtures.

In another quarter, an ecclesiastical question threatened discord. It was reported that Phillips and Brown, the pastor and the elder of Watertown, had spoken of "the churches of Rome" as "true churches." Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell visited the place to make inquiry. The doctrine was debated before a number of members of the Boston and Watertown congregations, and, against a minority of only three, was voted to be an error. But the matter was not put at rest till after a second visit of the same dignitaries. Brown appears to have been pertinacious in his heretical laxity. The final issue was, that, "after much debate, at length they were reconciled, and agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so to have a solemn uniting, each party promising to reform what had been amiss; and the pastor gave thanks to God, and the assembly brake up."[1] It may be presumed that the importance attached to this matter was incident to the political relations which were understood to be involved. If church-members, who were rulers in Massachusetts, should esteem the church of Rome a true church, where would be the safety of Massachusetts should England become Catholic? Thus out of political exigencies a union of church and state in Massachusetts was already dawning.

Religious dispute at Watertown. July 21. Dec. 8.

A movement of the Tarratine Indians occasioned a momentary uneasiness. A hundred of these people came up the Merrimack in canoes by night, and,

Aug. 8

[1] Winthrop, I. 58, 67.

killing several of the friendly natives, stole down as far as Saugus, whence they retraced their steps, terrified by a discharge of the English alarm-guns.[1] This was the first disturbance from the natives in the new Colony.

At the same time with those measures of permanent administration which have been mentioned, minute regulations of police engaged the attention of the great council of freemen. A ferry was established between Winnisimmet and Charlestown. A uniform standard was appointed for weights and measures. A prohibition was issued against the unlicensed killing of "wild swine." Fines were imposed on individuals for refusing or neglecting "to watch," and memoranda of private agreements were placed upon record.[2] As the social system proceeded to take form, the business conducted by the Assistants of course extended more into detail. The hire of servants by any other than "a settled housekeeper," was ordered to be for not less time than a year. No person was to leave the jurisdiction, by sea or land, or to buy provisions from any vessel, without permission from some magistrate. Philip Ratcliffe was sentenced to "be whipped, have his ears cut off, fined forty shillings, and banished out of the limits of the jurisdiction, for uttering malicious and scandalous speeches against the government and the church of Salem." Chickatabot, the Neponset sachem, was "fined a skin of beaver for shooting a swine of Sir Richard Saltonstall's."[3] An assessment of thirty pounds was levied on ten plantations, for "the making of the creek at the New Town twelve foot broad and seven foot deep." All

June 14. Further proceedings of the Assistants.

July 5.

[1] Winthrop, 59. — Hubbard, Chap. XXV. — Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence, Chap. XXV.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 87.

[3] Chickatabot was no subject of the English. But the course, which on a small scale they took, to obtain from him "indemnity for the past and security for the future," was milder than the *last resort of kings*, and more advantageous to both parties; and its principle was the same as that of *contributions* levied upon foreign aggressors, or the issue of *letters of reprisal*.

islands within the patent were to be held in trust by the magistrates, to provide a revenue for public uses. Assistants were empowered "to grant warrants, summons, and attachments, as occasion should require." The sagamore of Agawam was "banished from coming into any English house for the space of a year, under the penalty of ten skins of beaver." The time for burning over "ground for corn" was prescribed. Charlestown and Roxbury were required to furnish part of the night-watch of Boston. A day in every month was appointed for "a general training of Captain Underhill's company at Boston and Roxbury," and another for "the training of them who inhabit at Charlestown, Mystic, and the New Town, ... the training to begin at one of the clock of the afternoon." Offenders were fined "for abusing themselves disorderly with drinking too much strong drink." Henry Lyon was "whipped and banished the plantation, for writing into England falsely and maliciously against the government and execution of justice here," and John Dawe was "severely whipped" for tempting the chastity of an Indian woman. Josias Plastowe, "for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians," was ordered to make twofold restitution, to pay a fine of "five pounds, and hereafter to be called by the name of *Josias*, and not *Mr.*, as formerly he used to be." The price of boards was fixed. Adultery was made punishable with death. Corn was constituted a legal tender at the market price, "except money or beaver be expressly named." It was ordered, "that no planter, within the limits of this jurisdiction, returning for England, shall carry either money or beaver with him, without leave from the Governor, under pain of forfeiting" the property; that Courts of Assistants "shall be held every first Tuesday in every month," instead of once in three weeks, as heretofore; and that, "if any single per-

July 26.

Aug. 16.

Sept. 6.

Sept. 27.

Oct. 18.

1632. March 6.

son be not provided of sufficient arms allowable by the captain or lieutenants, ... he shall be compelled to serve by the year with any master that will retain him, for such wages as the Court shall think meet to appoint." "Thomas Knower was set in the bilboes for threatening the Court that, if he should be punished, he would have it tried in England whether he was lawfully punished or not."[1] So minute and so multifarious were the cares of the primeval magistrates of Massachusetts Bay.

April 3.

The plan of fortifying Newtown had not been abandoned when it ceased to be thought of as the capital town; and a tax of sixty pounds to defray the expense was levied on twelve plantations. On the reception at Watertown of the warrant for payment of the proportion of this tax due from that town, "the pastor and elder, &c. assembled the people, and delivered their opinion that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." It was the English jealousy of taxation imagined to be illegal. Watertown had paid its proportion of two general taxes before; but one had been for the stipend of the two captains charged with the common defence, the other for the support of two ministers, of whom Watertown had one,[2] while the present appropriation might be alleged to be for a local object, in which that town was but little interested. The malecontents, summoned to Boston, were informed by Winthrop that "this government was in the nature of a Parliament, and that no Assistant could be chosen but by the freemen, who had power likewise to remove the Assistants, and put in others"; whereupon they were "fully satisfied," and "their offence was pardoned, a recantation and submission under their hands"

Feb. 3. The towns taxed by the Assistants.

Discontent at Watertown.

Feb. 17.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 88–95.

[2] Ibid., 77, 82.

having been first made, which they "were enjoined to read in the assembly the next Lord's day."[1]

At the next General Court, the freemen resumed the right of making a direct election of their two highest magistrates. "It was generally agreed upon, by erection of hands, that the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants should be chosen by the whole Court of Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and freemen," though the freemen acquiesced in a limitation of the power which they possessed by their charter, when they added a provision "that the Governor shall always be chosen out of the Assistants," which can only be understood as relating to the Assistants of the next preceding year. At the same time, they took the further important step of ordering the choice of "two of every plantation to confer with the Court about raising a public stock," a measure which proved to be the germ of a second house of legislature. Neither of these movements appears to have been opposed by the Magistrates, though the former, at least, did not take them by surprise;[2] and for the latter, it would seem, they must have been equally prepared, for the charter gave no power to the Assistants to assess even the freemen, still less to lay taxes on others living on the Company's lands.[3] The recent opposition at Watertown had been lawful and reasonable, and, however apparently checked, may be presumed to have been neither subdued in that spot, nor confined to it. The list of sixteen deputies from the eight towns, "to advise about the raising of

May 9. The freemen resume the right of election, and appoint Deputies.

[1] Winthrop, I. 70.

[2] Winthrop told them, a week before, that he had heard of the freemen's intention to repeal the rule made at the first General Court (see above, p. 322), at which "Mr. Ludlow grew into passion, and said that then we should have no government." The proceeding was "cleared in the judgment of the rest of the Assistants, but he continued stiff in his opinion, and protested he would then return back into England." (Winthrop, I. 74.)

[3] The Assistants, at their next Court, laid a duty of a shilling on every pound of beaver bought of an Indian, "towards the defraying of public charges." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 96.)

a common stock," is suggestive. It appears to comprise the elements of a party of opposition to the Magistrates. Oldham, from Watertown, was an active and able man, disaffected towards the existing state of things. His colleague, Masters, had been conspicuous in the late movement in Mr. Phillips's church, and was still contumacious.[1] Edward Gibbons, of Charlestown, had been of the company at Merry-Mount. Conant and Palfrey, of Salem, were of the "old planters" there, over whom the charter officers had assumed control. Robert Coles, of Roxbury, unless there were two of the same name, was a person constantly coming under the censure of the Magistrates.

It was from no discontent with their rulers, but from just sensibility as to their charter rights, that the freemen had vindicated their own prerogative of election. Their vote placed Winthrop and Dudley again in the highest offices, and re-elected the Assistants, adding to them John Humphrey and William Coddington,[2] their ancient associates, who were expected from England, and John Winthrop, the Governor's son, who had lately arrived. "The Governor, among other things, used this speech to the people, after he had taken his oath: 'That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content; he had also received many kindnesses from particular persons, which he would not refuse, lest he should be accounted uncourteous, &c.; but he professed that he received them with a trembling heart, in regard of God's rule, and the consciousness of his own infirmity, and therefore desired them that hereafter they would not take it ill, if he did refuse presents from particular persons, except they were from the Assistants, or from some special friends.' To

Winthrop refuses to receive presents.

[1] Winthrop, I. 81.

[2] Coddington had gone to England a year before. (See above, p. 328.) John Humphrey was the distinguished person of that name who had been so active in the business of the Colony from the first. (See above, pp. 287, 302, 317.)

which no answer was made; but he was told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place." It was a natural and amiable feeling on the part of the "good people." But Winthrop's thorough uprightness made him incapable of being cheated by any such fallacy. Even without the fate of the Great Chancellor fresh in his memory, his was a spirit capable of feeling the danger and the ignominy of the reception of private gifts by a public servant.

Dudley "accepted of his place again, and, the Governor and he being reconciled the day before, all things were carried very lovingly amongst all."[1] It was not without a conflict with himself that Dudley came to this decision. His disgust had been so serious, that, as his second year of office was drawing to an end, he had sent to the Assistants a letter of resignation. At a private meeting they refused to accept it, but he persisted in his purpose for the present.[2] The reader is tempted to wonder, that causes so trivial should have disturbed a man with cares and aims so comprehensive and generous. But such are the inconsistencies of human nature; and occasions no more dignified have involved passionate monarchs in war, and changed the history of nations.

April 3.

May 1.

A fortification was erected in Boston, men of the neighboring towns laboring on it in succession.[3] Several vessels arrived with passengers and stock, the emigration, though not yet renewed with activity, being more considerable than in the year before. A day of thanksgiving was kept for their safe passage, and for the intelligence which they brought of the prosperity of the Protestant interest in the successes of Gustavus Adolphus against the Emperor.

May. Arrivals from England.

June 13.

[1] Winthrop, I. 76.

[2] Ibid., 72, 73.

[3] "On the Corn Hill"; probably that since known as *Fort Hill.*

Wilson returned to his parochial charge in Boston. May 26.
John Eliot,[1] destined to win the name of *Apostle*, had arrived there in the preceding autumn, since which time he had supplied Wilson's place. After an earnest struggle on the part of the Boston people to retain him as their teacher, a church was organized in Roxbury under his ministry and that of Thomas Welde, who had come a week after Wilson's return; and the Deputy-Governor removed from Newtown to place himself under their spiritual charge. A company from Braintree in August.
England sat down at Mount Wollaston, but before long, in conformity to an order of the Magistrates, removed to Newtown.[2]

Wilson's return was soon followed by a gratifying incident. By his good offices, and those of Mr. Welde, Mr. Nowell, and the Dorchester ministers, a better understanding was established between the Governor and the Deputy-Governor. They had continued to meet each other, on occasions of business, with the usual reciprocations of courtesy, and "without any appearance of any breach or discontent." But Dudley, who had a stubborn temper, had been deeply offended by the Governor's course in relation to the settlement at Newtown, and had hitherto received coldly the overtures for an accommodation which the generosity of the other party persevered in making. A conference between them, in Aug. 3.
the presence of their friends who have been named, was "begun with calling upon the Lord." Dudley opened his private grievances, and added strictures on the public

September. Reconciliation between Winthrop and Dudley.

[1] Eliot was now in the twenty-eighth year of his age. His birthplace is not known. He was graduated in 1622 as Bachelor of Arts, at Jesus College, Cambridge, and was afterwards assistant to Thomas Hooker (presently to be mentioned) in a private school near Chelmsford, in Essex. Leaving England from the same motives which impelled other Puritans at the time, he arrived in Boston, November 3, 1631. His election to be teacher of its church creates a presumption against the tradition that it was in compliment to Cotton, whom they are said to have been expecting, that the emigrants gave the name of *Boston* to their chief town.

[2] Winthrop, I. 87.

administration; and the Governor partly justified his conduct, and partly "acknowledged himself faulty." A discussion took place, in which "they both fell into bitterness"; after which, "the meeting breaking up without any other conclusion but the commending the success of it by prayer to the Lord, the Governor brought the Deputy onward of his way, and every man went to his own home." The censure of the arbiters appears to have been limited to the injury which Dudley had received from the Governor's not fixing his residence at the place which had been understood to be agreed upon. "The ministers afterward, for an end of the difference, ... ordered that the Governor should procure them a minister at Newtown, and contribute somewhat towards his maintenance for a time; or, if he could not, by the spring, effect that, then to give the Deputy, towards his charges in building there, twenty pounds." Dudley immediately returned the money, "with this reason to Mr. Wilson, that he was so well persuaded of the Governor's love to him, and did prize it so much, as, if they had given him one hundred pounds instead of twenty pounds, he would not have taken it." And the good men "ever after kept peace and good correspondency together, in love and friendship,"[1] their alliance being subsequently cemented by an intermarriage of their children.

Sept. 4.

A transaction of material interest to the Colony, as well as to Wilson's religious charge, took place a few months after his return. His church, originally formed at Charlestown, had soon transferred itself for worship to the opposite peninsula, where the greater part of its members gradually settled. The portion left behind, thirty-three in number, finding the passage over the river inconvenient in bad weather, and having opportunity to secure the services of a minister of their own, it was determined that they should con-

Division of the Boston church.

[1] Winthrop, I. 82–86, 88, 89.

stitute a separate congregation. Mr. James, recently arrived from England, was placed in charge of it, while Mr. Wilson, who had hitherto been teacher of the original church, was now chosen to be its pastor, and a meeting-house was built for him at what was thought a liberal expense.[1] Following the manner used at Salem for the induction of Higginson and Skelton to office, Wilson, and Oliver, his ruling elder, assisted by two deacons, prayed for each other mutually with imposition of hands.

Nov. 2.

Nov. 22.

Boston was taking the character of the capital town. It was "thought by general consent" to be "the fittest place for public meetings of any place in the Bay."[2] Blaxton's claim from pre-occupancy was quieted by "fifty acres of ground set out for him near to his house in Boston, to enjoy for ever."[3] It was "ordered that there should be a market kept at Boston, upon every Thursday, the fifth day of the week."[4] The Assistants directed the building of a house of correction there for the Colony's use, and of a dwelling-house for a beadle.[5] Boston now contains a population of a hundred and seventy thousand souls. The property of its citizens equals two hundred and sixty millions of dollars. Its imports in a recent year amounted to nearly forty-five millions of dollars, its exports to more than twenty-eight millions, and its shipping to nearly half a million of tons.[6] Its citizens tax themselves annually more than two millions of dollars, of which amount one

Town of Boston.

Oct. 2.

1857.

[1] It is said to have had mud walls and a thatched roof. It stood on the south side of State Street, probably at the easterly corner which it makes with Devonshire Street. (Mass. Hist. Coll., IV. 189.) "For which [the meeting-house] and Mr. Wilson's house, they had made a voluntary contribution of about one hundred and twenty pounds." (Winthrop, I. 87.)

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 101.

[3] Ibid., 104.

[4] Ibid., 112.

[5] Ibid., 100.

[6] Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the Commerce and Navigation of the United States for the Year ending June 30, 1857, pp. 324, 368, 486, 620. The exact amounts were as follows; namely, imports, $44,840,083; exports, $28,326,918; shipping, 447,996 tons.

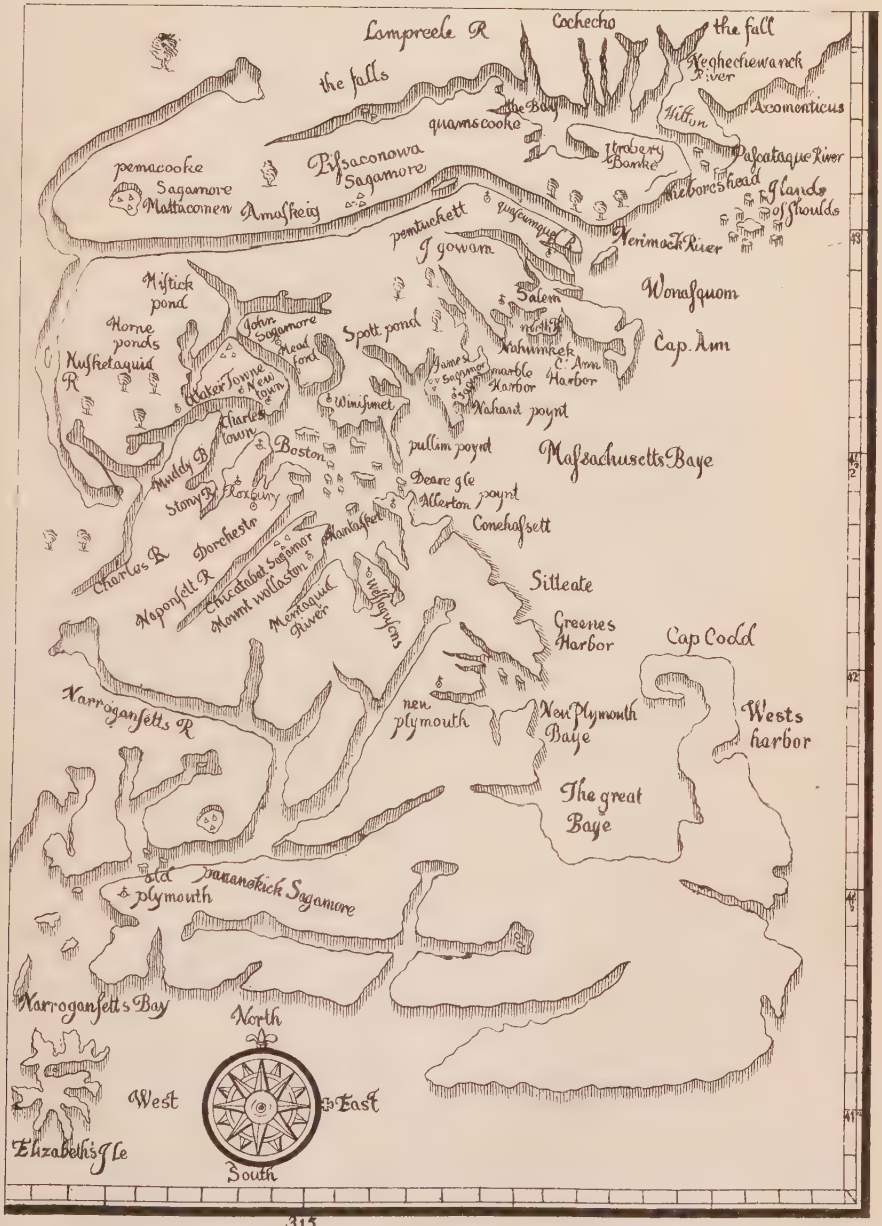
seventh part goes to the support of public schools. A partial collation of the facts belonging to the subject, made at the end of the first forty-five years of the present century, exhibits a result of voluntary contributions of citizens of Boston within that time to purposes of education and charity, and some similar miscellaneous objects of public usefulness, amounting to not less than five millions of dollars.[1] Boston, when its first meeting-house was building, showed only a few cabins, on the eastern declivity, and at the foot, of a hill which sloped towards the sea. At high water, its primitive area, of about two square miles, looked like two islands. A drawbridge was soon thrown across the narrow channel which separated them, and nature had provided for their connection with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, a mile in length. The uneven surface was divided among three hills, since known by the names of Beacon Hill, Fort Hill, and Copp's Hill, with their intervening valleys. Beacon Hill was a conspicuous object from the sea and the surrounding country, its highest peak rising to an elevation of a hundred and eighty feet above the water.[2]

1 American Almanac, XVII. 163.

2 The greatest length of the peninsula of Boston, from Roxbury line to the water, is a little over two miles and three quarters; its greatest width, a little over one mile. It contained about seven hundred acres of land, before it was enlarged by embankments. The following description of it, as it appeared in 1633, is from "New England's Prospect," by William Wood, published at London in 1634. Nothing, I believe, is known of Wood, except that, in August, 1633, (New England's Prospect, 38,) he left this country, where, he says in his Preface, he had "lived these four years." It is probable, therefore, that he came over with Higginson's fleet. "The end of his travel was observation" (Ibid., 47), and he "intended to return shortly." (Ibid., Pref.) On the opposite page is a *fac-simile*, on a reduced scale, of a map prefixed to his book.

"Boston," he says (37, 38), "is two miles northeast from Roxberry. His situation is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hemmed in on the south side with the bay of Roxberry, on the north side with Charly River, the marshes on the back side being not half a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves. Their greatest wants be wood and meadow-ground, which never were in that place, being constrained to fetch their building timber and firewood from the islands in boats and their hay in lighters. It being a neck, and bare of wood, they are not troubled with three great annoy-

The South part of New England as it is Planted this yeare, 1634.



For Pallrey's History of New England, to face page 360.

The colonists had few natives in their vicinity, and they had little opportunity to acquaint themselves with the more formidable tribes of the interior. A Narragansett chief, named Miantonomo, destined afterwards to act a conspicuous part in this history, came to Boston with his wife and several attendants. The Governor "brought the sachem and the rest of the company to his house, and made much of them, which he seemed to be well pleased with"; but he was "with some difficulty" induced to chastise three of his followers, who had broken into a dwelling.[1] Nothing took place to indicate the design of his visit, but it was thought soon after that there were symptoms of general disaffection on the part of the natives. Those in the neighborhood of the settlements made quarrels about the bounds of their lands, and ceased to visit the English houses as had been their custom. The Narra-

Visit of a Narragansett sachem. Aug. 3–5.

Alarm from the Indians.

ances, of wolves, rattlesnakes, and mosquitos. Those that live here upon their cattle must be constrained to take farms in the country, or else they cannot subsist; the place being too small to contain many, and fittest for such as can trade into England for such commodities as the country wants, being the chief place for shipping and merchandise. This neck of land is not above four miles in compass; in form almost square, having on the south side, at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a fort, which can command any ship as she sails into any harbor within the still bay. On the north side is another hill, equal in bigness, whereon stands a windmill. To the northwest is a high mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it; wherefore it is called the Tramount. From the top of this mountain a man may overlook all the islands which lie before the bay, and descry such ships as are upon the sea-coast. This town, although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet it is the most noted and frequented, being the centre of the plantations, where the monthly Courts are kept. Here likewise dwells the Governor. This place hath very good land, affording rich cornfields and fruitful gardens; having likewise sweet and pleasant springs." The highest of the "three little rising hills" on the top of the "high mountain," was directly behind the present State House. It was not levelled till about the year 1810.

By an order of the Assistants, November 7, 1632, the Boston people were allowed to take wood from Dorchester Neck (now South Boston) for twenty years. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 101.) At the time of Wood's departure, Boston was not the richest of the settlements. When the sum of £ 400 was raised for public uses, in the autumn of 1633, Boston and four other towns were assessed £ 48 each, while Dorchester had to pay £ 80. (Ibid., 110.)

[1] Winthrop, I. 86.

gansetts were known to have meetings, with a view, as they gave out, to an expedition against the Nipnets. A friendly *powow* sent information that a plot was on foot; and, as a measure of precaution, a camp was formed in Boston.[1] The small-pox, which spread widely among the Indians about this time, was thought by some to have been the main protection of the feeble colony.

The Indians had had no provocation.[2] Not a foot of land previously in their occupation had been appropriated by the colonists, except by purchase.[3] The region around Massachusetts Bay, almost depopulated by the epidemics which had prevailed before the arrival of the English, was for the most part vacant for their possession, without interference with the rights of any earlier inhabitant. The English Company had been scrupulously tender of the claims, and thoughtful for the welfare, of the aborigines of the soil. "Above all," they wrote to Endicott in their instructions to him and his Council, "we pray you be careful that there be none in our precincts permitted to do any injury, in the least kind, to the heathen people; and, if any offend in that way, let him receive due correction. . . . . If any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their title, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "The earnest desire of our whole company," wrote Cradock in their behalf, "is that you have a diligent and watchful eye over our own people,

1629. April 17.

Feb. 16.

[1] Winthrop, I. 89.

[2] They were tenderly cared for in the ravages of that terrible disease which perhaps frustrated their hostility. "When their own people forsook them, yet the English came daily and ministered unto them." (Ibid., 119; comp. 116.)

[3] Vattel (Law of Nations, Book I. Chap. XVIII.), in maintaining the justice of "restricting savages within the narrowest limits," says: "We cannot, however, fail to applaud the moderation of the English Puritans, who first established themselves in New England, and who, though furnished with a charter from their sovereign, bought from the savages the land which they wished to occupy." — Chalmers bears a like testimony (Revolt, &c., I. 86).

that they live unblamable and without reproof, and demean themselves justly and courteously towards the Indians." There was much more to the same effect. And through the whole period of the colonial history, the legislation respecting the natives was eminently just and humane.[1]

The last harvest raised by the English in and about Boston had been scanty, by reason of cold and wet weather through the summer. Inadequate supplies came from England, and, the winter which succeeded proving a severe one, the settlers suffered scarcely less than in that which immediately followed their arrival. The hardship of the time did not prevent energetic action when intelligence arrived of the concentration of a French force at Port Royal in Nova Scotia, accompanied by "divers priests and Jesuits." The Governor convened the Assistants, with "the ministers, and captains, and some other chief men," to consult upon measures proper to be taken for security against neighbors so unwelcome. And it was determined to build a fort at Nantasket, "to be some block in an enemy's way, though it could not bar his entrance"; to finish that which had been laid out at Boston; and to see "that a plantation should be begun at Agawam [Ipswich], being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle, lest an enemy, finding it void, should possess and take it from us."[2]

Scarcity of food.

1633. Jan. 17.

Preparations against the French.

It was fortunate, in respect to the deficient supply of

[1] "It is agreed that Sir Richard Saltonstall shall give Sagamore John a hogshead of corn for the hurt his cattle did him in his corn." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 102.) "It is ordered that Nicholas Frost, for theft committed by him at Damarill's Cove upon the Indians, ... shall be severely whipped, and branded in the hand with a hot iron, and after banished out of this patent, with penalty that, if ever he be found within the limits of the said patent, he shall be put to death." (Ibid., 100; comp. 121, 133.) That specimens of this kind of legislation are not more frequent, is owing to the determination which it expressed, to the effect of its severity upon disorderly persons, and to the right feeling towards the natives which was generally entertained.

[2] Winthrop, I. 99.

food, that there had been but little addition to the number of the immigrants since the arrival of Governor Winthrop's company.[1] Persons in England who were meditating a removal were naturally willing further to watch the experiment as it was made by those who had gone before; and what they had learned respecting it had not been highly encouraging. The accounts which had been received of sickness and famine, and the return of some whose resolution had not held out, could not fail to give a check to the enterprise. Representations injurious to the Colony had been made by the Brownes, Morton, Gardiner, Ratcliff,[2] and others, and were backed by the great interest of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of John Mason, who was concerned with him in the Eastern grants. These had not been without effect upon the minds of men in power; and well-founded apprehensions were now felt of annoyance from the home government.

The malecontents had actually prevailed to have their complaints entertained by the Privy Council; "among many truths misrepeated," writes Winthrop, "accusing us to intend rebellion, to have cast off our allegiance, and to be wholly separate from the Church and laws of England; that our ministers and people did continually rail against the state, Church, and bishops there, &c." Saltonstall, Humphrey, and Cradock (Ratcliff's master) appeared before a committee of the Council in the Company's behalf, and had the address or the good fortune to vindicate their clients, so that, on the termination of the affair, the king said "he would have them severely punished who did abuse his Governor and the plantation"; and from members of the Privy Council it was learned, says Winthrop, "that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us, for that it was considered

The Colony arraigned before the Privy Council.

Jan. 19.

[1] The number of immigrants in 1631 had been about 90; and 250 in 1632.

[2] See above, pp. 298, 319, 330, 351.

that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us; and it was credibly informed to the Council, that this country would in time be very beneficial to England for masts, cordage, &c., if the Sound [the passage to the Baltic] should be debarred." [1]

The reasons for dismissing the complaint were alleged in the order adopted by the Council to that effect: "Most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at the present their lordships finding that the adventurers were upon the despatch of men, victuals, and merchandises for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation, — their lordships, not laying the fault, or fancies (if any be), of some particular men upon the general government, or principal adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into, have thought fit in the mean time to declare that the appearances were so fair, and the hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom and profitable to the particular adventurers, as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government of the place, and prosperity and comfort to his people there." [2]

[1] Winthrop, I. 100, 108.

[2] Journal of the Privy Council. — The business had been brought before the Lords of the Privy Council, December 19, 1632, by "several petitions offered by some planters of New England, and a written declaration by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knt."; when, "upon long debate of the whole carriage of the plantations of that country," twelve Lords, with authority to call to their assistance any persons whom they should see fit, were directed to "examine how the patents for the said plantations have been granted, and how carried," and "the truth of the

At the annual election in the following spring, for a fourth time Winthrop was made Governor and Dudley Deputy-Governor, and the eight Assistants of the last year were re-chosen, with the addition of Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was expected soon to return from England. By an appointment of the magistrates at their first meeting, "a day of thanksgiving was kept in all the congregations for their deliverance from the plots of their enemies"; and they made a grant of "one hundred and fifty pounds to the Governor, for this present year, towards his public charges and extraordinary expenses."

May 29. Re-election of magistrates.

June 19.

July 2.

aforesaid informations, or such other informations as shall be presented to them," and to "make report thereof to this Board, and of the true state of the plantations as they find them now to stand; for which purpose they are to call before them such of the patentees and such of the complainants and their witnesses, or any other persons, as they shall think fit." (Ibid.)

Emanuel Downing, father of the more famous Sir George Downing, and brother-in-law of Winthrop, proved a good friend to the Massachusetts planters on this occasion. Thomas Wiggin, of Piscataqua, was another. There is in the State-Paper Office a letter from him, dated November 19, 1632, to "Sir John Cooke, Knt., Principal Secretary to his Majesty." He had "lately been in New England in America." The English "in the Massachusetts" were "about two thousand people, young and old," and were "generally most industrious and fit for such a work." He says: "I have observed the planters there, by their loving, just, and kind dealing with the Indians, have gotten their love and respect and drawn them to an outward conformity to the English, so that the Indians repair to the English Governor there and his deputies for justice. And for the Governor himself, I have observed him to be a discreet and sober man, giving good example to all the planters, wearing plain apparel, such as may well beseem a mean man, drinking ordinarily water, and, when he is not conversant about matters of justice, putting his hand to any ordinary labor with his servants, ruling with much mildness; and in this particular I observed him to be strict in execution of justice upon such as have scandalized this state, either in civil or ecclesiastical government, to the great contentment of those that are best affected, and to the terror of offenders." He gives a dismal report of Morton, Gardiner, and Ratcliff, and says he is informed that they "do address themselves to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who by their false informations is now projecting how to deprive that plantation of the privileges granted by his Majesty, and to subvert their government." "Being none of their plantation," he says, "but a neighbor by, I have done this out of that respect I bear to the general good." Wiggin had been superintendent of the upper plantation on the Piscataqua, and was continued in the same trust by Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and their two partners, who purchased that territory in 1632. See below, p. 517.

The death of Archbishop Abbot, making way for the accession of the furious Laud to the primacy, was nearly contemporaneous with the renewal of emigration to New England. Several parties of colonists[1] now arrived at Boston, in one of which came John Haynes, an opulent landholder of the county of Essex, and three famous divines, Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone, and John Cotton. They were men of eminent capacity and sterling character, fit to be concerned in the founding of a state. In all its generations of worth and refinement, Boston has never seen an assembly more illustrious for generous qualities or for manly culture, than when the magistrates of the young colony welcomed Cotton and his fellow-voyagers at Winthrop's table.

Renewal of the emigration.

Sept. 4.

Hooker and Stone went to Newtown, and were chosen, the former to be pastor, and the latter to be teacher, of a church established there. In the sequel of a conference between the "Governor and Council" and "the ministers and elders of all the churches,"[2] Cotton, much coveted by other plantations, was associated with Wilson as teacher of the Boston church. The new ministers were severally inducted to their offices with solemnities similar to those which had been first adopted at Salem.

The borough of Boston in Lincolnshire, which perhaps had already furnished to Massachusetts some of its eminent settlers,[3] stands low upon the river Witham, five

[1] The number, in 1633, was about seven hundred. (Winthrop, I. 100, 102, 104, 105, 108, 111, 115.)

[2] Ibid., 112.

[3] As early as March, 1629, ten "Boston men" had proposed to take a large interest in the Company (see above, p. 292). Of distinguished early emigrants to Massachusetts, commonly referred to the English Boston (see Young, Massachusetts, 48, note 3), Dudley and Coddington came over with the charter; Hough accompanied Cotton, and Bellingham, Leverett, and Hutchinson came later. The Reverend Mr. Whiting, of Saugus, had been rector of the church at Skirbeck, a mile from Boston.

It is from Cotton Mather (Magnalia, Book II. Chap. V.) that we have the particulars of Dudley's early life; and I do not see that he had a motive for misstating them, or that, situated as he was, he could have been mistaken in them. Yet, contrary to his testimony, Thomson (History and Antiquities of Boston, 427) says: "Boston has no

miles from the eastern coast of England. At the end of the thirteenth century, its commercial importance was such, that it is said to have "paid twice as much duty upon the great articles of export of the time as London did, and more than a third of the entire duty paid upon those articles by the whole kingdom."[1] At present, it contains about seventeen thousand inhabitants. Its name was derived from its ancient church of St. Botolph, perhaps the most stately parish church in England, a cathedral in size and beauty. It was from this superb temple that John Cotton came to preach the Gospel within the mud walls and under the thatched roof of the meeting-house in a rude New-England hamlet. He was rector of St. Botolph's for nearly twenty years before Winthrop's emigration to America.[2] The son of a barrister in easy circumstances, he had been successively an undergraduate at Trinity College, and a Fellow and Tutor at Emmanuel College, in the University of Cambridge, where he had acquired a distinguished reputation for ability and learning. In Boston, his professional labors had been of astonishing amount, and the sanctity and mingled force and amiableness of his character had won for him a vast influence. At the departure of Winthrop's company, he made a journey to take leave of them at Southampton.[3] The Lord Keeper, Williams, his diocesan, was his personal friend, and desired to deal gently with his non-conformity. But the Archbishop was not to be eluded. The dogs of the High-Commission

John Cotton.

claim to Thomas Dudley." "Nor," he adds, "has this district any better claim to William Coddington; he was probably a resident of Alford or its neighborhood." Bellingham also, though Recorder of Boston, Thomson thinks never resided there. (Ibid., 428.) Hutchinson was of a Boston family, but his residence was in the neighboring town of Alford. (Ibid., 431.)

[1] Ibid., 347.

[2] Cotton was not at Boston till five years after the attempt of the Scrooby people to sail thence for Holland. See above, p. 138.

[3] Scottow, Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony, 13. — See above, p. 316, note 3.

Court were set upon Cotton, and with difficulty he escaped to London, where for a time he was concealed by John Davenport, then vicar of St. Stephen's, and by other friends. His design to get out of the kingdom was suspected, and pursuivants were sent to arrest him and Hooker at the Isle of Wight, where it was supposed they would embark. But they went on board in the Downs, and, avoiding discovery, arrived at their destination.

After another harvest, there was still "great scarcity of corn, yet people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens."[1] The urgency of the case had shown, for the time, the folly of laws restricting the terms of sale for the necessaries of life; and "the price of corn, formerly restrained to six shillings the bushel, was now set at liberty to be sold as men could agree." The supplies of the year, though insufficient for comfort, were thought to be enough for gratitude; and, "in regard of the many and extraordinary mercies which the Lord had been pleased to vouchsafe of late to this plantation, namely, a plentiful harvest, ships lately arrived with persons of special use and quality, &c.," a day was appointed for "public thanksgiving through the several plantations."[2]

April 1.

Oct. 16.

Enterprises of discovery and trade began to be undertaken. The restless John Oldham, with three companions, found his way by land to Connecticut River, which on their return they reported to be about one hundred and sixty miles distant from the Bay. They had "lodged at Indian towns all the way," and brought back some beaver, some "hemp, which grows there in great abundance, and is much better than the English," and "some black lead, whereof the Indians

September. Expeditions to the Connecticut.

[1] Winthrop, I. 108.

[2] Similar festivals in recognition of the bounties of the year were held October 8, 1638 (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 241), and November 28, 1639 (Ibid., 277); but it does not appear that in the earliest times there was always an autumnal thanksgiving. (See above, p. 187.)

told him there was a whole rock."[1] A vessel of sixty tons, the *Blessing of the Bay*, which had been built by the Governor at Mystic, coasted Long Island (where the natives were "a very treacherous people"), looked into the Connecticut River, and visited the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson, where her people found a courteous reception, and bartered their commodities for some beaver. They protested against any attempt of the Dutch upon Connecticut, and were answered by a request that all controversy upon the subject might be referred to the home governments of the rival parties.[2]

The example of men of such note as had recently come over, and the desire of being associated with them, had a favorable effect on further emigration. The renewal of the movement attracted the attention of the English court, and secured a more favorable hearing for the representations of disaffected persons, if indeed we are not rather to suppose that the injurious representations were invited and rewarded by the government at home. The spirit of the court had now reached its height of arrogance and passion. It was at this time that *ship-money* was first levied, and the Star Chamber was rioting in the barbarities which were soon to bring an awful retribution. The precedent by which, in disregard of the chartered privileges of the Virginia Company,[3] the government of Virginia had been taken into the king's hands, was urged in relation to the Massachusetts Company. An Order in Council was obtained, reciting that "the Board is given to understand of the frequent transportation of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this kingdom to the plantation called *New England*, amongst whom divers persons known to be ill-affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already

Renewal of complaints at court.

1634. Feb. 21.

[1] Winthrop, I. 11. [2] Ibid., 133, 134. [3] See above, p. 192, note.

grown there, especially in point of religion, as, beside the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here." Thereupon it commanded the detention of "divers ships now in the river of Thames, ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions"; the attendance of the masters before the Council, on an appointed day, "with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship"[1]; and the production before the board, by Mr. Cradock, of the charter of the Massachusetts Company. Cradock's reply, that the charter had gone to America, perhaps first apprised the government of that important fact.[2]

Intelligence of the threatening state of affairs in England had not reached the Colony, when a transaction took place of the utmost importance in relation to its internal order. It now contained three or four

Reform of the government.

[1] Journal of the Privy Council. The proceeding began and ended as follows.

1634, February 10. The bailiffs and officers of customs of Ipswich were ordered to stay a ship bound for New England with passengers.

February 14. An order was despatched to the marshals of the Admiralty, and to all officers of the navy and customs, to stop ten ships in the Thames bound for New England.

February 28. The masters of the vessels detained were called before the Council, and, for "reasons best known to their Lordships," it was "thought fit that for this time they should be permitted to proceed on their voyage," after giving bonds, — (1.) To cause all persons on board their ships "that should blaspheme, or profane the holy name of God," to "be severely punished"; (2.) To "cause the prayers contained in the Book of Common Prayers established in the Church of England to be said daily, at the usual hours for morning and evening prayers," in the presence of "all persons aboard these said ships"; (3.) To "receive aboard or transport" no passenger not certified by the officers of the port of embarkation to have "taken both the oaths of allegiance and supremacy"; (4.) To certify, "upon their return into this kingdom, the names of all such persons as they should transport, with their proceedings in the execution of the above articles."

1635, January 21 and February 18. The shipmasters' bonds were cancelled.

[2] Hutchinson (I. 36, 37) erroneously supposes the Orders for detaining ships to have been made in 1633, and to have preceded the large emigration in the summer of that year. For he goes on to say: "It is certain a stop was not put to the emigration. There came over, amongst many others in this year, Mr. Haynes," &c. The Orders are dated in February, 1633, but this was by the reckoning of the Old Style, according to which the year began on *Lady Day*, or the 25th of March. Hutchinson also (37) confounds the action of the Council in this year with that in the year before (see above, p. 365.)

thousand inhabitants, distributed in sixteen towns.[1] The settlements had so extended, that the most distant, Ipswich, was thirty miles from the capital, and it was not convenient or safe for the freemen all to travel to Boston at the same time. Everything tended to a change in the organization of the government, and the considerations which manifested its necessity at the same time dictated its form. The freemen, by some previous concert, the method of which is not recorded, determined to do by representation a part of the office which belonged to them in the management of the corporate business; and, at the fifth General Court held in Massachusetts, twenty-four persons appeared, delegated by eight towns[2] "to meet and consider of such matters as they [the freemen] were to take order in at the same General Court." This great step was an easy extension of the proceeding of the General Court of the second year before, when deputies had been sent from the towns with a power limited to the assessment of taxes.[3]

May 14.

Having assembled, the Deputies "desired a sight of the patent, and, conceiving thereby that all their laws should be made at the General Court, repaired to the Governor to advise with him about it."[4] He told them, that, when

[1] Wood, New England's Prospect, 44. "These [the sixteen which he had described] be all the towns that were begun when I came for England, which was the fifteenth of August, 1633."

[2] Namely, three each from Newtown, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Saugus, and Salem. The towns are here arranged in the order of the lists of their delegates on the record. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 116.)

[3] Winthrop, I. 128. See above, p. 354.

[4] The reader may have felt at a loss to account for the stress laid by Winthrop and his friends on the transfer of the original charter to America. (See above, p. 302.) Certainly neither the legal existence of a corporation, nor the validity of its votes, depends on the presence in one place rather than another of the signed and sealed instrument which gave it being. But, in cases requiring an appeal to public instruments, originals always have necessarily an authority superior to copies. The emigrants to Massachusetts wisely anticipated that occasions for such appeal might arise, and they prudently desired to have the highest evidence in their own hands, both to save it from being corrupted, and to be able to produce it whenever they desired. In the present instance, when a question of rights un-

the patent was granted, it was supposed that the number of freemen would be no larger than could conveniently assemble; that such was no longer the fact, and that they could best act by representatives, in making as well as in executing laws; that whatever might be hereafter, "for the present they were not furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the commonwealth bear the loss of time of so many as must intend it; — yet this they might do at present: namely, they might at the General Court make an order, that, once in the year, a certain number should be appointed, upon summons from the Governor, to revise all laws, &c., and to reform what they found amiss therein; but not to make any new laws, but prefer their grievances to the Court of Assistants"; — and that, finally, in regard to public supplies and the distribution of lands, it was right that they should have a decisive voice, and "that no assessment should be laid upon the country without the consent of such a committee, nor any lands disposed of."[1]

Abundant cause as they had to revere and love Winthrop, the democratic jealousy of the freemen had become aroused by his long continuance in office; — the more when Cotton, lately arrived as he was, had laid down the doctrine in his Election Sermon, that "a magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause, and to be publicly convict, no more than the magistrates may not turn a private man out of his freehold without like public trial."[2] The freemen quietly expressed their judgment as to the theory of public office being of the nature of a freehold, by abstaining for four years from a re-election of any person to be Governor at the end of his official term.

We are not, however, to suppose, that disgust at Cot-

der the charter occurred, if only a copy could have been produced, though certified like that which had been sent to Endicott (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 186), its authenticity would have been subject to suspicion and to cavil.

[1] Winthrop, I. 128, 129.

[2] Ibid., 132.

ton's doctrine respecting permanence in office was even the main cause of the temporary alienation from Winthrop of the confidence of his constituents. Rather, Cotton's injudicious interference was the result of observations, which a little time had sufficed him to make, of the decline of the Governor's popularity. In fact, a party hostile to Winthrop had been forming. It was impossible that a ruler should undertake so untried a task as that which had devolved on him on his arrival here, and execute it with the vigor which the circumstances required, without creating vindictiveness in some, disaffection and distrust in many, uneasiness and doubt even in minds not disposed to be censorious. Any questionable exercise of authority, however necessary at the moment, would excite alarm. Every practical question has two sides; the preferable side is not always evident, and the honest judgment which is honestly overruled is tempted to suspect a selfish bias in the successful party. In the transactions at Watertown, Winthrop might appear to have assumed a somewhat overbearing tone.[1] The "old planters" might naturally be jealous of him. He had had "some differences" with Coddington, as well as with Dudley;[2] and one effect of these perhaps appeared in the election, by the Court which displaced him, of Dudley to be his successor, and of Coddington to be Treasurer.[3] And, in fine, the new policy of introducing Deputies into the

Decline of Winthrop's popularity

[1] See above, pp. 350, 353.

[2] Winthrop, I. 118. — "Some differences fell out still, now and then, between the Governor and the Deputy, which yet were soon healed." Soon after one of them, Winthrop "wrote to the Deputy, who had before desired to buy a fat hog or two of him, being somewhat short of provisions, to desire him to send for one, and to . . . . . accept it as a testimony of his good will. . . . . The Deputy returned this answer: 'Your overcoming yourself hath overcome me.'" He desired, "without offence, to refuse the offer," and rather to buy, "and so very lovingly concluded." (Ibid., 118.) — Bradstreet was now elected Secretary (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 118), the first Secretary chosen on this side of the water.

[3] Coddington was put by the freemen in the place of Pynchon, who (Ibid., 99) had been appointed Treasurer by the Assistants, the second year before. Pynchon was the first Treasurer appointed in the Colony.

General Court was not unnaturally inaugurated by the deposition of the highest representative of the old policy, the head of the Magistrates. This is the first instance of an election by ballot.[1] It would have been hard for the freemen to nerve themselves to the point of displacing their old benefactor by the customary "erection of hands."

The administrative reform, which had evidently been well considered beforehand, was carried out in a business-like manner. It was resolved, "that none but the General Court hath power to choose and admit freemen"; or "to make and establish laws; or to elect and appoint," remove, or determine the duties and powers of, civil or military officers; or "to raise moneys and taxes, and to dispose of lands."[2] A fine was imposed upon the Court of Assistants for consenting to the "breach of an order of Court against employing Indians to shoot with pieces." It was probably apprehended that resentment at these proceedings might tempt the Assistants to withdraw from their duties; and accordingly, "if any Assistant, or any man deputed by the freemen to deal in public occasions of the Commonwealth, should absent himself without leave in time of public business," his negligence was made punishable by fine, at the discretion of the Court. A series of laws of the Assistants "concerning swine" had occasioned dissatisfaction and quarrels. They were now repealed; and it was "agreed that every town shall have liberty to make such orders about

Proceedings of the fifth General Court.

[1] "Chosen by papers." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 132.)

[2] At their Court six weeks earlier (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 111), the Assistants had made some lavish distributions of land, giving, for instance, a thousand acres to Mr. Haynes, five hundred acres to the Deputy-Governor and the same to Mr. Oldham, and so on. And this may have moved the freemen to restrict the right of the Assistants in this respect. But in fact the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants had authority by the charter "to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of, for, and concerning the said lands." (Ibid., 10.) The equitable principle of taxation was now adopted, "that, in all rates and public charges, the towns shall have respect to levy every man according to his estate, and with consideration of all other his abilities whatsoever, and not according to the number of his persons." (Ibid., 120.)

swine as they shall judge best for themselves." The judicial power of the Magistrates was abridged by an order "that no trial shall pass upon any for life or banishment, but by a jury summoned, or by the General Court," the jurors to be designated by the freemen of the several plantations. The charter had provided for four General Courts in a year. Since the first summer of its administration in New England, only one in each year had been convened, the annual spring Court of Elections. It was now "ordered, that there shall be four General Courts held yearly, to be summoned by the Governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the Court." And finally, to give permanence to the representative power of the Commons, it was enacted, "that it shall be lawful for the freemen of every plantation to choose two or three of each town before every General Court, to confer of and prepare such public business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next General Court, and that such persons as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the public affairs of the Commonwealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen, derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c., and to deal in all other affairs of the Commonwealth wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of election of Magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice."[1]

This General Court "held three days, and all things were carried very peaceably."[2] It did not confine its attention to methods for securing the popular authority which it vindicated. The new democracy proved as little loyal to England as the magistracy which had hitherto held unchecked sway. In the preceding month, an oath engaging allegiance to the government of the Colony,

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 117–120. [2] Winthrop, I. 132.

but saying nothing of the government of the king, had been prescribed by the Assistants, to be taken, under penalty of banishment, by "every man of or above the age of twenty years, who hath been, or shall hereafter be, resident within this jurisdiction by the space of six months as an householder or sojourner, and not enfranchised."[1] A form of oath, modelled upon this, was now appointed by the General Court, to be taken by the freemen; and "it was agreed and ordered, that the former oath of freemen shall be revoked, so far as it is dissonant from the oath of freemen hereunder written, and that those that received the former oath shall stand bound no further thereby, to any intent or purpose, than this new oath ties those that now take the same." It was as follows: —

"I, A. B., being, by God's providence, an inhabitant and freeman within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do here swear, by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound, and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same; and further, that I will not plot nor practise any evil against it, nor consent to any that shall so do, but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover, I do solemnly bind myself, in the sight of God, that, when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal

Freeman's oath.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 115.

of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man. So help me God, in the Lord Jesus Christ." [1]

Thus, after an administration of four years under the charter, the freemen took a share in the government out of the hands of the oligarchy of Assistants into their own. The popular representative body which they established was the second, in point of time, on the American continent, the House of Burgesses of Virginia having preceded it by fifteen years. In their measures at this period, the freemen seem to have intended a significant and decisive, but not needlessly offensive, exercise of power. Their reserved and moderate action may have been partly owing to the influence of prescription and habit. It may have been enforced by a sense of the expediency of keeping on good terms with opulent friends of the Magistrates, who, both here and in England, continued their bounties to the settlement.[2] But it is more satisfactory to refer it to a sense of justice towards upright and public-spirited men, and to a wise discernment of the importance of their services to the common weal. Before parting, they remitted the fine which had been imposed on the Assistants of the last year. And they re-elected the old Board, with the addition of the affluent Haynes, lately arrived, and the substitution of Winthrop, the deposed Governor, for Ludlow, who was promoted to the second office.[3]

Winthrop's loss of favor in Boston.

Yet there were not wanting to Winthrop the mortifications with which the popular mood is wont to follow superseded favorites. In the first year after his deposition, "the inhabitants of Boston met to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., 117.

[2] For instance, Mr. Haynes gave fifty pounds towards the construction of a floating battery (Ibid., 109); and when, in July, 1634, "Mr. Humphrey and the Lady Susan, his wife, one of the Earl of Lincoln's sisters, arrived here, he brought more ordnance, muskets, and powder, bought for the public by moneys given to that end; for godly people in England began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation." (Winthrop, I. 135. Comp. ibid, 136; Mass. Col. Rec., I. 128.)

[3] "The new Governor and the Assistants were together entertained at the house of the old Governor, as before." (Winthrop, I. 158.)

them." It seems, there existed an apprehension "that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new-comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had oft persuaded them unto, as best for the town." The consequence was, that, in a vote by ballot, the citizens "left out Mr. Coddington and other of the chief men," and elected Winthrop only "by a voice or two," with "one of the elders and a deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort." As the most effectual way of rebuking the error, Winthrop refused to serve, "telling them that, though for his part he did not apprehend any personal injury, nor did doubt of their good affection towards him, yet he was much grieved that Boston should be the first who should shake off their magistrates, especially Mr. Coddington, who had been always so forward for their enlargement."[1] The people, on a sober second thought, saw their proceeding in the same light, and corrected it by a new election. It is probably owing to this reconsideration that the richer and the poorer sort have now the joint enjoyment of the beautiful park still called *Boston Common.*

Another transaction touched him more nearly. The General Court, which had chosen Dudley to supersede him, had appointed a committee "to receive his account of such things as he had received and disbursed for public use." He presented it at the next General Court, which, agreeably to the new regulation, was held within the following four months. He would have "rested satisfied" with his disbursements for the public, he says in that dignified paper, "but that, being called to account," he was compelled to mention them. After showing them to have exceeded his receipts by more than a thousand pounds, "It repenteth me not," he proceeded, "of my cost or labor bestowed in the service of

Sept. 4.

[1] Winthrop, I. 152.

this Commonwealth, but do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath pleased to honor me so far as to call for anything he hath bestowed upon me for the service of his Church and people here, the prosperity whereof and his gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recompense to me. I conclude with this one request, which in justice may not be denied me, that, as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also; lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to clear it."[1] And on the record it stands, accordingly.

For half a century, down to the abrogation of the charter, the only changes in the arrangements respecting the legislature now constituted, were its division into two branches, sitting apart, with a negative each upon the other, and the practice of two annual sessions instead of four.[2] The Magistrates were chosen by joint vote of the freemen of the Colony. The Deputies were elected by the freemen of their respective towns. The treatment of that remarkable peculiarity in the social condition of New England which is presented in its municipal system, belongs to another part of this work. What is appropriate here is to call attention to its early origin. The name *town* first occurs in the record of the second colonial meeting of the Court of Assistants, in connection with the naming of Boston, Charlestown, and Watertown. The assessment, in the same month, of fifty pounds, in prescribed proportions, to be "collected and levied by distress out of the several plantations,"[3] implies some organization within each plantation for apportioning its share of the assessment among its inhabitants. In the following spring, "every town within this patent" was required to "provide its inhabitants with arms,"[4]

Towns.

1630. Sept. 7.

Sept. 28.

1631. March 22.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 130–132.

[2] See below, p. 431.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 75, 77.

[4] Ibid., 84.

a requisition which also supposes some arrangement in each for corporate action within itself. A rude pattern of a frame of town government was shaped by Dor- 1633. Oct 8.
chester, when, in place of the earlier practice of transacting business at meetings of the whole body of its freemen (the grants of lands being certified by a committee consisting of the clergymen and deacons), it designated certain inhabitants, twelve in number, to meet weekly, and consult and determine upon public affairs, — without any authority, however, beyond other inhabitants who should choose to come and take part in their consultations and votes.[1] About the same time, at Watertown, it was "agreed by the consent of the freemen, that there should be three persons chosen for the ordering of the civil affairs."[2] In the fourth year from the settlement of Boston, at which time the earliest extant records were 1634. Aug. 8.
made, three persons were chosen "to make up the ten to manage the affairs of the town."[3] The system of delegated town action was there perhaps the same 1635. Feb. 10.
which was defined in an "Order made by the inhabitants of Charlestown, at a full meeting, for the government of the town by *Selectmen*,"[4] — the name presently extended throughout New England to the municipal governors. That order was as follows: "In consideration of the great trouble and charge of the inhabitants of Charlestown by reason of the frequent meeting of the townsmen in general, and that, by reason of many men meeting, things were not so easily brought into a joint issue; it is therefore agreed by the said townsmen jointly, that these eleven men whose names are written on the other side (with the advice of pastor and teacher desired in any case of conscience) shall entreat of all such business as shall

1 Clapp, History of Dorchester, 32.

2 Bond, Genealogies, &c. of Watertown, II. 995. — The precise date of this vote is not preserved, but it was at least as early as 1634.

3 Drake, History and Antiquities of Boston, 174, note †.

4 Frothingham, History of Charlestown, 50.

concern the townsmen, the choice of officers excepted; and what they or the greater part of them shall conclude of, the rest of the town willingly to submit unto as their own proper act, and these eleven to continue in this employment for one year next ensuing the date hereof."

The orders, passed at the important assembly of the freemen whose proceedings for reform have been described, to the effect "that every town should be at liberty to make such orders about swine as they should judge best," and that, "in all rates and public charges,"[1] the towns should levy on their inhabitants, are natural expressions of the desire to avoid consolidation, and to vindicate the importance of the municipal democracies. The form of their government, which, dictated by obvious convenience, came easily into use, was presently recognized by the General Court,[2] with proper provisions for its efficiency and limitation; and so became permanent, receiving from time to time extensions and amendments fit to accommodate it to the public needs and convenience. The towns have been, on the one hand, separate governments, and, on the other, the separate constituents of a common government. In Massachusetts, for two centuries and a quarter, the Deputies in the General Court — or *Representatives*, as they have been named under the State Constitution — continued to represent the municipal corporations. In New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, that basis of representation still subsists. Maine, at its separation from the parent State, substituted the *District* system, involving a union of small towns for the choice of a Representative; so as to proportion representation more strictly to numbers.

1636. March 3.

1824.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 119, 120.

[2] Perhaps this action is to be traced to an unofficial conference of some magistrates and ministers six weeks before, at which, among other things, it had been agreed "that trivial things, &c. should be ended in towns." (Winthrop, I. 178.)

CHAPTER X.

Four years had now passed since the arrival of Winthrop's company in Massachusetts Bay. The worst hardships of a new plantation had been outlived. The infant society had been organized into coherence, symmetry, and a capacity of self-preservation and growth. The emigration had been recently renewed, and between three and four thousand Englishmen were distributed among twenty hamlets along and near the sea-shore.

They were settling into such employments as their situation dictated. They cultivated the ground, and took care of herds and flocks.[1] They hunted and fished for a part of their food. They were building houses, boats, and mills; enclosing land with fences; and cutting roads through the forest to connect their towns. Their exports of cured fish, furs, and lumber bought them articles of convenience and luxury in England, and they were soon to build ships to be sold abroad. The customs of daily life were taking the new shapes impressed upon them by the strangeness of a condition so novel, and the course of public administration was beginning to be made regular by precedents.

1634. Condition of the settlers in Massachusetts.

The freemen of the Company were now about three hundred and fifty in number.[2] More than two thirds of

[1] "For four thousand souls there are fifteen hundred head of cattle, besides four thousand goats, and swine innumerable." (Wood, New England's Prospect, 49.)

[2] Three hundred and forty-six freemen had been admitted in Massachusetts before the summer of 1634. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 366–369.) Allowing for deaths on the one hand, and for the immigration of persons who had been admitted to the franchise in England on the other, the number of three hundred and fifty in May, 1634, cannot be far from the truth.

them had been admitted to the franchise since the establishment of the religious test, and a majority of the residue were also members of churches. As yet, all the Magistrates were persons who had first been appointed in England, with the exception of Haynes, and John Winthrop the younger, the Governor's son. Not a few others of the freemen, from both position and character, had good pretensions to be admitted to the body charged with the executive and judicial administration; but, though the charter authorized the choice of twenty Magistrates, for several years only about half as many were elected, the vacancies being kept for the men of rank who were expected to come over.

Freemen and Magistrates.

The clergy, now thirteen or fourteen in number, constituted in some sort a separate estate of special dignity.[1] Though they were excluded from secular office, the relation of their functions to the spirit and aim of the community which had been founded, as well as their personal weight of ability and character, gave great authority to their advice. Nearly all were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and had held livings in the Established Church of England. Several had been eminent among their fellows for all professional endowments.

Clergy.

It is impossible to estimate too highly the strength of that devotion to liberty, civil and religious, which induced men and women, tenderly bred, used to comfort and abundance, and in a condition still to command them, to leave home and kindred, and every attraction of dignified and luxurious life, and become the pioneers of a new society in a distant and rude wilderness. In justice to the great body of the emigrants, another fact should be remembered. There was no economical distress in England to prompt

[1] Wilson and Cotton were ministers of Boston; Skelton and Williams, of Salem; Warham and Maverick, of Dorchester; Welde and Eliot, of Roxbury; Hooker and Stone, of Newtown; Phillips, of Watertown; James, of Charlestown; and Batchelor, of Saugus. William Leverich came over in October, 1633, but was not yet exercising the clerical office.

the enterprise of colonization. There had never been a time when English subjects might live so tranquilly and prosperously, if they would but consent to resign liberty of thought and speech. "This kingdom," says Lord Clarendon, "enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity, that any people, in any age, for so long a time together, have been blessed with, to the wonder and envy of all the other parts of Christendom."[1] And Hume draws the same picture of the visible face of affairs: "The grievances under which the English labored, when considered in themselves, without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name. . . . . Peace, industry, commerce, opulence, nay, even justice and lenity of administration (notwithstanding some very few exceptions), all these were enjoyed by the people, and every blessing of government, except liberty, or rather the present exercise of liberty, and its proper security."[2]

Material prosperity of England.

But there was a portion of the people incapable of harboring so un-English a thought as that of selling their self-respect for an easy life. Peace, opulence, and a lenient administration of government, even had it been more lenient than it was, could not satisfy them, without "the present exercise of liberty," and its proper securities for themselves, their country, and posterity; nor could they endure a government which forbade what they considered as belonging to the character of a good Christian. The general prosperity and comfort of their condition display and enhance the merit of their willingness to submit to enormous sacrifices of external well-being, rather than to the loss of those rights of the mind, of which reflecting and religious minds perceive the incomparable worth. The experience of all ages shows, that, in times of ease and affluence, public virtue is least firm, encroachments of arbitrary rule are easiest made, and the resistance

[1] History of the Great Rebellion, Chap. I.

[2] History of England, Chap. LII.

of patriots is most discouraged and embarrassed. And if men like Clarendon and Hume — men certainly not without humanity, however biassed by false theories — could see in the material prosperity of England a balance for the forfeiture of more ideal blessings, a judgment different from theirs will award especial honor to the wisdom and determination of those prosperous Englishmen, who refused to put quiet and abundance in the scale against possessions estimable only by reason, sentiment, and conscience.

The difficulties of their undertaking were by no means yet over. The freedom which they had attained by heroic sacrifice, they had now to secure by practical wisdom. Its permanence was exposed to two dangers. It was threatened by the hostility of the English government, and by dissensions in the new community. And in circumstances likely to occur, each of these dangers would increase the other.

Of the reality and nearness of the former, the colonists had had warning in the recent complaints against them to the Privy Council. In those proceedings they had been charged with an ambition to be independent of the parent country;[1] and already there were not wanting facts to give a color of truth to the charge, and such facts could not fail to accumulate in future. Whatever may be thought of the plans and hopes entertained by Winthrop and his coadjutors before they left their home, certain it is that an essential independence forced itself upon them in the place of their retreat. The responsibility of a government presently cast itself upon their shoulders. They had a large number of associates to protect by the exercise of all the functions of foreign and domestic administration. They had Indians to look after within their borders, and Indians, French, and Dutch

Independent action a necessity for the colonists.

[1] See above, pp. 364, 370. — "It was doubted they would, in a short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the sovereign magistrate." (Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XXVI.)

without. They could not wait till they could send to England, and get authority from a Secretary of State, likely to be too busy with other matters to give them his attention, before they should hang a murderer, or defend a town against an inroad of savages. If it was indispensable for such offices to be performed, they could not suffer themselves to be disabled from performing them, either by direct opposition to their government, or by interference with their arrangements for organizing the requisite authority and force. And while, on the one hand, every exercise of power in this direction would confirm in them the habit, and stimulate the feeling, of independence, it would, on the other, be a new occasion of distrust on the part of the government at home.

Annoyance from the home government was therefore to be expected by the colonists. For protection against it they were to look to their charter, as long as the grants in that instrument should continue to be respected. Against internal dissensions, they had an easy remedy. The freemen of the Massachusetts Company had a right, in equity and in law, to expel from their territory all persons who should give them trouble. In their corporate capacity, they were owners of Massachusetts in fee, by a title to all intents as good as that by which any freeholder among them had held his English farm. As against all Europeans, whether English or Continental, they owned it by a grant from the crown of England, to which, by well-settled law, the disposal of it belonged, in consequence of its discovery by an English subject. In respect to any adverse claim on the part of the natives, they had either found the land unoccupied, or had become possessed of it with the consent of its earlier proprietors. For the purpose of being at liberty to follow their own judgment and inclination in respect to matters regarded by them with the profoundest interest, they had submitted to an abandonment of their

Political rights of the freemen of Massachusetts.

homes, and to the extreme hardships incident to settlement in a distant wilderness. They thought they had acquired an absolute right to the unmolested enjoyment of what had cost them so dear. Having withdrawn across an ocean, to escape from the interference of others with their own management of their own affairs, they conceived that they were entitled to protect themselves from such interference for the future by the exclusion of disturbing intruders from their wild domain. And that privilege they regarded as further assured to them by the letter of English law; for the royal charter, under which they held, gave them express power to "expulse all such person and persons as should at any time attempt or enterprise detriment or annoyance to their plantation or its inhabitants." In this, as in other respects, their charter was their Palladium. To lose it would be ruin. Whatever might imperil their possession of it, required to be watched by them with the most jealous caution.

Accordingly, the associate who could sympathize with them, and join his hand with theirs in building up the new institutions in church and state, was welcome. Whoever had views and objects so different from theirs, that his presence among them would be an occasion of weakness or of strife, had, in their judgment, no claim to fasten himself upon them. It would be better for both parties that he should establish himself, with others like-minded, in some solitude of his own, as they had done. It would be no hardship to him to be refused a home on soil only as yet begun to be redeemed from the wildness of nature. There was no want of vacant spots, and those close at hand, at least as attractive as that which they had chosen. At all events, having paid so dearly for quiet, they claimed its unobstructed enjoyment. Their poor home was their own; no one had rights there but themselves; it was for them to judge in what cases hospitality would be consistent with security and quiet. The right of self-preservation, for

commonwealths as for individuals, involves almost unlimited immunities. In both, an excessive caution may dictate needlessly rigid measures of defence; but, when the life of either seems in peril, the privilege of counteraction is large enough to justify severer measures than the mere removal of an assailant from the place where the danger of his presence has been disclosed.

However distasteful to the Magistrates the action of the fifth General Court had for the moment been, they found reason to rejoice in it before the next four years were passed. A suspended question of power between them and the freemen, with its attendant disputes and jealousies, would have disabled both parties for the action which events were about to require; and the extension of the responsibility of government to a considerable number of persons, with a great interest in common, and capacity to understand it, proved to be an opportune element of strength. The Court had scarcely been dissolved, when tidings came from England of a nature to impress the minds of the rulers in Massachusetts, more seriously than ever before, with a sense of the magnitude of the task they had undertaken.

1634. July. Important intelligence from England.

On the one hand, new cause for encouragement appeared. Mr. Humphrey, who came over with a quantity of arms and ammunition, presented by friends of the Colony in England, reported that "godly people began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." Intelligence to the same effect came from Scottish settlers in the North of Ireland; and "Mr. Humphrey brought certain propositions from some persons of great quality and estate, and of special note for piety, whereby they discovered their intentions to join the Colony, if they might receive satisfaction therein."[1] The Earl of War-

[1] Winthrop, I. 135; comp. 172. — These "propositions" were published by Hutchinson in his History (I. 433), under the title of "Certain Proposals

wick, in a letter to Winthrop, "congratulated the prosperity of the plantation, encouraged their proceedings, and offered his help."[1]

On the other hand, Mr. Humphrey brought tidings of

made by Lord Say, Lord Brooke, and other persons of quality, as conditions of their removing to New England." The proposals are there accompanied by the answers to each, which, from a letter of Cotton to Lord Say and Sele, appear to have been sent in 1636. The document is extremely curious on many accounts, and not least so for the relation which it bears to the opinion I have offered respecting a vision, in the minds of the Puritan leaders, of a renovated England in America. (See above, p. 308.) The Proposals contemplated a government by two houses of legislature, each with a negative on the other, the first to consist of an hereditary peerage. Divested of some of their details, they were to this effect: "That the commonwealth should consist of two distinct ranks of men, whereof the one should be, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country; the other, for them and their heirs, freeholders"; "that the Governor should ever be chosen out of the rank of gentlemen"; "that, for the present, the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Say and Sele, the Lord Brooke, who had already been at great disbursements for the public works in New England, and such other gentlemen of approved sincerity and worth as they, before their personal remove, should take into their number, should be admitted, for them and their heirs, gentlemen of the country; but, for the future, none should be admitted into this rank but by the consent of both Houses"; "that the rank of freeholders should be made up of such as should have so much personal there as should be thought fit for men of that condition, and have contributed some fit proportion to the public charge of the country, either by their disbursements or labors."

To comply with such "proposals" was impossible. To lose such friends as had made them would have been a great misfortune. It was a misfortune at all events to be postponed; and the Answers, it seems, were deferred nearly two years. These Answers are a model for address, but the paper is too long to copy here. To the Proposal of the lords for themselves and their heirs to be legislators in New England, the Answer is: "The great disbursements of these noble personages and worthy gentlemen we thankfully acknowledge. . . . . But, though that charge had never been disbursed, the worth of the honorable persons named is so well known to all, and our need of such supports and guides is so sensible to ourselves, that we do not doubt the country would thankfully accept it, as a singular favor from God and from them, if he should bow their hearts to come into this wilderness and help us. . . . . When God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But, if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honor, if we should call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority."

[1] Winthrop, I. 137.

serious danger impending from abroad. The jealousy of the royal government, carried on for the last five years without a Parliament, and growing every day more despotic in church and state, had been revealed in the Order of the Privy Council to detain ten vessels about to sail from London with passengers for New England.[1] The attempts against the charter, baffled a year before, were renewed, and an order had been obtained from the Lords of Council for its production at their board.[2] The alarm in Massachusetts reached its height when intelligence came of a design to send out a General Governor,[3] and of the creation of a special commission for the management of all the colonies and for the revocation of their charters, with Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at its head. Mr. Cradock transmitted a copy of the Order of Council requiring the production of the patent. For the present the Magistrates simply replied, that they had no power to do anything of the kind without the direction of the General Court, which would not meet for two months. They sent letters, "to mediate their peace," by Mr. Winslow, on whose personal agency it may be presumed that they also placed reliance.

Feb. 21.

April 10. Colonial commission, and recall of the charter.

July.

There is no matter of surprise in the vigorous assault now made upon the charter of Massachusetts by the counsellors of King Charles. The difficult questions are, how it came to be originally granted, and why, when assailed only a year before the present hostile movements, it had been treated with so much favor.[5] Considering the character of the king on the one hand, and the provisions of the charter on the other, it seems necessary to conclude, either that its tenor was not well known to him when it received his assent, or else

Policy of the court in relation to Massachusetts.

[1] See above, pp. 370, 371.

[2] Winthrop, I. 135. — The Order is in Hazard, I. 341.

[3] This news came in the first week of August, in a letter from Thomas Morton to "Mr. Jeffery, an old planter," who carried it to the Governor. (Winthrop, I. 138.)

[4] Ibid., 137.

[5] See above, pp. 364, 365.

that his purpose in granting it was to encourage the departure of Puritans from England, at the time when he was entering upon measures which might bring on a dangerous conflict with that party. The former supposition is scarcely to be reconciled with what appears to be a well-authenticated fact, that the charter was procured through the intervention of that vigilant courtier and sensitive churchman, Lord Dorchester.[1] The latter supposition derives some plausibility from the tortuous policy of the king, a policy to which his experienced diplomatist was in no wise averse.

The charter of the Massachusetts Company had passed the seals almost simultaneously with the king's annunciation, after an exciting controversy with three Parliaments, of his purpose to govern without Parliaments in future. It might well appear to him, that, in the contests which perhaps were to follow, his task would be made easier if numbers of the patriots could be tempted to absent themselves from the kingdom; and when he should have succeeded, and the laws and liberties of England should be stricken down, there would be nothing in his past grants to embarrass him in his treatment of the exiles, and his arm would be long enough to reach and strong enough to crush them in their distant hiding-place. Or, if no scheme so definite as this was entertained, the grant of the charter, inviting attention to a distant object, might do something for his present relief, by breaking up the dangerous concentration of the thoughts of the Puritans on the state of affairs at home.[2]

[1] See in Chalmers's "Annals" (147) "the docket of the grant," as preserved in the Privy-Seal Office. — Lord Dorchester was the Sir Dudley Carleton who, in the capacity of King James's ambassador, had worried Brewster in the Netherlands. See above, p. 141, note.

[2] Thomas Carew, whose name contests with that of Waller the praise of having brought English versification to its modern refinement, wrote a masque entitled "Cœlum Britannicum," which was performed at Whitehall, February 18, 1633, the king himself taking a part in it. Momus, one of the speakers, proposes to transport the Vices to New England: "I should conceive it a very discreet course . . . . . to embark them

Whatever was the king's design in granting the charter, nothing occurred to change his course of action in respect to it for the next four years. Within that time there had been only one large emigration; and, if he heard anything of the Colony, he must have heard that it seemed languishing. There was therefore no motive to lay a heavy hand on it; and accordingly the complaint of Mason and others at the end of the fourth year was carelessly dismissed. In the fifth year, things took a different turn. Eight or nine hundred Englishmen went to Massachusetts, some of them important men. The Colony had got through its first difficulties, and was vigorous. If the king and his Archbishop had heard of all that it had been doing, they knew that its progress could not be stopped too soon for their advantage. On the other hand, Charles seemed to have surmounted the first difficulties of his career as an absolute monarch. More than five years had passed of government without a Parliament, and England was not yet in arms. Subservient courts of justice, and the parasites about his person, may well have persuaded him that England was at his feet. He had just come from his coronation in Scotland, elated with his loyal reception in the dominion of his fathers. The Star Chamber was in unopposed activity. Laud had just been made the first clergyman, peer, and counsellor of the realm; and Laud, at the ear of his sovereign, was not a man to forget the claims of the Church, or to postpone the harsh exercise of power. We may find it hard to satisfy ourselves of the reason for granting the charter of Massachusetts Bay; but, as to the causes of the early proceedings for its destruction, there is no perplexity.

all together in that good ship called the Argo, and send them to the plantation in New England, which *hath purged more virulent humors from the politic body*, than guaiacum and all the West-Indian drugs have from the material bodies of this kingdom." (Chalmers, English Poets, V. 629.) Considering the intimate relations of Carew to the court, this may fairly be interpreted as an indication of the supposed policy of the king.

The General Court of Magistrates and Deputies came together, and on their table lay a copy of the instrument which gave power to eleven courtiers to ruin them and theirs. The Commissioners were found to be the two Archbishops, six lay peers, and three other high functionaries. They, or any five of them, were invested with "power of protection and government" over all English colonies. They had authority "to make laws, orders, and constitutions"; to provide for the maintenance of a clergy "by tithes, oblations, and other profits"; "to inflict punishment, ... either by imprisonment or other restraints, or by loss of life or members"; to remove and appoint governors and other officers; to establish ecclesiastical courts; to hear and determine complaints, "either against the whole colonies, ... or any private member thereof," and for that purpose "to summon the persons before them"; and finally, to call in all letters-patent, and, if any were found to convey privileges hurtful to the "crown or prerogative royal," to cause them to be legally revoked.[1]

Since the tidings came from England of the alarming measures in train, the members of the Court had had time for conference with their neighbors, and were probably well agreed as to what business they should transact. A determined spirit does not closely calculate resources. It easily believes that the way will appear, when the will is constant. The first orders adopted were for the erection of fortifications on Castle Island in Boston harbor, and at Charlestown and Dorchester. Next the captains were authorized "to train unskilful men so often as they pleased, provided they exceeded not three days in a week." Dudley, Winthrop, Haynes, Humphrey, and Endicott were appointed "to consult, direct, and give command for the managing and ordering of any war that might befall for the space of a year next

Sept. 3. Proceedings of the General Court.

[1] The commission is in Hazard, I. 344.

ensuing, and till further order should be taken therein." Arrangements were made for the collection and custody of arms and ammunition. Then various small matters of common legislation were despatched as usual. Swine, weirs, ordinaries, and ferries were regulated; the public use of tobacco, and the making, buying, and wearing of "slashed clothes," were forbidden; and, after appointing "a day of public humiliation throughout the several plantations," the General Court adjourned.[1] During the winter, no new alarm came from abroad. The ministers were invited by the Governor and Assistants to a consultation at Boston on the existing state of affairs. All came but one, Mr. Ward, who was lately arrived; and the unanimous advice of those present was: "If a General Governor were sent, we ought not to accept him, but defend our lawful possessions, if we were able; otherwise to avoid or protract."[2] It might prove that the king of England was able to coerce these people by force; to coerce them by intimidation was beyond his power.

1635. Jan. 19.

The great subject of anxiety presented itself again at the next General Court. An order was passed, "that the fort at Castle Island, now begun, shall be fully perfected, the ordinances mounted, and every other thing about it finished"; and the Deputy-Governor, who had it in charge, was empowered "to press men for that work."[3] By another vote, it was directed "that there should be forthwith a beacon set on the sentry hill at Boston, to give notice to the country of any danger, ... and that, upon the discovery of any danger, the beacon should be fired." To secure a supply of musket-balls, they were made a legal tender for payments, at the rate of

March 4.

1 Mass. Col. Rec., I. 123–128.

2 Winthrop, I. 154.

3 "The Governor and Council, and divers of the ministers and others," had just before made a *reconnoissance* of Castle Island, with a view to this measure. (Winthrop, I. 137.) Maverick was directed to remove from his island, which was opposite to Castle Island, into the town. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 140.) This must have been on account of his doubtful loyalty to the Colony.

a farthing apiece, instead of the coin, the circulation of which was forbidden. Further rules were made for the enforcement of a strict military discipline; and the "Freeman's Oath" of fidelity to the local government was required to be taken by every man "resident within the jurisdiction," and being "of or above the age of sixteen years." Finally, a military commission was established with extraordinary powers. The Magistrates and Mr. Bellingham were the commissioners. They were authorized "to dispose of all military affairs whatsoever"; "to ordain and remove all military officers"; "to do whatsoever might be behooveful for the good of the plantation, in case of any war that might befall"; "to imprison or confine any that they should judge to be enemies to the commonwealth; and such as would not come under command or restraint, as they should be required, it should be lawful for the commissioners to put such persons to death."[1]

The demand from England for a transmission of the charter had received no other notice from the General Court than what these proceedings imply. The government of Charles the First was pressed with too much business to follow up a policy of consistent vigor against the contumacious Colony. But the Lords Commissioners made the provisional experiment of an Order prohibiting the emigration of all persons of the degree of "a subsidy man" without a special license, and of all persons beneath that degree without evidence of their having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and of their "conformity to the orders of discipline of the Church of England."[2] This was while another measure of better promise was in train. As far as the Order took effect, it would enfeeble the resistance of the Massachusetts Company, now doomed to be overthrown by an abuse of law.

December.

The Council for New England, having struggled through nearly fifteen years of maladministration and ill-luck, had

[1] Mass. Col. Rec. I. 135–143. [2] The Order is in Hazard, I. 347.

yielded to the discouragements which beset it. By the royal favor, it had triumphed over the rival Virginia Company, to be overwhelmed in its turn by the just jealousy of Parliament, and by dissensions among its members. The Council, having, by profuse and inconsistent grants of its lands,[1] exhausted its com-

Dissolution of the Council for New England.

[1] The following is a list of grants made, or alleged to have been made, by the Council for New England, before the final partition.

1621. June 1. To John Pierce, of lands at Plymouth. For the particulars of this transaction, see above, p. 194.

1621. To Sir William Alexander, of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. This grant was confirmed by a royal charter of September 10 of the same year. See above, p. 234.

1622. March 9. To Captain John Mason, of a tract, called *Mariana*, extending from Naumkeag to the river Merrimack. See above, pp. 204, 205.

1622. April 20. To John Pierce, of the lands of the Plymouth planters. See above, p. 209.

1622. May 31. Patents were ordered "to be drawn for the Earl of Warwick and his associates." This transaction I understand to have belonged to the partition of the territory from the Bay of Fundy to Narragansett Bay among twenty associates. See above, pp. 222, 285.

1622. August 10. To Gorges and Mason, of *Laconia*, extending along the coast from the Merrimack to the Kennebec. See above, p. 205.

1622. November 16. "To Mr. Thompson" (Journal of the Council for New England). This may well have been David Thompson, afterwards resident on the Piscataqua and in Boston harbor.

To the same year must be referred the patent to Thomas Weston, by virtue of which he attempted the plantation at Wessagusset. See above, p. 199.

1622. December 30. To Robert Gorges, of lands on Boston Bay. See above, p. 206.

1623. To Ferdinando Gorges (grandson of Sir Ferdinando) and Colonel Norton, of twenty-four thousand acres, at Agamenticus. See Gorges, Ch. XXV.

1625. If Wollaston had a patent, it belongs to this or an earlier year. See above, p. 222.

1627. To the Plymouth people, of lands on the Kennebec. See above, p. 230.

1628. March 19. To Sir Henry Roswell and his five associates, of the tract between the Merrimack and the Charles, and three miles beyond each river. See above, p. 288.

1629. Nov. 7. To John Mason, of *New Hampshire*, from the Piscataqua to the Merrimack. See Hazard, I. 291.

1630. January 13. To the Plymouth Colony, of the lands occupied by it, and of lands on the Kennebec. See above, p. 332.

1630. February 12. To Thomas Lewis, Richard Bonython, Richard Vines, and John Oldham, of lands on Saco River.

1630. March 13. To John Beauchamp, of London, and Thomas Leverett, of Boston, of a tract of a hundred square leagues to the west of Penobscot Bay. This commonly goes by the name of the *Muscongus* or the *Waldo* Patent, the latter being the name of a subsequent purchaser.

To the same year belongs the *Lygonia* or *Plough* Patent, of sixteen hundred square miles between Cape Porpus and Cape Elizabeth, to John Dy and others.

1631. March 12. To Edward Hil-

mon property, as well as its credit with purchasers for keeping its engagements, had no motive to continue its organization. Under these circumstances, it determined on a resignation of its charter to the king,[1] and a surren-

ton, of a tract including the present towns of Dover, Durham, and Stratham, with part of Newington and Greenland, in New Hampshire.

1631. November 1. To Thomas Cammock, of lands now included in the town of Scarborough, in Maine.

1631. November 3. To Gorges and Mason, and their associates, Henry Gardner, George Griffith, and Thomas Eyer, of lands on the Piscataqua.

1631. December 1. To Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyeare, merchants of Plymouth, of lands bounded on the east by those of Cammock.

To this or to an earlier year must be referred the patent to the Earl of Warwick which was the foundation of his grant, March 19, 1632, to Lord Say and Sele and others, of the lands of Connecticut. See Hazard, I. 318.

1632. February 29. To Robert Aldsworth and Giles Elbridge, merchants of Bristol, of twelve thousand acres (with certain rights of extension), constituting the Pemaquid Patent.

1633. December 6. The Council confirmed a partition of lands made among themselves by the patentees of November 3, 1631.

The irregular manner of transacting the business of the Council is apparent. Nor, in the defective state of the evidence, is it possible to say that this enumeration of alleged grants is complete, or otherwise exact. Shirley wrote to the Plymouth people in 1629 (Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 71), "I am persuaded Sir Ferdinando (how loving and friendly soever he seems to be) knows he can, nay, purposes to, overthrow, at his pleasure, all the patents he grants." They could not all have stood together.

[1] The reader may find in Hazard (I. 390–394) the "Declaration of the Council for New England for the Resignation of the Great Charter, and the Reasons moving them thereto," adopted April 25, 1635, in a meeting "at the Earl of Carlisle's chamber at Whitehall"; their Petition to the king for patents to the members to hold their lands in severalty (May 1); and their Act of Surrender of the Great Charter of New England to his Majesty (June 7). The Declaration recites, as reasons for the surrender, the great expenses which had been incurred, attended with loss of "near friends and faithful servants"; the intrigues and vexations of the rival Company of Virginia, which King James had not been able to correct; and, above all, the interference of the charter of the Massachusetts Company, which is alleged to have been "surreptitiously gotten," in derogation of the rights of Captain Robert Gorges and others. The Council made its contribution to the aims of the king and the Archbishop by representing, that the Massachusetts colonists "made themselves a free people, and for such hold of themselves at present," and that there was no way to reduce them except "for his Majesty to take the whole business into his own hands."

I referred above (p. 193, note) to a copy, in the State-Paper Office in London, of a portion of the Journal of the Council for New England, embracing the period from November, 1631, to November, 1638. It preserves interesting particulars connected with the dissolution of that body.

At the time of the adoption of the "Declaration," Lord Gorges was Presi-

der of the administration of its domain to a General Governor of his appointment, on the condition that all the territory, a large portion of which by its corporate action had

dent of the Council, having been elected a week before, April 18, 1635. John Mason had been Vice-President two years and a half, since a few months after the appearance of a dispute with the Earl of Warwick. Probably the key to the state of parties in the Council at this time would be found in the differences of sentiment as to the tendency of affairs in Massachusetts.

"A meeting at Warwick House in Holborn," June 29th, 1632, was the second from which Lord Warwick was absent, of those registered in the extant portion of the Journal of this period. There was evidently some disagreement with him. "The Lord Great Chamberlain and the rest of the Council now present sent their clerk unto the Earl of Warwick for the Council's great seal, it being in his Lordship's keeping. His Lordship's answer was, that, as soon as his man Williams came in, he should bring it unto them." And "it was now agreed that the place of meeting for the Council of New England shall be hereafter at Captain Mason's house in Fenchurch Street," instead of Warwick House, as it had hitherto been. At the second meeting before this, dissatisfaction had been expressed with a warrant given by Lord Warwick and Lord Arundel to one Ashley, "for his going into New England and being assisted there." Ashley was, I suppose, the same person who became associated with Allerton and the Plymouth people in their trade to the Penobscot (see above, p. 337). Lord Warwick's name does not appear at any subsequent meeting of the Council till the last of those recorded.

November 6, 1632, "It was ordered that the Council's great seal, which now remaineth in the Earl of Warwick's hands, should be called for, that so it might be ready for sealing of patents, as there should be cause." At the same meeting it was determined, "that a new patent from his Majesty be obtained," and that Lord Baltimore's patent should be examined as a model. And "certain propositions were read and propounded concerning New England's affairs, as things necessary for the Council to take into present consideration, which were as followeth, viz.: that the number of the Committee be with all convenient speed filled; that all patents formerly granted be called for and perused, and afterwards confirmed, if the Council see it fit; that no ships, passengers, or goods be permitted to be transported for New England, without license from the President and Council, or their deputy or deputies; that fishermen be not permitted to trade with salvages, nor the servants of planters, nor to cut timber for their ships, without license; that letters from his Majesty to the lords of shires, for setting forth their poorer sort of people to New England, be procured; that a surveyor speedily be sent over for settling the limits of every plantation according to the patent; also, commissioners to be sent over to hear and determine all differences, and relieve all grievances there, if they can; if not, to certify the President and Council here in whom the fault is, that speedy order for redress may be taken." Finally, "the Dutch plantation" was "to be considered of."

November 26, 1632. "In regard the Company's great seal remained in the Earl of Warwick's hands, the Lord Great Chamberlain was entreated to move the said Earl of Warwick effectually for the delivery of it unto Sir Fer-

already been alienated to other parties, should be granted in severalty by the king to the members of the Council. Twelve associates accordingly proceeded to a distribution

dinando Gorges, in whose hands it ought to remain; also Sir Ferdinando Gorges promised to desire the Lord Marshal to join with the Lord Great Chamberlain in showing the Earl of Warwick the necessity of having the seal delivered forthwith." "Captain John Mason was this meeting chosen Vice-President." This, I suppose, was an arrangement for having, in the unsatisfactory relations to Lord Warwick, a leader of the opposite party permanently in the chair in the President's absence.

June 26, 1634. Mr. Humphrey this day complained to the President and Council for not permitting ships and passengers to pass from hence for the Bay of Massachusetts, without license first had from the President and Council or their deputy, they being free to go thither and to transport passengers, not only by a patent granted unto them by the President and Council of New England, but also by a confirmation thereof by his Majesty, under his Majesty's great seal. Hereupon some of the Council desired to see the patent which they had obtained from the Governor and Council, because, as they alleged, it pre-indicted former grants. Mr. Humphrey answered, that the said patent was now in New England, and that they had oftentimes written for it to be sent, but as yet they had not received it."

February 3, 1635. "At a meeting at the Lord Gorges's house, [at which were present the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Sterling, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Captain John Mason,] . . . . . was an agreement made for the several divisions upon the sea-coast of New England," to take effect simultaneously with the surrender of the charter. And an entry in these words is annexed: "Mem. The 18th day of April following, leases for three thousand years were made of the several divisions to several persons intrusted, for their benefits." — For the grant made to Mason, conformably to this agreement, see Hubbard's History, Chap. XXXI. This clause occurs in it: "in whose presence, February 3, 1634 [1635 by change of style], lots were drawn for settling of divers and sundry divisions of lands." The learned editor of the second edition of Hubbard considers the words *in whose presence* to refer to King James, who is mentioned in the next preceding clause; and as that monarch died nine years before 1634, the editor has thought it necessary to change the date, and has accordingly altered it to 1624, so as to identify the partition spoken of with that by which Lord Sheffield obtained his title to Cape Ann (see above, pp. 222,285). But, 1. the partition to which Lord Sheffield was a party took place, not in 1624, but in 1622; 2. in the manuscript of Hubbard, the date 1634 is twice very plainly written, once in the text, and once in the margin. The mere construction of the sentence would naturally refer the words *in whose presence* to the king. But, in view of the facts, I think there can be no doubt about referring them to "the Council of New England," who are mentioned just before the mention of the king. In the "Declaration," a partition (that of 1622) is spoken of as having taken place "in his late Majesty's presence" (Hazard, I. 391); but from this use of the phrase in one case in reference to the king, no inference whatever can be drawn, that in the other case also the

of New England among themselves by lot; and nothing was wanting to render the transaction complete, and to transfer to them the ownership of that region, except to

reference must be to him. Lots might be as fitly drawn in the Council's presence as in his. The question is material, because the proposed emendation of Hubbard's text would unsettle the important date of that distribution of the country, in which Lord Sheffield, and through him the Plymouth people, had a part.

April 26, 1635. "At a meeting at the Earl of Carlisle's chambers at Whitehall." "The Marquis Hamilton, being in physic, sent word to this meeting by John Winnington, that he would agree to whatever they should resolve on." They resolved on a petition praying for separate patents according to their agreement, and they listened to a "Declaration" from the king respecting a General Governor, of which the following was part. "Forasmuch as we have understood and been credibly informed of the many inconveniences and mischiefs that have grown and are like more and more to arise among our subjects already planted in the parts of New England, by reason of the several opinions and differing humors springing up between them, and daily likely to increase, ... we have resolved with ourself to empower our servant, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as well for that our gracious father of blessed memory as we have had of long time good experience of his fidelity, circumspection, and knowledge of his government in martial affairs and civil, besides his understanding of the state of those countries, wherein he hath been an immediate mover, and a principal actor, to the great prejudice of his estate, long troubles, and the loss of many of his good friends and servants."

May 5, 1635. "Thomas Morton [I suppose, of Merry Mount] is now entertained to be Solicitor for confirmation of the said deeds under the great seal, as also to prosecute suit at law for the repealing of the patent belonging to the Massachusetts Company; and is to have for fee twenty shillings a term, and such further reward as those who are interested in the affairs of New England shall think him fit to deserve upon the judgment given in the cause."

November 26, 1635. Orders were made for the passing of the particular patents, "to be expedited with all conveniency"; for an application to the Attorney-General "to agree upon the liberties thereof, to be obtained of his Majesty"; and for a petition for allowance to be made "for the maintenance and supportation of the Governor in such estate as might sort with the honor thereunto belonging."

From this day it appears that the meetings of the Council ceased for a time. Yet it was not formally dissolved; for there is a record of two later meetings, held March 22 and November 1, 1638. The last meeting was held "at the Lord Stirling's house," and he and Lord Maltravers received additional grants, Lord Stirling's consisting of the country between the St. Croix and the Sagadahock, the ocean and "the river of Canada." The last entry is, "It is likewise agreed, that the Lord Gorges and Sir Ferdinando Gorges shall either of them have sixty miles more added to their proportions further up into the mainland."

Among the manuscripts in the State-Paper Office entitled *America and West Indies*, is here and there a document not without interest in connection with this course of events. March 21, 1635, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in anticipation of his appointment to be Governor-

oust the previous patentees, of whom the most powerful body were colonists in Massachusetts Bay.[1]

To effect this, Sir John Banks, Attorney-General, brought a writ of *quo warranto* in Westminster Hall against the Massachusetts Company. Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, and twelve others of the original associates, "came in and pleaded that" they "had never usurped any the said liberties, privileges, and franchises in the information, nor did use or claim any of the same"; and judgment was given

1635. September. *Quo warranto* against the Company of Massachusetts Bay.

General, wrote to Secretary Windebank, urging upon the Privy Council the importance of prompt action for a repeal of the Massachusetts charter, and of giving him authority for a temporary administration of part of his duties by deputy. — October 1 of the same year, Secretary Windebank conveyed to Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Admiralty Court, the king's pleasure "that Captain John Mason, Treasurer to his Majesty's late armies, shall be Vice-Admiral of New England in America," from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of latitude; and he directed a patent to be drawn accordingly. — The following is part of an anonymous letter "to Mr. Comptroller, from New England," of July 28, 1636. It contains the first threat I have seen that the colonists would remove to some more distant place, in case they were disturbed where they were: "The common report is, the patent is damned; in which regard much unsettlement is like to grow amongst ourselves, and great discouragement to the whole plantation; for those that are truly sincere and are come out to advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus must either suffer in the cause, or else labor for such retreat as God shall direct them to. In either of which cases, I do not doubt but that within two years this plantation, which is now flourishing, would become desolate, and either possessed again with Indians or emptied by pestilence. For it is not trade that God will set up in these parts, but the profession of his truth, and therefore, if God's ends be not followed, man's ends will never be blessed nor attained."

[1] That this measure was taken by the Council for New England in collusion with the court, and in reference to the measures in progress for vacating the charter of Massachusetts, is not matter of conjecture merely. From the petition of the Council for New England to the Privy Council (Hazard, I. 381) relative to the surrender, it appears that the latter body had previously given "order to Sir Ferdinando Gorges to confer with such as were chiefly interested in the plantations of New England, to resolve whether they would resign wholly to his Majesty the patent of New England," &c. — It is not known that the distribution now made by the Council was ever confirmed by the king in any other instance than that of the grant to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. (See Chalmers, Annals, 299; Hubbard, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XV. 232.) Of the pretended confirmation, by the king, of the grant to Mason, the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General, Ryder and Murray, said in 1752, "No such charter as this appears upon record." (Chalmers, Opinions of Eminent Lawyers, &c., I. 62.)

that they "should not for the future intermeddle with any the liberties, privileges, or franchises aforesaid, but should be for ever excluded from all use and claim of the same and every of them." Cradock, the former Governor, made default; and, in his case, "judgment was given that he should be convicted of the usurpation charged in the information, and that the said liberties, privileges, and franchises should be taken and seized into the king's hands, the said Matthew not to intermeddle with and be excluded the use thereof, and the said Matthew to be taken to answer to the king for the said usurpation."[1] Of the eleven remaining original patentees, Humphrey, Endicott, Nowell, Bellingham, Pynchon, and William Vassall were then in New England, and Johnson had died there.

It seemed that, when a few more forms should be gone through, all would be over with the presumptuous Colony. In the view of English law, the Englishmen who had gone to Massachusetts had no rights and no property there. Divided into provinces, Massachusetts belonged to Gorges, Mason, the Marquis of Hamilton, and whoever else had won by lot any of its dismembered parts. In the regular course of proceeding, nothing remained but for the local government voluntarily to abdicate, and for the people to abandon their homes, or else for the king to send out his Governor, backed by a sufficient force, and turn over the land to its new masters. But neither of these things took place. In Massachusetts, the whole proceeding was a nullity. Everything went on, as if Westminster Hall had not spoken. "The Lord frustrated their design."[2]

[1] The writ and the judgment may be seen in Hazard (I. 423–425), and in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers" (101–104). The charges, fourteen in number, relate, not only to the alleged usurpation and abuse of powers, but to the due exercise of powers expressly given by the charter; so that the complaint against the Company rested partly upon a pretence that its charter was *ab initio* invalid.

[2] Winthrop, I. 161.

The disorders of the mother country were a safeguard of the infant liberty of New England. Laud was busy with his more important plan of *prelatizing* the Church of Scotland. England was in a rage on the question of ship-money. An unsuccessful attempt to launch a vessel intended to bring over the General Governor, and the decease at this juncture of John Mason, were regarded by Winthrop as eminent interpositions of God in behalf of his chosen people.[1] The death of the able and energetic Mason was, at all events, a great relief to the leaders of affairs in Massachusetts. As a principal member, and Secretary, of the Council for New England, and as holder of patents with which the Massachusetts charter interfered, he had been indefatigable in his endeavors for the annulling of that instrument. Disaffected persons, returning from the Colony, had steadily resorted to him as the standing agent of their revenge; and, with whatever influence he could exert, he had promoted the schemes of a Commission for the Plantations and of a General Governor. Though the more generous Gorges lived to render good service to his master in the great civil war,[2] he was already growing old, and was dispirited by the thirty years' ill-success of projects which had wasted his fortune and involved him in infinite discom-

[1] Winthrop, I. 187. — "One Ferdinando Gorges was nominated for Governor, and there was a consultation had to send him thither with a thousand soldiers; a ship was now in building and near finished to transport him by sea, and much fear there was amongst the godly lest that infant commonwealth and church should have been ruined by him; when God, that had carried so many weak and crazy ships thither, so provided it, that this strong, new-built ship in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how, this spring ensuing, and so preserved his dear children there at this present from that fatal danger, nor hath since suffered them as yet to come under the like fear." (Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., II. 118.)

[2] In Bell's "Memorials of the Civil War" (I. 299) is an interesting letter of thanks from Gorges to Lord Fairfax, dated June 1, 1646. This was after he had met with "untimely sufferances," being taken prisoner, when in arms for the king. He represents himself as having been "fearful to side with either party, as not able to judge of so transcendent a difference."

fort. It was perhaps owing not a little to the decay of his former activity, that the proceedings under the *quo warranto* against the Massachusetts Company proved fruitless.

While the events which have been now related wore their most alarming phase, domestic embarrassments added to the terrors of foreign encroachment. In the midst of a crisis calling for all the energy and wisdom of the colonists to avert the ruin that seemed to impend, a character prominent in New England history interposed by a course of action which complicated the existing difficulties.

Roger Williams,[1] after some residence at the University

[1] In the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, are six original letters which passed between Mrs. Sadleir, daughter of Sir Edward Coke, and Williams, when the latter was in London on the business of his plantation in 1652. He had just come, he says, "from some parts of New England, with some addresses to the Parliament." Prefixed to the letters is the following note by Mrs. Sadleir's hand, which must have been written after the Restoration.

"This Roger Williams, when he was a youth, would in a short hand take sermons, and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. [Comp. "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes," 84.] He, seeing him so hopeful a youth, took such a liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital..... Full little did he think that he would have proved such a rebel to God, the king, and his country. I leave his letters, that, if ever he has the face to return unto his native country, Tyburn may give him welcome." In Williams's first letter, he says: "The never-dying honor and respect which I owe to that dear and honorable root and his branches . . . . . have emboldened me once more to inquire," &c. "That man of honor and wisdom and piety, your dear father, was often pleased to call me his son; and truly it was as bitter as death to me, when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national Church and ceremonies and bishops beyond the conscience of your dear father, — I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsor way to take ship at Bristowe, and saw Stoke House, where that blessed man was, and durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight."

Professor Elton's researches in England have ascertained that Williams was a native of the county of Caermarthen, in South Wales, and that he was entered as a pupil at Sutton's Hospital (the Charter House), June 25, 1621, and at Jesus College, Oxford, April 30, 1624, being then, according to the record, eighteen years old. (Elton, Life of Roger Williams, 9, 10.) He had been understood by our historians to be seven years older. In 1673, he wrote, "From my childhood, now above threescore years." ("George Fox digged out of his Burrowes," Pref.) In a letter written in 1679, he described himself as "near to fourscore years of age." (Backus, History of New England, I. 421.) But this is not inappropriate language for a man of seventy-three.

of Oxford, perhaps under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, is believed to have been admitted to orders in the Established Church. He had subsequently separated himself from that communion, and, sympathizing with the hopes of other non-conformists, had arrived at Boston the next year after the transportation of the charter, being then probably in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A reputation for talents and piety had preceded him; and a few weeks only passed before the church at Salem invited him to succeed Higginson as their teacher.[1] He had made the most of his short time in becoming obnoxious to the government; and "a letter was written from the Court to Mr. Endicott to this effect, that, whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston because they would not make public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there, and besides had declared his opinion that the magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence as it was a breach of the first table, therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the Council, and withal desiring them that they would forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it."[2]

Roger Williams.

1631. Feb. 5.

April 12.

It would be hard to denounce these objections as un-

[1] A curious letter of Roger Williams to John Cotton, of Plymouth, dated "Providence, 25 March, 1671 (so called)," has just come to light among the papers of the late Dr. Belknap, and is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whose kind permission I use it. In it Williams says, "In New [England] *being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston* (before your dear father came divers years), I conscientiously refused and withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an unseparated people, as upon examination and conference I found them to be." It is hard to suppose that, when Williams made this statement, (forty years after the transaction, and when he was sixty-five years old,) his memory was misled by his imagination. But, on the opposite supposition, it is very extraordinary that the fact is not mentioned in any record of the time. The records of the Boston church cannot be appealed to in the case. The only entry they contain previous to October, 1632, is that of the covenant of church-members.

[2] Winthrop, I. 53.

reasonable, judging them even by the standard of the sentiments and practice of the present day. To assume at once an attitude of opposition to the churches which with so much pains had been followed to a distant country, argued an eccentricity unpromising of usefulness in the pastoral office, as well as of the exertion of a harmonizing influence in the new society. To refuse communion with all but such as would make proclamation of their repentance for having formerly partaken the elements with communicants of the Church of England, was to occasion offence at once superfluous, and dangerous in powerful quarters at home. The "first table" of the Decalogue, consisting of the first four precepts, was understood to forbid four offences, idolatry, perjury, blasphemy, and Sabbath-breaking. Of these the last two stand as penal offences on the statute-book of Massachusetts at the present day; the second, there is no government that does not punish; while, in the judgment of the age and the place now treated of, a denial of the right to suppress idolatry was a denial of the right to provide securities against an irruption of Romanism. It should not excite surprise that the Magistrates thought it would be hazardous to good government and the public peace to have their authority in matters of such moment denounced, by a hot-headed young man, from the first pulpit of the Colony.

The Salem church, however, proceeded, and Williams had already become their teacher when the remonstrance reached them. Precisely how long he remained in that place is unknown; but some time in the same, or perhaps in the following year, he withdrew to the more benignant atmosphere of Plymouth Colony, and became assistant to the pastor of the church there, the separatist, Mr. Smith. The affection of his Salem flock still followed him, and he was persuaded to retrace his steps, and resume a home among them. The mild Brewster, loving his virtues, but weary of his restless and disputatious

1633.

spirit, was anxious to be rid of him.[1] He returned to Salem with more confidence in himself from the position which he had occupied while absent, and the popular favor which invited him back.

At Salem, Williams was not immediately called to clerical office, but exercised his gifts by way of "prophecy," as it was called, for about a year. His first outbreak after his return was against the practice, then beginning, and continued to the present day, of *associations*, as they are called, of neighboring clergymen meeting at fixed intervals, and passing part of a day together in theological discussion and neighborly and fraternal intercourse. Against this practice Williams inveighed, as being what "might grow in time to a presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the Church's liberties."[2] But this complaint did no public harm, and nobody seems to have troubled himself about it.

November.

While at Plymouth, he had presented to the Governor and Assistants of that Colony a treatise, in which, according to Winthrop's account, "among other things, he disputed their right to the land they possessed here, and concluded, that, claiming by the king's grant, they could have no title; nor otherwise, except they compounded with the natives." At the request of the Magistrates of Massachusetts, it was subjected to their examination, and was found to contain matter for serious uneasiness, both as tending to bring into question the titles to estates, and to occasion high displeasure at the English court, the more as it was accompanied with language of studied affront to the late and to the reigning king. Being

Dec. 27.

[1] Morton, Memorial, 151. — Bradford (310), after the experience of a year or two, describes him as "a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgment." When he was dismissed from Plymouth to go back to the Salem church, Bradford says (ibid.) that it was "with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him." Winthrop's interview with him at Plymouth has been mentioned above (p. 335).

[2] Winthrop, I. 117.

summoned to appear before the Court "to be censured," Williams did what is perhaps without a parallel on any earlier or later occasion of his public life. He made submission. He declared himself penitent, if he had committed any wrong, and with his consent the obnoxious manuscript was burned.[1]

An exciting local question, on which Williams is related next to have pronounced himself, respected the duty of women to wear veils in all public assemblies. Cotton, of Boston, took the negative side in the argument, and, in a sermon preached at Salem, handled it so convincingly, that the ladies came to church in the afternoon unveiled, and Williams, though unconvinced, desisted.[2] A more serious movement of his, if the allegation was well founded, was that of interesting himself with Endicott to cut out the red cross of England from the colors of the train-bands under his command, as being an idolatrous symbol. Endicott did thus mutilate the flag, and by so doing raised a critical question. But the agency of Williams on the occasion, however probable, is perhaps not altogether proved.[3]

It was in the year of his reappearance at Salem that the courage and policy of the colonists became their only protection, under God, against that wrong-headed and bad-hearted churchman, of whose viciousness only the most harmless side was shown when he was described as worthy of "more unmitigated contempt than any other character in English history."[4] Only a few months had passed since the petition of Gorges and Mason to the Lords of the Privy Council had been dismissed through what the colonists esteemed little short of a miraculous interposition of Providence. And late in the same year, an answer to

[1] Winthrop, I. 122.

[2] Hubbard, 204, 205.

[3] Hubbard, however, (205,) confidently imputes it to him; and Coddington (Letter to George Fox, in Backus, I. 445).

[4] Lord Macaulay, Critical and Historical Essays, I. 159.

the charges which had been produced in England was still under debate among the Magistrates.[1]

Such being some of the circumstances in which the Massachusetts Magistrates had their renewed experience of Williams, it is not surprising if they interfered again with their advice when it was proposed to appoint him to the place lately vacated by the death of Mr. Skelton.[2]

1634. But the Salem church persisted, and he was formally installed. A little time only passed before the Magistrates found cause to complain of him for having

November "broken his promise in teaching publicly against the king's patent, and our great sin in claiming right thereby to this country, &c., and for usual terming the churches of England Antichristian."[3] Next, the Gov-

1635. April ernor and Assistants sent for him to answer to a charge of having "taught publicly that a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate person, for that they thereby have communion with a wicked man in the worship of God, and cause him to take the name of God in vain";[4] a doctrine which, besides the embarrassment it offered to the common administration of justice, had special political significance at a time when it had been thought necessary to pass the acts prescribing the "Freeman's Oath" and the "Resident's Oath," measures for securing allegiance to the Colony, in opposition, if that should prove needful, to the king.

Williams "was heard before all the ministers, and very clearly confuted." A few days after, the annual Court of Elections met, and, by a further application of the new principle of rotation in office, Mr. Haynes was chosen Governor, with Mr. Bellingham, who had arrived in the last year, as Deputy-Governor, and the same Assistants as

[1] Winthrop, I. 106, 107.

[2] I suppose this second interference of the Magistrates rests on the authority of Hubbard (204). I have not observed that it is related by any earlier writer.

[3] Winthrop, I. 151.

[4] Ibid., 158.

formerly, except that Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer were added, and that Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Endicott were left out, having given offence. It was perhaps because the Magistrates were disposed to avoid the sole responsibility of the controversy with Williams, that, at an adjourned meeting, it was taken up by the General Court. Part of the charges which had been before made against him were restated with some amplification, and "time was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next General Court, and then either to give satisfaction to the Court, or else to expect the sentence."[1] While the matter was thus pending, the town of Salem applied to the Magistrates for a grant of land. "But because they had chosen Mr. Williams their teacher, while he stood under question of authority, and so offered contempt to the Magistrates, their petition was refused." Williams struck back. He caused his church to "write to other churches, to admonish the Magistrates of this as a heinous sin, and likewise the Deputies.[2] When little attention was paid to this missive, Williams addressed a letter to his own church, moving them to renounce all communication with the other churches of the Colony; an act of isolation, of which he presently set an example by ceasing to commune with them because they rejected his advice,[3] and by refusing to join in family prayers or grace at table with his wife, because she continued to frequent their communion.[4] While the imputed intolerance of others provoked Williams's vehement displeasure, he indulged himself in the largest liberty of being exclusive in ways of his own.

July 8.

The next General Court unseated the Deputies from Salem, till their constituents should apolo-

Sept. 2.

[1] I relate this on the authority of Winthrop (I. 162, 163). The public record has nothing of it.

[2] Ibid., 164.

[3] Ibid., 166, 171.

[4] Hubbard, 207. Morton, Memorial, 153.

gize for having "exceedingly reproached and vilified the Magistrates and churches,"[1] which was presently done. The Magistrates and Deputies had now brought to their meeting a persuasion that Williams and their constituents could not advantageously live together; which being assumed, it was clear that he could much more easily remove than they. Accordingly they passed the following order: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached and divulged divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates, as also writ letters of defamation both of the Magistrates and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet maintaineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within six weeks now next ensuing; which if he neglect to perform, it shall be lawful for the Governor and two of the Magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to return any more without license from the Court."[2]

Banishment of Roger Williams. Oct. 8.

The liberty to remain for six weeks was extended to the next spring, when, profiting by the friendly relations he had established with the Indians during his residence at Plymouth, Williams intended to form a settlement on Narragansett Bay. It was not in his nature, however, — at least till years had chastened it, — to take any vacation from controversy. The excitement which he still kept up at Salem seemed to the Magistrates to justify the opinion that he would not be a safe neighbor even at the proposed distance; and they sent Captain Underhill from Boston to put him on board a vessel about to sail for England.[3] Getting intelligence of this, Williams left Salem and his family three days before that officer's arrival, and took to the woods.

1636. January.

The case of Williams was not a novel one in the juris-

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 156. [2] Ibid., 160, 161. [3] Winthrop, I. 209, 210.

diction. From considerations of the public quiet less immediately urgent than those which determined his dismission, the Brownes had been shipped back in the first year of the Company's occupation of its property in Massachusetts Bay. The Brownes were men of business; the one a lawyer, the other a merchant. They considered themselves to have suffered injustice, and they made a demand upon the Company for damages. But, though the cause of their expulsion was religious dissent, we do not read of their having rested their claim on the inviolability of conscience. Gardiner, Stone, Walford, Gray, Lynn, Smith, and various others, named and unnamed, had been sent away,[1] for various reasons, resolving themselves into the persuasive reason that their presence was found inconvenient and dangerous by men who had a right to choose their company; but they had not the faith and the ability of Williams, to convince others that a great principle was outraged in their persons. The Brownes were officers of the Company. Williams was not even a freeman of it. He had not been so false to his principles as to take the oath for admission to its franchise.[2] By mere sufferance he had been a sojourner upon land for which the Magistrates, and others heretofore and now associated with them and represented by them, had given their money, in order to the promotion of a great public object.

The sound and generous principle of a perfect freedom of the conscience in religious concerns can scarcely be shown to have been involved in this dispute. There was no question upon dogmas between Williams and those who dismissed him. At a later period he was prone to capricious changes of religious opinion. But as yet there

[1] Winthrop, I. 61, 111; Mass. Col. Rec., I. 77, 82, 83, 86, 91, 108, 159.

[2] Among the freemen admitted in May, 1631, there was a Roger Williams. But he was a Dorchester man, who had given notice of his intention in the preceding October (Ibid., 80), before the minister of Salem was in the country.

was no development of this kind. As long as he was in Massachusetts, he was no heretic, tried by the standard of the time and the place. He was not charged with heresy. The questions which he raised, and by raising which he provoked opposition, were questions relating to political rights and to the administration of government.

Liberty in religion is a doctrine so consonant to reason, that it is spontaneously recognized by those to whom its enjoyment is denied, though, as soon as they acquire power, they are tempted to be impatient of contradiction, and to allow their perception of the right to become confused. Roger Williams in England had had some acquaintance with the Baptists, who, for many years before his departure, had stated and maintained the doctrine in the most unqualified terms.[1] When he recrossed the water

[1] It "hath been spoken by some eminent sectaries," says Thomas Edwards (Gangræna, 17), that, "if it be men's consciences, the magistrate may not punish for blasphemies, nor for denying the Scriptures, nor for denying there is a God." — "The magistrate is not to meddle with religion, nor matters of conscience, nor to compel men to this or that form of religion, because Christ is the King and Lawgiver of the Church and conscience." (Baptist Confession of Faith in 1611, in Crosby's "History of the English Baptists," I. Append., 71.) — "The King and Parliament may please to permit all sorts of Christians, yea, Jews, Turks, and Pagans, so long as they are peaceable and no malefactors." (Religion's Peace, printed in London in 1614, and reprinted by the Hansard Knollys Society, in their volume entitled "Tracts on Liberty of Conscience," 33, comp. 391. Comp. Price's History of Non-conformity, I. 519–523; Hanbury, Historical Memorials, &c., I. 224, 225.) — Earlier than the Baptists, Robert Brown (see above, p. 123) had written: "To compel religion, to plant churches by power, and to force a submission to ecclesiastical government by laws and penalties, belongeth not to them [the magistrates], neither yet to the Church." (Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying (12), Middelburgh, 1582.) — In his "Bloody Tenent of Persecution" (Chap. LXI.), Williams refers to persons before him (three Christian kings among others), who had denied all right of rulers over the conscience. To his list of such rulers he might have added the more modern name of William the Silent. (See Prescott, History of Philip the Second, I. 491; Brandt, History of the Reformation, &c., I. 382; Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic, III. 206, 348.) — Lord Bacon had reflected upon the subject: "Optime et prudentissime observatum est ab uno ex patribus, profundæ sapientiæ viro, ... eos qui conscientias premi, iisque vim inferri suadent, sub illo dogmate cupiditates suas subtexere, illamque rem sua interesse putare." (Sermo de Unitate Ecclesiæ. Comp. Strype, Life of Whitgift, I. 72; Motley, United Netherlands, II. 226.)

after the outbreak of the Civil War in England, he came before the English world in a learned discussion, with Cotton, on the extent and sacredness of freedom of conscience; in which he maintained correct opinions on that great theme, and defended them, allowing for the rhetorical fashions of the day, with clearness and ability.[1] But this was eight years after his expulsion from Massachusetts; and from Massachusetts he had been warned away, not by Cotton and the ministers, but by the voice of a majority, at least, of ten Magistrates and twenty-eight Deputies assembled in General Court. And their decree formally recited its ground to be, not theological dissent, but civil turbulence, — proceedings hostile to the authority of magistrates, and defamation of Magistrates and churches.

Should it be believed that other considerations had their weight in prompting the decree, still its terms would show the important fact that a claim to control the faith of the citizen was one which the rulers could not venture to avow. But it would be unjust to regard the ground of the General Court as disingenuously taken. There is no reason whatever to doubt, that, correctly or otherwise, they considered themselves to be proceeding in the way which

[1] In 1643, Williams published in London his book entitled "Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, examined and answered." This, it seems, was a private letter of Cotton, addressed to Williams soon after his departure from Salem. How it came to the press, neither Williams nor Cotton knew. Cotton's Letter and Williams's Reply are arguments upon the question "whether those ought to be received into the church who are godly, though they do not see, nor expressly bewail, all the pollutions in church fellowship, ministry, worship, and government." Upon this thesis, Cotton takes the affirmative, or liberal side; Williams, the negative and exclusive. In the following year Williams published in London his "Bloody Tenent of Persecution." Cotton replied, three years later, in the "Bloody Tenent washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb"; and Williams rejoined, in 1652, in the "Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody," &c. The same year, Williams published the "Hireling Ministry none of Christ's," and "Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health and their Preservatives." In 1676, he issued at Boston a book against the Quakers, with a long title, of which the first clause is, "George Fox digged out of his Burrowes."

the safety and well-being of the Colony, as a civil community, required. The statement of Cotton is entirely credible, where he says: "Two things there were, which, to my best observation and remembrance, caused the sentence of his banishment, and two others fell in, that hastened it." As the first of these, he specifies Williams's "violent and tumultuous carriage against the patent," the inestimable foundation, as he proceeds to show in some detail, of the privileges and property of the colonists.[1] As the second cause, he names the strictly political one, that "when the Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practices against the country, made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, but by offering to them, an oath of fidelity, that, in case any should refuse to take it, they might not betrust them with place of public charge and command, this oath, when it came abroad, he vehemently withstood it, and dissuaded sundry from it, partly because it was, as he said, Christ's prerogative to have his office established by oath, partly because an oath was a part of God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons." The occasions which "hastened" the proceeding against him, Cotton represents to have been Williams's appeal to the churches against the Magistrates, and his renouncing

[1] "This he pressed upon the magistrates and people, to be humbled for from time to time in days of solemn humiliation, and to return the patent back again to the king." (Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, 27.) "This was still pressed by him as a national sin, to hold to the patent, yea, and a national duty to renounce the patent, which to have done had subverted the fundamental state and government of the country." (Ibid., 28.) — To the same effect was the later testimony of Winslow: "Whereas he [Gorton] said that Mr. Williams was banished thence for differing from us, being a man of good report, &c., I answer, ... I know that Mr. Williams . . . . . held forth in those times the unlawfulness of our letters patent from the king, &c., would not allow the colors of our nation, denied the lawfulness of a public oath. . . . . And truly I never heard but he was dealt with for these and such like points." (Hypocrisie Unmasked, 66.) Robert Baylie, who knew Williams, says (Dissuasive, &c., 126), "Mr. Williams's opposition to the oath [to maintain the patent], as he allegeth, was the chief cause of his banishment."

communion with the church of Salem on account of its refusal to proceed with him in his disorganizing measures.[1]

In fact, the young minister of Salem had made an issue with his rulers and his neighbors upon fundamental points of their power and their property, including their power of self-protection against the tyranny from which they had lately escaped. Unintentionally, but effectually, he had set himself to play into the hands of the king and the Archbishop. He was not the sort of person whom the leaders could expect to dissuade by taking him into their counsels. Nor on other accounts could that course have seemed to them prudent, considering his volatile character. But it was not to be thought of by the sagacious patriots of Massachusetts, that, in the great work which they had in hand, they should suffer themselves to be defeated by such random movements.

Williams had great virtues, and some of them were of that character which peculiarly wins and attaches. He was eminently courageous, disinterested, and kind-hearted. If (in his early days, at least) he belonged to that class of men who have no peace for themselves except in sharp strife with others, — if the *certaminis gaudia*, the joy of quarrel, made an indispensable condition of his satisfaction of mind, — he was incapable of any feeling of malice or vindictiveness towards opponents.[2] Though in his controversies he uses strong language, as was his wont on all occasions, a tone of friendliness is scarcely ever abandoned. Differ and contend he must. For him a stagnant life was not worth living. When he had made a few proselytes to his last novelty, and so far prevailed to have his own way, he would start off on some new track, im-

[1] Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, 27 – 30.

[2] In the manuscript letter quoted above (p. 406, note 1), Williams says that Winthrop once wrote to him, "Sir, we have often tried your patience, but could never conquer it."

pelled by his irresistible besetting hunger for excitement and conflict. But with all this he had a sweetness of temper, and a constancy of benevolence, that no hard treatment could overcome, and no difficulties or dangers exhaust or discourage.

Yet Williams had no such virtues as would have made it virtuous in the rulers of Massachusetts to indulge him in obstructing their work. Every good man whose convictions bring him into trouble is to be compassionated, apart from the consideration of his convictions being deliberate, reasonable, and salutary to the public, or of an opposite character. But the man who, with the most generous intentions, takes upon himself the responsibility of disturbing the order of a community, with a view to some greater good than in the existing state of things is attainable without disturbance, must not look to his virtues to protect him from the consequences of his daring. His virtues give him an advantage in the pursuit of his object, and will enhance his fame, if he wins it. But they will properly make him only a more conspicuous object of assault while the conflict is pending, and a more exposed victim, if it goes against him. In civil controversies, as in war, it is not the worthless among its adversaries that power does and should chiefly strike at, but those who, from their personal qualities, — their courage, capacity, resolution, and fitness to attach, combine, and animate, — are the natural heads of that opposition which, for the public safety, must be overcome.

For his busy disaffection Williams was punished, rather he was disabled for the mischief it threatened, by banishment from the jurisdiction. He was punished much less severely than the dissenters from the popular will were punished throughout the North American Colonies at the time of the final rupture with the mother country. Virtually, the freemen said to him: "It is not best that you and we should live together, and we cannot agree to

it. We have just put ourselves to great loss and trouble for the sake of pursuing our own objects uninterrupted, and we must be allowed to do so. Your liberty, as you understand it and are bent on using it, is not compatible with the security of ours. Since you cannot accommodate yourself to us, go away. The world is wide, and it is as open to you as it was just now to us. We do not wish to harm you, but there is no place for you among us." Banishment is a word of ill sound; but the banishment from one part of New England to another, to which, in the early period of their residence, the settlers condemned Williams, was a thing widely different from that banishment from luxurious Old England to desert New England, to which they had just condemned themselves. There was little hardship in leaving unattractive Salem for a residence on the beautiful shore of Narragansett Bay, except as the former had a very short start in the date of its first cultivation. Williams, involuntarily separated from Massachusetts, went with his company to Providence, the same year that Hooker and Stone and their company, self-exiled, went from Massachusetts to Connecticut. If to the former the movement was not optional, it was the same that the latter chose when it was optional, and it proved advantageous for all the parties concerned.[1]

To urge that religious zealots, in and out of the pulpit, had their part in exciting a displeasure against Williams, on

[1] "In some cases, banishment is a just punishment, if it be in proper speech a punishment at all in such a country as this is, where the jurisdiction whence a man is banished is but small, and the country round about it large and fruitful, where a man may make his choice of variety of more pleasant and profitable seats than he leaveth behind him. In which respect, banishment in this country is not counted so much a confinement as an enlargement, where a man doth not so much lose civil comforts as change them. And as for spiritual liberties (liberty of Church ordinances), they were a burden and bondage to his spirit here, and therefore he cast them off, before they left him." (Cotton, Reply, &c., pp. 8, 9.) — It is true that, after what they thought new provocation, the Magistrates decided, or threatened, to send Williams back to England; but this was no part of their original purpose, and, once out of their neighborhood, there is no sign of their having wished to molest him.

grounds independent of the political mischief threatened by his course, would be to say little towards invalidating the considerations which have been presented. There is no community free from narrowness, prejudices, and passions; and it is no strange thing in political action for those who are charged with the burden of affairs to allow sentiments which prevail around them, but in which they do not share, to relieve them of part of a hard duty, and sustain them in it; and this, without proceeding in their measures a step beyond what their deliberate convictions dictate, and without any conscious compromising of the magnanimity of their own course. Nor is it to be forgotten, that, as to the narrowness which repels dissentients from sympathy and communion, it was Williams that maintained the exclusive side in this controversy, and the Magistrates and ministers that maintained the liberal side. It was he, not they, that refused communion with good Christians of the Church of England, and not only this, but refused fellowship with those who practised that communion, and even with those who would not publicly proclaim their repentance for having ever practised it.

Williams has been deservedly praised for his freedom from personal rancor during and after these transactions. His opponents merit similar commendation. His generous candor cordially acknowledged their uprightness and their personal kindnesses, and justly attributed their proceedings against himself to their sense of public duty. He "always honored" these men, he says, "when they were pleased to afflict him." His subsequent correspondence with Winthrop is full of endearments. His "ancient friend, Mr. Winslow," and "the prudent and godly Governor, Mr. Bradford, and others of his godly council," are remembered with the same kindness. He records with touching gratitude the bounty of "that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow," who "kindly visited him at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of his wife

for their supply."[1] And his intervention with the Indians at the instance of those from whom he thought he had suffered injustice, while it proves his own magnanimity, also proves indirectly his sense of their deserts.[2]

While, among those whose dismission from Massachusetts was from time to time required by the necessities of the public safety, the personal merit of Roger Williams has caused him to be selected for the special notice of history, the same result has followed from his having become the founder of a State, whose citizens feel an honorable pride in commemorating his achievements and character.[3]

Thirty years after his departure from Salem, Williams related how he was "sorely tossed for fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." He appears to have passed the winter in the country of the Pokanoket Indians, to whom he had endeared himself during his residence at Plymouth.[4] He had been advised, he says, by "that ever-honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, for many high and heavenly and public ends, to steer his course to the Nahigonsett Bay and Indians," there to find an unchallenged home. Taking "his prudent motion as a hint and voice from God," Williams determined to proceed upon it, but went no further than Seekonk, where, being joined in the spring by a few of his Salem friends, he "first pitched and began to build and plant."[5] This plan, however, was not to

1 Letter to Major Mason, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 275. — Williams, when he wrote thus, had had no such controversy with the Plymouth people as with those of Massachusetts. But with them, too, he had had his disagreements, as will be seen hereafter.

2 See below, p. 460. The remark in the text holds good, though Williams's plantation too would have been endangered by a general rising of the Indians.

3 Knowles's Life of Roger Williams is a good specimen of the fair and equitable manner in which the Rhode Island writers, with feelings, as was natural, warmly enlisted in this controversy, have generally treated it.

4 "In wilderness, in great distress,
These ravens have fed me."
(Key to the Indian Languages, Chap. II.)

5 Tradition points out a spot in Seekonk, just "above the central bridge, and on the east side of the cove, on what is called Manton's Neck," as that where Williams "began to build and plant." (Bliss, History of Rehoboth, 17.)

prosper. "I received a letter," he says, "from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect for me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water; and then, he said, I had the country before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together."[1]

Accordingly, with five companions,[2] Williams launched his canoe on the Seekonk River to look for another home.

1636. June. Providence founded.

He landed on the high point which divides that stream from the uppermost inlet of Narragansett Bay, and, by a spring of water, laid the foundation of what is now the beautiful city of Providence. If the reputation of Williams had not spread so far among the natives,[3] his knowledge of their language gave him an

[1] Mass. Hist. Col., I. 276.

[2] They were William Harris, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angel, and Francis Wickes. The humbleness of these names is one indication of the little influence which Williams had been able to exert. — Harris was afterwards charged by Williams with high treason. (Rhode Island Colony Records, I. 361.) Verin became a Quaker (Hutchinson, I. 187), and in time he was one of those who at Providence reduced to one of its practical tests the sweeping principle which had brought him away from Salem. Some religious meetings having been established, Verin "refused to let his wife go to Mr. Williams so oft as she was called for." (Winthrop, I. 283.) Upon this, "it was agreed that Joshua Verin, upon the breach of a covenant, for the restraining of the liberty of conscience shall be withheld from the liberty of voting till he shall declare the contrary." (R. I. Col. Rec., I. 16.) "There stood up one Arnold, a witty man of their own company, and withstood it, telling them that, when he consented to that order, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands, and gave divers solid reasons against it. Then one Greene . . . . . replied, that, if they should restrain their wives, all the women of the country would cry out of them. . . . . In conclusion, when they would have censured Verin, Arnold told them that it was against their own order, for Verin did that he did out of conscience; and their order was, that no man should be censured for his conscience." (Winthrop, I. 283.) The reformers were getting puzzled by some corollaries to their proposition.

[3] He had sat down, however, on ground of the Narragansetts, whose chiefs, Canonicus and Miantonomo, are said to have promised him, a year or two before, a grant of land, of which, during the early period of his controversy with the Magistrates, he had thought of availing himself. (See R. I. Col. Rec., I. 22.)

advantage for intercourse with them, by which his benevolence and address did not fail to profit; and he easily agreed with them for leave to occupy the lands 1638. March 24. "lying upon the two fresh rivers, called Moos-hausick and Wanasquatucket." The bargain, with its avails, was his own;[1] he fulfilled it with money borrowed on a mortgage of his house and land in Salem; but he freely gave lands to all comers.

The government, established first, was the simplest democracy.[2] "We do promise," such was the compact, "to subject ourselves, in active and passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body in an orderly way by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others *whom they shall admit into the same*, only in civil things."[3] For four years a town treasurer was the only officer. It had been thought necessary to recognize in the compact, just recited, the same right as to the selection of associates which had been exercised in the expulsion of the leader by the Massachusetts people. But experience alone could refute some more exalted theories, which a generous enthusiasm had so confidently embraced. Roger Williams was not the first man, nor the last, to discover that it is one thing to conduct an opposition, and another thing to carry on a government. The time came when he was fain

[1] Forty-five years later, Williams deposed: "I declare to posterity, that, were it not for the favor that God gave me with Canonicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode Island, had been purchased or obtained; for I never got anything out of Canonicus, but by gift." (R. I. Col. Rec., I. 25.) The *Confirmatory Deed* in 1661 (Ibid., 23) uses similar language. But in the latter instrument Williams also recites (Ibid., 22) that the lands were "purchased" by him of Canonicus and Miantonomo; and their deed in 1637 (Ibid., 18), and Williams's *Initial Deed* in 1638 (Ibid., 19), make the same representation. Probably all that Williams meant to say, at the later periods, was, that the purchase-money alone would not have induced the Indians to make the sale.

[2] For a little while, everybody in Providence seems to have been *neighbor* (Ibid., 17), as everybody afterwards was *citizen* in France, and is *friend* among the Quakers.

[3] Ibid., 14.

to proclaim his abhorrence of "such an infinite liberty of conscience"[1] as was claimed by some who had followed his steps, and taken up their lot with him in the new plantation. And he well illustrated the case by the condition of a ship at sea, requiring, for the common safety, authority on one part and submission on the other.

Scarcely any records of the settlement at Providence for the first ten years are extant. Such as were made are believed to have been mostly destroyed when the Indians set fire to the town in Philip's war. Among the fragments which remain, two, besides what have been already referred to, are of principal importance.

1676.

1638. Oct. 8. One is a grant, to thirteen associates, of "the meadow ground at Pawtuxet," lying west of the original settlement, on the other side of the Bay; a proceeding which was followed by important consequences, to be explained hereafter. The other exhibits the "Form

1640. July 27. of Government," devised by four "arbitrators" chosen for the purpose, and subscribed by thirty-nine freemen as the rule of their association. It contains scarcely anything except a provision for the adjustment of disputes through a permanent board of "five disposers," to be chosen by the inhabitants, and the subsidiary arrangements suitable for carrying this plan into effect. In his new home Williams's own restless career took

1639. March. new directions. He became dissatisfied with his baptism, and was baptized anew. In a few months, he distrusted the last administration of that ordi-

[1] Letter of Williams to the Town of Providence, in Knowles's Memoir of Roger Williams (279). — When the Quakers came in Williams's way, he was very impatient of what he thought their ill-manners. "These simple reformers are extremely ridiculous in giving *thou* and *thee* to everybody, which our nation commonly gives to familiars only, and they are insufferably proud and contemptuous unto all their superiors, in using *thou* to everybody. . . . . I have therefore publicly declared myself, that a due and moderate restraint and punishing of these incivilities, though pretending conscience, is so far from persecution, properly so called, that it is a duty and command of God unto all mankind." (George Fox digged out of his Burrowes, pp. 199, 200.)

nance, and waited for a new apostolic commission to give it validity.[1] But the vital part of religion never deserted him. However his theories shifted, he never ceased to be a single-hearted lover of God and men.

[1] "Mr. Williams . . . . . was rebaptized by one Holyman, a poor man, late of Salem. Then Mr. Williams rebaptized him and some ten more." (Winthrop, I. 293.) "At Providence, matters went after the old manner. Mr. Williams and many of his company, a few months since, were in all haste rebaptized, and denied communion with all others; and now he was come to question his second baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the Apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England, whom he judged to be ill authority, so as he conceived God would raise up some apostolic power; therefore he bent himself that way." (Ibid., 306.) — "I walked with him in the Baptists' way about three or four months, in which time he brake from the society, and declared at large the ground and reasons of it, — that their baptism could not be right, because it was not administered by an apostle. After that, he set himself upon a way of *seeking* (with two or three of them that had dissented with him) by way of preaching and praying; and there he continued a year or two, till two of the three left him." (Letter of Richard Scott in George Fox's "New-England Fire-Brand Quenched," 247.)

CHAPTER XI.

The change of rulers in Massachusetts at the deposition of Winthrop had consisted merely in the promotion of two of his associates in the magistracy, while he was still their colleague in the Board of Assistants. The government continued to be conducted according to the same principles and methods as during the four years of his wise and upright administration. While the intelligence from England caused great uneasiness, the means and the confidence of the colonists were increased by the arrival of large numbers of their friends.[1] "Five hundred pounds more was raised towards fortifications,"[2] almost immediately after the first large expenditure for that purpose.

1634. September.

The question which has been referred to, respecting the obliteration of the cross of St. George from the royal ensign, arose during the year of Dudley's administration. At a Court of Assistants, "complaint was made by some of the country, ... that the ensign at Salem was defaced; namely, one part of the red cross taken out. Upon this an attachment was awarded against Richard Davenport, ensign-bearer, to appear at the next Court to answer. Much matter was made of this, as fearing it would be taken as an act of rebellion, or of like high nature, in defacing the king's colors; though the truth were, it was done upon this opinion, that the red cross was given to the king of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relic of Antichrist."[3]

Mutilation of the English flag.

Nov. 5.

[1] Winthrop, I. 135, 143, 149, 161, 164, 169, 196, 205.

[2] Ibid., 144.

[3] Ibid., 146. See above, p. 409.

In the existing state of relations with England, the business was critical. The next step taken in relation to it is thus recorded: "The Assistants met at the Governor's, to advise about the defacing of the cross in the ensign at Salem, where, taking advice with some of the ministers, we agreed to write to Mr. Downing in England of the truth of the matter, under all our hands, that, if occasion were, he should show it in our excuse; for therein we expressed our dislike of the thing, and our purpose to punish the offenders, yet with as much wariness as we might, being doubtful of the lawful use of the cross in an ensign, though we were clear that fact, as concerning the matter, was very unlawful." [1] After three months' further deliberation, "Mr. Endicott was called to answer for defacing the cross in the ensign; but because the Court could not agree about the thing, whether the ensigns should be laid by, in regard that many refused to follow them, the whole cause was deferred till the next General Court, and the Commissioners for Military Affairs gave order in the mean time that all the ensigns should be laid aside." [2] It is worthy of remark, as an indication of the sense entertained of the delicacy of the question, that in the public record no notice is taken of these proceedings.

Nov. 27.

1635. March 4.

The eccentricity of another prominent citizen troubled for a short time the quiet of Dudley's government. Israel Stoughton was a member, for Dorchester, of the first General Court that admitted Deputies, having probably come to Massachusetts the year before. A fortune, exceeding that of most of his neighbors, may have made him impatient of his inferior official position. At a Court of Assistants, "he was questioned for denying the magistracy among

Israel Stoughton. 1634.

1635. March 4.

[1] Winthrop, I. 150. — Emanuel Downing, who had married Winthrop's sister, was a member of the Massachusetts Company, and came to Massachusetts in 1637 or 1638.

[2] Ibid., 156.

us, affirming that the power of the Governor was but ministerial, &c. He had also much opposed the Magistrates, and slighted them, and used many weak arguments against the negative voice, as himself acknowledged upon record."[1] Having, moreover, "written a certain book which had occasioned much trouble and offence to the Court, he did desire of the Court that the said book might forthwith be burned, as being weak and offensive." But his submission did not save him from being "disenabled for bearing any public office in the commonwealth, within this jurisdiction, for the space of three years, for affirming the Assistants were no Magistrates."[2] Those were no times for allowing the authority of the local government to be called in question.

Dudley did not possess the qualities which attract popular favor, so much as those which justify confidence. But probably it was not owing to this defect that his service as Governor was limited to one year. The freemen intended to make it evident, that they did not forget Cotton's lesson concerning the right of permanence in office. It has been mentioned that the Governor now chosen was John Haynes, a person destined to fill an important place in the primeval history of New England. Little is recorded of him before his emigration, except that he was a gentleman of large estate in the county of Essex. He had come to America in company with John Cotton, and at the first election after his arrival had been chosen an Assistant, in which office he had now served a year.[3] Richard Bellingham, who had arrived still more recently, was elected to the second place. Bellingham, who had been educated a lawyer, had filled the office of Recorder in the English Boston, and was one of the twenty-six freemen named in the charter, which he was thought to have had a hand in

John Haynes chosen Governor. May 6.

Richard Bellingham, Deputy-Governor.

[1] Winthrop, I. 155.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 135, 136.

[3] See above, pp. 367, 378, 410.

framing. Atherton Hough, who had come over with Haynes, and Richard Dummer, who had been at Roxbury three years, were chosen Assistants. The other Magistrates were the same as in the preceding year, except that Endicott and Ludlow were dismissed to private life, the former on account of his proceeding in relation to the king's flag, the latter because of his having indiscreetly resented the promotion of Haynes over him. "He protested against the election of Governor as void, for that the Deputies of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came," &c. His objections to such electioneering were thought worthy of consideration. "This was generally discussed, and the election adjudged good."[1] He had yet another way to show his sense of wrong, and "at his own request was dismissed from the charge of overseeing the fortification on Castle Island." He was still for the present one of the Military Commissioners, but from this place also he was discharged after a few months.[2]

The elections at this Court had been made "by papers." The names of candidates for the two highest places were written on the ballots. For the choice of Assistants, the names were successively announced by the Governor, and the freemen signified their approbation by an inscribed vote, and their dissent by a blank. After a short experience of Deputies in the General Court, it seemed desirable that the freemen should have the largest liberty in their selection, and it was ordered that thenceforward they should "be elected by papers."[3] The rich and liberal Governor, "in his speech to the people after his election, declared his purpose to spare their charge towards his allowance this year, partly in respect of their love showed towards him, and partly for that he observed how much the people had been pressed lately with public charges, which the poorer sort did much groan under."[4]

Elections by ballot.

[1] Winthrop, I. 158.
[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 145, 161.
[3] Ibid., 157.
[4] Winthrop, I. 159.

"Mr. Endicott was called into question about defacing the cross in the ensign." The business was taken up with great solemnity. A committee, composed of four of the Magistrates and of one freeman from each town, was directed to deliberate and report upon it. "They found his offence to be great, namely, rash and without discretion, taking upon him more authority than he had, and not seeking advice of the Court, &c.; uncharitable, in that he, judging the cross, &c. to be a sin, did content himself to have it reformed at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also; laying a blemish also upon the rest of the Magistrates, as if they would suffer idolatry, &c., and giving occasion to the state of England to think ill of us; — for which they adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience, and not of any evil intent."[1] The sentence of incapacity was accordingly passed. The reasons assigned for it disclose a singular embarrassment in the minds of the committee. They were evidently perplexed between their apprehension of the effect in England of Endicott's act, and a consciousness of sympathy, on their own part and on that of their constituents, with the feelings which had prompted it. Nor is it unreasonable to believe, that, at this important juncture, political considerations, quite as much as religious which could more conveniently be avowed, occasioned the scruples about the use of the royal flag.

Proceedings in respect to the flag.

The question was not to be immediately settled. For the present it was postponed, "it being propounded to turn the cross in the ensign to the red and white rose, &c., and every man was to deal with his neighbors, to still their minds who stood so stiff for the cross, until we should fully agree about it, as was expected, because the

[1] Winthrop, I. 158. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 146.

ministers had promised to take pains about it, and to write into England, to have the judgments of the most wise and godly there."[1] In the course of the year, a compromise was made. "It was referred to the Military Commissioners to appoint colors for every company, who did accordingly, and left out the cross in all of them, appointing the king's arms to be put into that of Castle Island."[2] At Castle Island, the royal colors would be seen by the shipping, which accordingly would be less likely to carry a damaging report to England. The castle, nevertheless, continued to assert the local dignity. "A ship belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth, deputy of Ireland," was coming into Boston harbor, when "the lieutenant of the fort went aboard her, and made her strike her flag." The master complained to the Magistrates, who, on the ground that "the fort had then no colors abroad," directed their officer to make an apology.[3]

The tendency to well-defined and settled institutions was indicated by several measures adopted towards the close of Haynes's administration. The shape and limits to be assumed by the Colony were provided for by a rule empowering the majority of the Magistrates "from time to time to dispose of the sitting down of men in any new plantations," and forbidding new settlements to be made without their consent.[4] "Whereas the most weighty affairs of this body" were now "brought into such a way and method as there would not henceforth be need of so many General Courts to be kept as formerly," their number was reduced to two in each year.[5] It was necessary to lighten the pressure of judicial duty upon the Magistrates, and in addition to quarterly courts, to be held by the whole board in Boston, local courts were appointed to be held also four times in each year,

Legislative proceedings. 1636. March 3.

[1] Winthrop, I. 160.
[2] Ibid., 180.
[3] Ibid., 186.
[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 167.
[5] Ibid., 169. This usage continued till 1831, when one annual session was substituted by an amendment of the State Constitution.

the places being Ipswich, Salem, Newtown, and Boston. These tribunals were to consist of "such Magistrates as should be dwelling in or near the said towns, and such other persons of worth as should from time to time be appointed by the General Court" from a list of candidates to be nominated by the several towns within the judicial jurisdiction. They had power to "try all civil causes whereof the debt or damage should not exceed ten pounds, and all criminal causes not concerning life, member, or banishment." Each of them was constituted of five judges, and an appeal lay from them to the next quarterly court of Magistrates.[1] Another improvement of the legal administration had recently been made, in the introduction of presentments by a grand jury.[2]

1635. Sept. 1.

A rule was adopted to control the formation of churches. To reflecting minds their theoretical independence, both of each other and of any authority over them all, could not have failed to present itself in new lights from the time when the franchise of the commonwealth was attached to church-membership. Persons were received to the several churches by the consent of the officers and members, on a relation of their religious experience, or other satisfactory evidence of their Christian character. They were then admitted to the Lord's Supper, and their children to baptism. Thus it belonged to the several churches to confer the franchise of the state, for no person could be a freeman without being a church-member; and though, to make a man a freeman, a form had still to be gone through with, — an oath to be taken, and a vote of the General Court to be passed, — yet, in point of fact, it would very rarely happen that a communicant in a church would fail to be a freeman of the Company.[3]

Formation of churches.

This being so, the question must have soon occurred, what safeguard for political integrity existed at the source

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 169.

[2] Winthrop, I. 198.

[3] See Cotton's Answers to "Certain Proposals," &c., in Hutchinson, I. 435.

of political power. Who was to keep the keepers? That by the law of franchise a close relation had been established between church and state was undeniable, however little of the extent of that relation had been discerned at the time. A law forbidding the formation of any church without the public approbation conveyed through the Magistrates, would tend to secure an accordance between the sentiments of the church-member and what were esteemed the vital principles of the commonwealth. It would thus be but a fit complement of the previous enactment which had invested the church-member with political power. The freemen intended that their body should be a numerous corporation. But they intended that it should be also a close and self-renewing corporation. They saw not how in any other way it could achieve the beneficent purposes for which it was created. If a church should be formed of persons alien to those purposes, it would subsist in the commonwealth only as a nursery of internal foes. Amidst the public dangers of the period, the subject could not fail to force itself upon attention; and, after a year's consideration,[1] a law was passed, the special intent of which is manifested by its last provision. It was as follows: — 1636. March 3.

"Forasmuch as it hath been found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the church and civil state by the officers and members of some churches which have been gathered within the limits of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbation as were meet, it is therefore ordered, that all persons are to take notice that this Court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such com-

[1] "This Court [March 4, 1635] doth entreat of the elders and brethren of every church within the jurisdiction, that they will consult and advise of one uniform order of discipline in the churches, agreeable to the Scriptures, and then to consider how far the Magistrates are bound to interpose for the preservation of that uniformity and peace of the churches." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 142, 143.)

panies of men as shall henceforth join in any pretended way of church-fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the Magistrates, and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this jurisdiction, with their intentions, and have their approbation herein. And further it is ordered, that no person, being a member of any church which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbation of the Magistrates and the greater part of the said churches, shall be admitted to the freedom of this commonwealth."

Another measure of the same General Court was a definition of the powers of towns, giving the first legislative authority to that municipal system of New England which has survived with such happy results to the present day. In consideration of the fact, that "particular towns have many things which concern only themselves, and the ordering of their own affairs, and disposing of business in their own town," it was "ordered, that the freemen of every town, or the major part of them, shall only have power to dispose of their own lands and woods, with all the privileges and appurtenances of said towns, to grant lots, and make such orders as may concern the well-ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders established by the General Court." They were authorized to impose fines "not exceeding the sum of twenty shillings," and "to choose their own particular officers, as constables, surveyors for the highways, and the like."[1] To keep these communities compact, for their greater security, it had before been ordered, "that hereafter no dwelling-house should be built above half a mile from the meeting-house, in any new plantation";[2] and the rule was soon after extended to all the towns in the jurisdiction.[3] In the following year, the right of representation was roughly apportioned to the towns, according to the amount of their population. "It was ordered, that here-

Functions of towns.

1635. Sept. 3.

1636. Sept. 8.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 172. [2] Ibid., 157. [3] Ibid., 181.

after no town in the plantation that hath not ten freemen resident in it shall send any Deputy to the General Court; those that have above ten and under twenty, not above one; betwixt twenty and forty, not above two; and those that have above forty, three if they will, but not above"; and the towns were directed to "take care to order and dispose of all single persons within their town to service, or otherwise," subject to a right of parties aggrieved by their action "to appeal to the Governor and Council, or the Court."[1] Dec. 13.

In the autumn which followed the election of Haynes to be Governor, three persons of special note arrived in Massachusetts. A previous visit of John Winthrop the younger to this country has been mentioned.[2] When he first came over, in the year after his father, with others of the family who had been left behind, he was twenty-five or twenty-six years old. After an exemplary and studious youth, passed partly at Trinity College in the University of Dublin, he had accomplished himself by travelling on the continent of Europe. He was chosen an Assistant at the election next following his first arrival, and continued to be annually rechosen to that place, even when he had gone back to Europe, as he did after more than two years' residence, in which time he had begun a plantation at Ipswich. During his absence, he had now "passed into Scotland, and so through the North of England; and all the way he met with persons of quality, whose thoughts were towards New England, who observed his coming among them as a special providence of God."[3] 1635. Oct. 6. 1631 Nov. 2. Winthrop the younger. 1633. March.

One of Winthrop's companions was a person destined for a short time to exercise an important agency in the affairs of New England, and subsequently to act a scarcely secondary part on a much more conspicuous theatre. This was the young Henry Vane. His Henry Vane.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 178, 186.
[2] See above, p. 355.
[3] Winthrop, I. 173.

father, the representative of an ancient line, and himself experienced in high public employments in the present and the late reign, was at this period a Privy Counsellor and one of the Secretaries of State. The son, now twenty-three years old, "being a young gentleman of excellent parts, had been employed by his father, when he was ambassador, in foreign affairs, yet, being called to the obedience of the Gospel, forsook the honors and preferments of the court, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here. His father, being averse to this way (as no way savoring the power of religion), would hardly have consented to his coming hither, but that, acquainting the king with his son's disposition and desire, he commanded him to send him hither, and gave him license for three years' stay here."[1]

The third personage in this distinguished *trio* was the minister, Hugh Peter. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and had subsequently been lecturer at St. Sepulchre's church, in London, whence he had been driven, by the persecution under Laud, to Holland. After six years' service as pastor of a church in Rotterdam, he was induced by annoyances from the English ambassador to resolve to join the Colony in Massachusetts, with which he was the better acquainted from having been a member of the Company before leaving England, and a liberal contributor to its stock. He was soon inducted into the place lately vacated by Williams in the church at Salem. He was a man of great talents, and of restless and various activity. He saw at once the commercial capacities of the country, and set himself to work to develop them.[2]

Hugh Peter.

An incident presently occurred which illustrates the

[1] Winthrop, I. 170.

[2] He "went from place to place, laboring both publicly and privately to raise up men to a public frame of spirit, and so prevailed as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business, and wrote into England to raise as much more." (Winthrop, I. 173, 176; comp. 185.)

characters of a group of important men. Vane and Peter had scarcely been three months in the country, before they undertook to revise the administration of the government. "Finding some distraction in the commonwealth, arising from some difference in judgment, and withal some alienation of affection, among the Magistrates and some other persons of quality, and that hereby factions began to grow among the people, some adhering more to the old Governor, Mr. Winthrop, and others to the late Governor, Mr. Dudley, — the former carrying matters with more lenity, and the latter with more severity, — they procured a meeting, at Boston, of the Governor, Deputy, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Wilson, and there was present Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and themselves; where, after the Lord had been sought, Mr. Vane declared the occasion of this meeting." And he "desired all present to take up a resolution to deal freely and openly with the parties, and they with each other, that nothing might be left in their breasts which might break out to any jar or difference hereafter; which they promised to do."

Conference of the leaders. 1636. Jan. 18.

Winthrop was self-possessed and at the same time conciliating, as usual. He said, "that when it pleased Mr. Vane to acquaint him with what he had observed, of the dispositions of men's minds inclining to the said faction, &c., it was very strange to him, professing solemnly that he knew not of any breach between his brother Dudley and himself, since they were reconciled long since." He knew of no alienation from him, "save that, of late, he had observed that some new-comers had estranged themselves from him, since they went to dwell at Newtown, and so desired all the company, that, if they had seen anything amiss in his government or otherwise, they would deal freely and faithfully with him; and, for his part, he promised to take it in good part, and would endeavor, by God's grace, to amend it." Dudley said, "that,

for his part, he came thither a mere patient, not with any intent to charge his brother Winthrop with anything; for though there had been formerly some differences and breaches between them, yet they had been healed, and for his part he was not willing to renew them again, and so he left it to others to utter their own complaints."

Haynes professed his unwillingness to give offence to Winthrop; "and he hoped that, considering what the end of this meeting was, he would take it in good part, if he did deal openly and freely, as his manner ever was. Then he spake of one or two passages, wherein he conceived that he dealt too remissly in point of justice. To which Mr. Winthrop answered, that his speeches and carriage had been in part mistaken; but withal professed that it was his judgment, that, in the infancy of plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because then people were more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business and other straits; but, if it might be made clear to him that it was an error, he would be ready to take up a stricter course. Then the ministers were desired to consider of the question by the next morning, and to set down a rule in the case."

The ministers differed from Winthrop. Their judgment, delivered the next morning, was, "that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and in martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honor and safety of the Gospel. Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he was convinced that he had failed in overmuch lenity and remissness, and would endeavor, by God's assistance, to take a more strict course hereafter. Whereupon there was a renewal of love amongst them, and articles drawn" to regulate the future course of administration. It was resolved, "that there should be more strictness used in civil government and military discipline; that the Magistrates should, as far as

might be, ripen their consultations beforehand, that their vote in public might bear as the voice of God; that, in meetings out of court, the Magistrates should not discuss the business of parties in their presence, nor deliver their opinions, &c.; that trivial things should be ended in towns";[1] that certain rules of order should be observed in public meetings; that the Magistrates should cultivate a frank, friendly, and familiar intercourse with each other; that a more distinct precedency should be given to the Governor in the conduct of the public business; that Assistants should refrain from embarrassing each other's proceedings; that the Magistrates should "grace and strengthen their under officers in their places"; and finally, that "all contempts against the Court, or any of the Magistrates, should be speedily noted and punished, and that Magistrates should appear more solemnly in public, with attendance, apparel, and open notice of their entrance into the Court."[2]

At the first election after his arrival, Vane was chosen Governor, with Winthrop for his Deputy. It is likely that the resentment of the freemen against Cotton's doctrine of a vested estate in the highest offices was not yet exhausted. It may have been believed that Haynes intended to leave Massachusetts. And the remarkable personal qualities of Vane, set off by his eminent social position, required no long time to make themselves felt.[3] The Assistants now chosen were

Vane chosen Governor. May 25.

[1] There was one good fruit, at least, of this conference, if it led to the law respecting towns, which was passed at the next General Court, six weeks afterward (see above, p. 434).

[2] Winthrop, I. 177–179.

[3] In Boston, indeed, he had been welcomed with expressions of a confidence which, considering his youth, seems almost like infatuation. "November 30, 1635, [at which time Vane had been here less than two months,] at a general meeting upon public notice, it is agreed . . . . . that none of the members of this congregation or inhabitants amongst us shall sue one another at the law before that Mr. Henry Vane and the two elders, Mr. Thomas Oliver and Thomas Leverett, have had the hearing and deciding of the cause, if they can." (Town Records of Boston.)

the same as in the last year, except that Hough, for some reason which is not apparent, was left out, and the Governor and Deputy-Governor of that year were added to the list, with Endicott, whose term of penance had expired, and Roger Harlakenden, a young man of good family and fortune, who had arrived in the preceding autumn.

1635. August.

The accession of Vane was greeted with unusual pomp. "Because he was son and heir to a Privy Counsellor in England, the ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot." The enthusiasm awakened in his behalf he had the good sense to turn to account for the public advantage. "The next week, he invited all the masters (there were then fifteen great ships) to dinner." And he profited by the interview to make them agree that vessels bound to Boston should anchor below the castle, till their friendly character should be ascertained; that the Magistrates should have the first offer of commodities which they brought; and "that their men might not stay on shore, except upon necessary business, after sunset."[1]

The king's mutilated flag flapped forthwith in the face of the son of the king's Privy Counsellor and Secretary. A seaman "spake to some of our people aboard his ship, that because we had not the king's colors at our fort, we were all traitors and rebels." The Magistrates apprehended and committed him. "He acknowledged his offence, and set his hand to a submission, and was discharged. Then the Governor desired the masters that they would deal freely, and tell us if they did take any offence, and what they required of us." They replied that, as they should be questioned when they got home, they should like to see the national flag displayed at the castle. And now a singular fact appeared. In an English colony, six years old, the royal ensign was not to be found. "It was answered, that we

The royal flag. 1636. May 31.

[1] Winthrop, I. 187.

had not the king's colors." The shipmasters offered to furnish them, and they were hoisted accordingly over the fort, but not till after solemn consultation, and, as far as some of the Magistrates were concerned, with no other consent than connivance. Winthrop, who was evidently dissatisfied, says: "We had conferred over night with Mr. Cotton, &c., about the point. The Governor and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton were of opinion that they might be set up at the fort upon this distinction, that it was maintained in the king's name," and so "that his own colors might be spread there." "Some others, being not so persuaded, could not join in the act, yet would not oppose, as being doubtful."[1]

In plain defiance of the charter, a new order of magistracy was instituted at the General Court which elected Vane to be Governor. Winthrop "was chosen to be one of the Standing Council for the term of his life." The same dignity was conferred upon Dudley at the same time, and upon Endicott in the following year; and never upon any other person. The appointments were made in fulfilment of a vote, passed at the General Court two months before, "that the General Court to be holden in May next, for election of Magistrates, and so from time to time, as occasion shall require, shall elect a certain number of magistrates, for term of their lives, as a standing council, not to be removed but upon due conviction of crime, insufficiency, or for some other weighty cause, the Governor for the time being to be always President of this Council, and to have such further power out of Court as the General Court shall from time to time endue them withal."[2] This attempt was a revival of Cotton's doctrine of perpetuity in office, as well as probably a concession to the proposal of Lord Say and Sele to introduce an aristocratical

Institution of a council for life.

March 3.

[1] Winthrop, I. 187–189. Comp. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 176, 178.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 167.

element into the government.[1] But the plan was not pressed; it acquired no favor with the people, and came to nothing.

March 25. Proposal for a code of laws.

At the same General Court a committee was raised "to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God, which may be the fundamentals of this commonwealth, and to present the same to the next General Court." The committee consisted of the Governor and Deputy-Governor, the Assistants Dudley, Haynes, and Bellingham, and the ministers Cotton, Peter, and Shepard.[2] The General Court of the preceding year had given a like charge to Haynes, Bellingham, Winthrop, and Dudley.[3] But it was several years before this object, diligently pursued by the freemen, was accomplished. The Magistrates and ministers, who did not favor it, knew how to interpose embarrassments and delays.

"The people ..... thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the discretion of Magistrates." At first view, their apprehensions and their demand appear unquestionably just; yet reasons "which caused most of the Magistrates and some of the elders not to be very forward in this matter," were not without weight. The practical and cautious habit of thought of the more influential minds led them to the opinion, that a code of statute law, which must be framed, would not prove so fit and safe as a system of Common Law, which could only grow; they reflected on the "want of sufficient experience of the nature and disposition of the people,

[1] Cotton wrote to Lord Say and Sele, that "the General Court had already condescended unto" one of his Proposals, "in establishing a Standing Council, who, during their lives, should assist the Governor in managing the chiefest affairs of this little state. They have chosen for the present only two, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, not willing to choose more, till they see what further better choice the Lord will send over to them, that so they may keep an open door for such desirable gentlemen as your Lordship mentioneth." (John Cotton to Lord Say and Sele, in Hutchinson, I., App. III.)

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 174.

[3] Ibid., 147.

considered with the condition of the country and other circumstances, which made them conceive that such laws would be fittest for us which should arise *pro re natâ*, upon occasions." Their patriotic vigilance discerned another material difficulty. A formal code, with provisions such as were needed or desired, "would," said Winthrop, "professedly transgress the limits of our charter, which provides we shall make no laws repugnant to the laws of England, and that we were assured we must do; but to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression; as, in our church discipline and in matters of marriage, to make a law that marriages should not be solemnized by ministers, is repugnant to the laws of England; but to bring it a custom by practice for the Magistrates to perform it, is no law made repugnant."[1] The subject will repeatedly recur hereafter.

A General Court convened by Vane towards the close of his term, "taking into consideration the great danger and damage that might accrue to the state by all the freemen's leaving their plantations to come to the place of elections," passed an order making it "free and lawful for all freemen to send their votes for elections by proxy the next General Court in May, and so for thereafter";[2] an approach to the mode of local voting in use at the present day. At the same Court, a military organization was matured. It was "ordered, that all military men in the jurisdiction should be ranked into three regiments," according to a division which subsequently became the basis of counties. The elder Winthrop was provisionally appointed Colonel, and Dudley Lieutenant-Colonel, of the troops of the southern district; Haynes and Harlakenden received the like appointments for Charlestown and the western settlements; and Endicott and Winthrop the younger for Saugus, Salem, Ipswich, and Newbury. After this first

Dec. 13.

Military organization.

[1] Winthrop, I. 322, 323.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 188.

organization, the regiments were respectively to elect their field-officers; "and for the captains and lieutenants to the several companies, the several towns" were to "make choice of some principal man, or two or three, in each town, and present them to the Council, who should appoint one of them to the said office in each company." The officers were all to be freemen; but, in the nomination of company officers, privates who were not freemen might vote. The Governor for the time being was always to be Commander-in-chief.[1]

Simultaneously with the foundation of Providence by Roger Williams, a more important movement had taken place towards the region further to the west. To follow the progress of this transaction, and observe its connection with its important incidents in Massachusetts, it is necessary first to retrace our steps.

The establishment of a factory by the Plymouth people on Connecticut River, and the visits to it of John Oldham and of a vessel of Governor Winthrop, have been related in a former chapter.[2] Intelligence which from time to time arrived of the fertility of that region led many to desire to transfer themselves to it from the less productive soil upon which they had at first sat down in Massachusetts; and especially the project was entertained by the inhabitants of Dorchester, Watertown, Newtown, and Roxbury. It was favored at Roxbury by Pynchon, one of the Assistants, and at Dorchester by Ludlow, the principal lay citizen. But at the head of the enterprise, in the shape which it finally took, were Hooker and Stone, ministers of Newtown, and their parishioner, John Haynes.

Scheme of an emigration to Connecticut.

It has been mentioned that these three eminent persons came over in the ship which also brought John Cotton; and the reader is acquainted with the prominent part at once taken by Haynes in the affairs of the Colony. Sam-

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 186, 187. [2] See above, pp. 339, 369, 370.

uel Stone, educated, like so many others of our founders, at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, had been a *lecturer* in Northamptonshire before his flight into America. Thomas Hooker, student and Fellow of the same College, had acquired a high reputation in the same employment at Chelmsford, in Essex. He had also taught a school, in which John Eliot was his assistant. From the threats of the High-Commission Court he escaped to Rotterdam, where he became pastor to the congregation served by Dr. Ames as teacher. The intention of some of his Essex friends to emigrate having been made known to him, he returned to England, and, managing to get on shipboard in disguise, joined them, a year after the arrival of their most numerous company, at Newtown, where he was presently established as their pastor, Mr. Stone being associated with him as teacher.

Samuel Stone and Thomas Hooker.

1633. Oct. 11.

It was at the first annual General Court after their arrival, and after the rejection of the proposal from Plymouth to plant upon Connecticut River,[1] that the Newtown people presented their application for leave "to look out either for enlargement or removal."[2] If their plan was already matured, it was not understood by the Court, and the request, preferred in such general terms, was readily consented to.[3] At the next meeting, the purpose "to remove to Connecticut" was avowed. "This matter was debated divers days, and many reasons alleged *pro* and *con*. The principal reasons for their removal were, — 1. Their want of accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near each to other. 2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the dan-

1634. May 14.

Sept. 4.

Alleged motives for emigration.

[1] See above, p. 340. [2] Winthrop, I. 132. [3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 119.

ger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English. 3. The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither." [1]

The first of these reasons does not seem suitable to have much influence on those who, though just joined by a recent emigration of some hundreds, had behind and beside them the whole territory of Massachusetts, supporting at this day more than a million of inhabitants. The second divides itself into two branches, the latter of which is a consideration of public advantage, apparently calculated not so much to prompt the design entertained, as to promote its favorable reception by the authorities. The former branch, relating to "the fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut," may well have entered as a large element into that "strong bent of their spirits to remove thither," which was specified as the third reason. Yet another reason for this "strong bent" has been found by some writers in a supposed jealousy of Mr. Winthrop on the part of Mr. Haynes, and of Mr. Cotton on the part of Mr. Hooker, impelling the two chief pioneers of Connecticut to seek a sphere where their influence would cease to be controlled, and their consequence eclipsed, by rivals earlier possessed of the public confidence.[2] But the hypothesis is not sustained either by definite facts, or by anything in the character of those eminently unselfish persons. If motives of this description had weight with any of the projectors, they are more likely to have influenced Ludlow of Dorchester, whose ambitious and uneasy temper[3] was sufficiently evinced both before and after his departure. In respect to the Watertown people, it would be no matter of surprise, if, after the suppression, by the calm prudence of Winthrop, of what may be called a mutiny among them,[4] some fire had still slumbered among the

[1] Winthrop, I. 140.

[2] Hubbard, Chap. XLI.

[3] Ludlow was against the measure in 1634, when he was Deputy-Governor. (Winthrop, I. 141.) But the next year, when he had been left out of the magistracy, he altered his mind.

[4] See above, p. 353.

ashes. As the Connecticut emigrants did not adopt in their own settlement that radical feature of the social system of Massachusetts which founded the civil franchise on church-membership, we may not unnaturally suppose that dissatisfaction with it, and apprehension of the results of that union between church and state which had already been partially developed out of it, may have been among their motives for seeking a separate home. And it may have been, that, in the existing relations between Massachusetts and the mother country, Haynes and Hooker and their associates were disposed to seek the security of a residence more remote; — a motive which is known to have had a part in prompting the next emigration towards the west.

"Against these it was said, — 1. That, in point of conscience, they ought not to depart from us, being knit to us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of this commonwealth. 2. That, in point of state and civil policy, we ought not to give them leave to depart, — (1.) Being we were now weak, and in danger to be assailed; (2.) The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw many from us, but also divert other friends who would come to us; (3.) We should expose them to evident peril, both from the Dutch (who made claim to the same river and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians, and also from our own state at home, who would not endure they should sit down without a patent in any place which our king lays claim to. 3. They might be accommodated at home by some enlargement which other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merrimack, or any other place within our patent. 5. The removing of a candlestick[1] is a great judgment." Reasons against it.

When the matter came to a vote, the two branches of the legislature, if we are already so to call them, disagreed. Fifteen of the twenty-five Deputies were in favor

[1] This figure is borrowed from Revelation i. 11 – 13, 20, etc.

of granting the permission desired, while of the Magistrates all but the Governor and two Assistants dissented. The Magistrates were the responsible pilots of the young commonwealth through the difficulties of its relation to the mother country, and to them the consideration of the danger to be apprehended from the "state at home, which would not endure that they should sit down without a patent in any place which the king laid claim to," suggested yet other thoughts. It could scarcely occur to their minds, without exciting an alarm, lest that attention to American colonies and charters, which it was so much their interest to avoid, should be revived at court by the proposed movement, and lest the investigation should be favored even by those patentees of Connecticut whose rights would be encroached upon, and who had hitherto been so much their friends.

Question respecting a veto power of the magistrates.

The important question had thus arisen whether a majority of the Magistrates possessed an effectual negative voice in the government. "Upon this grew a great difference." All other methods failing to compose it, "the whole Court agreed to keep a day of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was done in all the congregations." The General Court re-assembled after a fortnight's adjournment, and listened to a sermon from Mr. Cotton, "upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for that occasion." From the text, "Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, and be strong, O Joshua the son of Josedeck, the high-priest, and be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts,"[1] Cotton "laid down the nature or strength (as he termed it) of the magistracy, ministry, and people; namely, the strength of the magistracy to be their authority; of the people, their liberty; and of the ministry, their purity; and showed how all of these had a negative voice,

[1] Haggai ii. 4.

&c., and that yet the ultimate resolution, &c. ought to be in the whole body of the people, &c." His address, if it did not close the question against future agitation, answered the present purpose. "Although all were not satisfied about the negative voice to be left to the Magistrates, yet no man moved aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been offered them by Boston and Watertown, and so the fear of their removal to Connecticut was removed."[1]

When, at the next annual General Court, Haynes was made Governor of Massachusetts, it was perhaps partly with the intent of detaching him from the enterprise. But the Magistrates appear now to have determined to refrain from harshly pressing their objections. Perhaps because they had become satisfied that further opposition would be fruitless,[2] or that it was not the time to assert a claim which had been so vigorously contested, or that it was not worth the contention it would revive,[3] they consented to a vote couched in these ambiguous terms: "There is liberty granted to the inhabitants of Watertown to remove themselves to any place they shall think meet to make choice of, provided they continue still under this government."[4] In the course of

1635. May 6.

[1] Winthrop, I. 140–142.

[2] There is a tradition (see Trumbull, History of Connecticut, I. 59) that some stragglers from Watertown had already wintered at the spot where is now Wethersfield.

[3] "Divers jealousies that had been between the Magistrates and Deputies were now cleared, with full satisfaction to all parties." (Winthrop, I. 160.)

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 146. A similar vote was passed as to Roxbury. (Ibid.) Trumbull says (I. 59): "The next May, the Newtown people, determining to settle at Connecticut, renewed their application to the General Court, and obtained liberty to remove," &c. His accuracy is in general unimpeachable; but I do not find that he is right in the present instance. As I understand it, there was no further action of the General Court on the subject of the removal of the Newtown church till the grant, in March, 1636, of the "Commission to Several Persons to govern the People at Connecticut," the preamble to which reads thus: "Whereas, upon some reasons and grounds, there are to remove from this our commonwealth and body of the Mattachusetts in America, divers of our loving friends, neighbors, freemen, and members of New-

the summer, a party from Dorchester found their way to the neighborhood of the spot where the Plymouth factory had been planted,[1] and a few explorers from Watertown established themselves where Wethersfield at length grew up.[2] Probably these expeditions were preparatory to a more important one which took place in the autumn, when a party of sixty persons, including women and children, driving cattle before them, set off for the infant settlements.[3] The unexpected length of their difficult journey abridged their time for making preparations for the winter, which came on unusually soon, and proved to be of distressing severity. In six weeks from the time of their departure, twelve of their number had struggled back to Boston. They reported that they had left the river already frozen over, excluding all supplies by water carriage, and that "they had been ten days upon their journey, and had lost one of their company, drowned in the ice by the way, and had been all starved, but that, by God's providence, they lighted upon an Indian wigwam."[4]

Emigration to Connecticut.

Oct. 15.

Nov. 26.

When John Winthrop the younger came to New England the second time, he bore a commission from Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others their associates, patentees of Connecticut.[5] It constituted him Governor of that territory for a year, with instructions to build a fort at the river's mouth, for which pur-

Oct. 6.

town, Dorchester, Watertown, and other places, who are resolved to transplant themselves and their estates unto the river of Connecticut, there to reside and inhabit, and to that end divers are there already, and divers others shortly to go," &c. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 170.)

[1] See above, p. 340.

[2] Trumbull, I. 59.

[3] Winthrop, I. 171.

[4] Winthrop's Journal, I. 173.

[5] They were proprietors of that territory as assigns of Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, President of the Council for New England. Lord Warwick's assignment to the new proprietors, with a description of the boundaries, &c., under the date of March 19, 1632, may be found in Hazard (I. 318), as well as in other places. — Winthrop's commission, signed by Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, George Fenwick, who subsequently came over, and three others, as a committee of the patentees, is in the Appendix (No. II.) to the first volume of Trumbull's History.

pose he came provided with men and ammunition, and with two thousand pounds in money. He was further directed to employ a party of fifty to erect the fort, and to put up houses, "first for their own present accommodations, and then such houses as may receive men of quality," the latter to be within the circuit of the fort; and he was to take care that all settlers for the present should "plant themselves either at the harbor, or near the mouth of the river," for the purpose of more effective mutual defence. He forthwith despatched a party of twenty men, who, with two pieces of cannon which they had mounted, drove off a vessel sent from New Netherland to assert the Dutch claim to the possession of the river. Something was done towards the maintenance of the English right when a small work was first erected and then commanded by Lion Gardiner, an engineer whom Winthrop had brought over for the purpose.[1]

Foundation of Saybrook.

Nov. 3.

Vane and Peter were associated with Winthrop, by the patentees of Connecticut, in the agency for the management of their estate. The three made proclamation of the rights of their principals, and required a recognition of them on the part of the emigrants to that region.[2] The matter was adjusted by an agreement of the emigrants, either to withdraw entirely on being remunerated for their expenses, or to give up such portion of the ground they

[1] Winthrop, I. 170, 173, 175; Trumbull, I. 497. — In his "Relation of the Pequot Warres" (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIII. 136), Gardiner qualifies himself as "Engineer and Master of Works of Fortification in the Leaguers of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries."

[2] The document is in the Appendix to Savage's Winthrop, I. 477. "The agents of the patentees," mentioned in it, I understand to be the subscribers, Vane, Winthrop, and Peter; and the second subscriber I understand to be Winthrop the younger, though it is barely possible that the Governor is indicated. Winthrop the younger is spoken of in the body of the paper; but what seems to me more than countervailing evidence that he, not his father, was the signer, is the language in which the Connecticut people are challenged to declare "under what right and pretence they have lately taken up their plantations"; a challenge which Winthrop the elder, after his agency in the transaction, could scarcely have made. Comp. Winthrop, I. 170.

had occupied as should be satisfactory to the patentees. But further reflection must have shown that their presence was no disadvantage, but a benefit; and they were exposed to no further molestation from the proprietors. The dispute with Plymouth Colony, arising out of the occupation, by the emigrants from Dorchester, of lands which the former had purchased of the Indians and defended against the Dutch,[1] lasted longer; but was at length amicably composed, on the payment, by the Dorchester people, of fifty pounds, with a surrender of forty acres of *intervale*, and a large tract of upland.[2] The pain occasioned by the recent quarrel at the eastward had its influence in peaceably determining this dispute. "To make any forcible resistance was far from their thoughts; they had had enough of that about Kennebec."[3]

Sufferings of the first settlers of Connecticut.

Those of the adventurers who persevered in attempting to winter on Connecticut River underwent extreme hardship. The vessels in which they had laden great part of their household supplies and furniture were detained by the freezing over of the river. The ground was covered deep with snow, and the cattle suffered for want of shelter and provender. Impelled by the fear of famine, seventy persons struggled down to the river's mouth, in fruitless search of the expected ships. They fell in with another vessel, which took them back to Boston. Acorns, with some malt and grain, added to the precarious products of the chase, furnished scanty means of subsistence to those who stayed behind. The loss of the Dorchester settlement alone, in cattle that died, was estimated at two thousand pounds sterling.[4]

Dec. 3.

[1] Bradford felt very sore about this transaction. (History, 338 – 342.) The reason, or pretence, of the persistence of the Dorchester people was, that they were, or might be, within the limits of the Massachusetts patent, which those of Plymouth had had no right to invade. Winslow conducted the treaty. (Winthrop, I. 181.)

[2] Trumbull, I. 66, on the authority of manuscripts of Governor Wolcott. Comp. Bradford, 342.

[3] Bradford, 341. See above, p. 338.

[4] Winthrop, I. 175, 184.

At length came the movement which gave permanent vitality to Connecticut. Among the numerous colonists who had recently arrived was a company attached to Thomas Shepard,[1] formerly of Emmanuel College, and more recently a lecturer at Earl's Cone, in Essex.[2] Shepard and his friends arranged with the members of the Newtown church for the purchase of their houses and other immovable property. The plan of removal being thus facilitated, Hooker and Stone, with the members of their congregation, a hundred in number, of both sexes and all ages, took advantage of the pleasantest of the New England months to make their emigration. They directed their march by the compass, aided by such local information as they had derived from previous explorers. Their herd of a hundred and sixty cattle, which grazed as they journeyed, supplied them with milk. They hewed their difficult way through thickets, and their simple engineering bridged with felled trees the streams which could not be forded. Tents and wagons protected them from the rain, and sheltered their sleep. Early berries, which grew along the way, furnished an agreeable variety in their diet; and the fragrance of summer flowers, and the songs of innumerable birds, beguiled the weariness of their pilgrimage. It occupied a fortnight, though the distance was scarcely a hundred miles. Mrs. Hooker, by reason of illness, was conveyed in a horse litter.

1635. Oct. 3.

1636. June. Renewed emigration to Connecticut.

At a spot, on the right bank of the Connecticut, just north of the Dutch stockade,[3] the caravan reached its journey's end. The little settlements above and below were enlarged in the course of the summer by the emigration of the churches of Dorchester and Watertown.

[1] In the year 1635, twenty vessels brought three thousand colonists to Massachusetts, including eleven ministers.

[2] Shepard, Memoir of his own Life, in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, p. 514.

[3] See above, p. 340.

February. The former was accompanied by Mr. Warham, Mr. Maverick having lately died. The latter engaged a new pastor, Mr. Henry Smith, instead of Mr. Phillips, who, from dissatisfaction on his own part or on theirs, remained behind. To the spots selected for their habitation the emigrants gave, for the present, the names of the Massachusetts towns which respectively they had left. Pynchon and seven other persons from Roxbury had pitched upon a beautiful site higher up the river, afterwards called Springfield.[1] The political constitution of the four plantations was the singular one of a "Commission granted" by the General Court of Massachusetts to Ludlow, Pynchon, and six others, "to govern the people of Connecticut for the space of a year now next coming."[2] The Massachusetts Magistrates knew that at least the lower towns on the Connecticut were beyond their border. But their course seemed to them to be justified by "a necessity that some present government might be observed"; and something of the English doctrine of an indefeasible allegiance adhering to their friends in their new abode may have been floating in their minds.

March.

Local business had been transacted at town meetings[3] from the beginning of the plantations. The general administration for the first year continued entirely in the hands of the Commissioners. It was directed, for the most part, to the establishment of police and military regulations, the collection of a revenue (for which purpose a Treasurer was chosen), and arrange-

Government for the first year.

[1] "They entered into a covenant with each other, [1636,] May 14." The Reverend George Moxon, their first minister, was with them as early as the following year. (Breck, Century Sermon at Springfield, 15, 16.)

[2] The preamble, however, declares that this was done in concert with "John Winthrop, Jr., Esq., Governor, appointed by certain noble personages and men of quality interested in the said river, which are yet in England." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 170.)

[3] "One, the earliest, bearing date 1635." (Hartford in the Olden Time, 50.)

ments for the settlement of estates and for the procuring of provisions. The trespasses of swine made constant trouble for the founders of Connecticut, as well as for the legislators of the community they had left. Before the year expired, new names were given to the three lower towns. Newtown was called Hartford, after the English birthplace of Mr. Stone; Watertown took the name of Wethersfield, and Dorchester that of Windsor.[1] 1637. Feb. 21.

The government of the Connecticut towns by Commissioners of Massachusetts had been but a provisional arrangement, and in practice was found to be inconvenient. The sense of allegiance, such as it was, had been weakened by the short time of absence; and there appeared no good reason why one primitive settlement should owe its laws to another, from which it was separated by the distance of a fortnight's journey through the woods. Accordingly, the Massachusetts commission was not renewed; and, in the second month after the expiration of the year to which it was limited, a General Court was held at Hartford. In it the aggregate community was represented by six persons, five of whom had been Commissioners, while nine others appeared as "committees" from the several towns.[2] Almost at the same time, the new Colony received the welcome accession of John Haynes.[3] May 1.

The population of the three lower towns on the Connecticut is estimated to have been now about eight hundred, including two hundred and fifty adult men. There were besides twenty of the younger Winthrop's men, under

1 Connecticut Colony Records, 7.

2 Ibid., 9.

3 "Third month [May], 2. Mr. Haynes, one of our Magistrates, removed with his family to Connecticut." (Winthrop, I. 260.) Haynes was in his place at a Court of Assistants of Massachusetts, March 7 (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 193), thus performing the last public service to which his official term as Assistant extended. "Mr. Haynes is now come to Hartford." (Letter of Ludlow to Pynchon, May 17, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XVIII. 235.)

Gardiner, in the fort at the river's mouth.[1] The colonists early had cause for extreme uneasiness, and they had not been a year in their new home, before they waged a sanguinary war for their existence.

War with the Pequots.

It has been mentioned that the Pequots, the most formidable tribe of New England, occupied the country between the Pawcatuck River, now the western boundary of Rhode Island, and the river then bearing their name, now called the *Thames*. Their western border was some thirty miles distant, in a straight line, from the nearest of the recent English settlements. Sassacus was their chief, and twenty-six subordinate sachems acknowledged his sway. It was the encroachments of these people which had led the neighboring tribes to send an embassy to invite an English settlement for their protection.[2] The Narragansetts, whose hunting-grounds lay to the eastward of theirs, and who had hitherto been able, with difficulty, to escape subjection to them, regarded the Pequot chief with a superstitious awe. The Mohegans, who had been tributary to the Pequots, were now irritated against them, and ready for rebellion.

1633. Murder of Stone and Norton.

Some three years before, two traders, named Stone and Norton, having sailed from New England for Virginia, with a crew of six other persons, had steered their vessel up the Connecticut River for traffic at the Dutch trading-house. Stone admitted twelve of the natives on board his vessel, and engaged others to pilot two of his men higher up the stream in a boat. The guides, at night, murdered these men, and the Indians on board the vessel rose upon her company while most of them were asleep, and put them also to death. Intelligence of the transaction came by the way of Plymouth to Boston, where the Magistrates "agreed to write to the Governor of Virginia, because Stone was one of that Colony, to move him to revenge it, and upon his

[1] Mason, History of the Pequot War, ix.

[2] See above, pp. 24, 328.

answer, to take further counsel." The murderers belonged to a tribe subject to Sassacus.[1]

The business slept for several months, when a messenger came to Boston from the Pequot chief, with friendly professions and overtures. By a number of sticks, brought in two bundles, he signified the number of beaver and otter skins which he would give as the price of a treaty. He was told that his master ought to be represented by "persons of greater quality"; and, a fortnight after, two such messengers appeared. When questioned about the death of Stone's people, they protested that the affair was in part accidental, and in part a revenge for ill-treatment from Stone; the latter branch of which allegation was thought not unlikely to be true, as Stone had conducted himself ill in Massachusetts, and had gone away under a sentence of banishment, with the threat of being put to death if he should return.[2] The envoys agreed, however, to surrender the only two of the murderers that survived, the rest, as they pretended, having been all killed since, some by the Dutch, others by the small-pox; and they engaged to pay smart-money in the form of wampum and furs, and to cede a further space for settlement. The reason for this submissiveness afterwards appeared to be, that the Pequots were just then in trouble and apprehension on account both of the Narragansetts and the Dutch.[3] The treaty was concluded, but the savages broke their word as to every part of it; and during the following winter their suspicious conduct kept the little garrison at the mouth of the Connecticut in constant alarm.

1634. October.

Some further negotiation followed, which came to nothing. The murder of John Oldham, of Watertown, excited fresh alarm. He had early set on foot a commerce with the Rhode Island and Connect-

Murder of Oldham.

[1] Winthrop, I. 123. Mason, Brief History of the Pequot War, ix.

[2] Winthrop, I. 104, 111. Comp. Bradford, 323; Brodhead, History of New York, 237.

[3] Winthrop, I. 148.

icut Indians, and sailed on a trip of this kind in the summer of the English emigrations to that quarter. A Mas-

1636. July 20. sachusetts fisherman, John Gallup, of Boston, in a boat with another man and two boys, was driven soon after, by a head wind, out of his course, which was from Connecticut to Long Island. In the neighborhood of Block Island, his attention was attracted by the awkward management of a little vessel, which he recognized as belonging to Oldham, of whom he had heard as being on the coast with only two white boys and two Indians. Approaching, he saw a canoe put off from her, and her deck covered with natives. The chances in a conflict were unequal. The savages had greatly the advantage in numbers, and were well armed with pikes, guns, and swords. But Gallup was an English sailor. He had two guns, two pistols, and some duck-shot. With these he kept up so brisk a fire, that the Indians retreated below. He then ran against their vessel with his own, striking so severe a blow that six of the Indians, in their fright, jumped overboard. Repeating this manœuvre, — in unconscious imitation of Athenian naval tactics, — he saw four more Indians follow their companions, leaving but four on board. When he sprang on the deck, two of these came up and surrendered themselves, and were bound hand and foot; the other two were shut under the hatches. The body of Oldham was on board, still warm, the head cloven, the hands and feet cut off.[1]

When the intelligence reached Boston, it occasioned the greater uneasiness on account of the unsettled state of relations with the Pequots, with whom also it was feared that the Narragansetts would be induced to conspire.

Aug. 24. Expedition against the Block-Islanders. After consultation with "the Magistrates and ministers," Governor Vane despatched ninety men to Long Island Sound, in three small vessels, under the command of Endicott of Salem, and of four

[1] Winthrop, I. 189, 190.

company officers, one of whom, Captain John Underhill, has written an account of this expedition, and of the more important one which followed. A sort of Friar Tuck, — devotee, bravo, libertine, and buffoon in equal parts, — Underhill takes a memorable place among the eccentric characters who from time to time break what is altogether too easily assumed to have been the dead level of New-England gravity in those days. He had been a soldier in Ireland, in Spain, and more recently in the Netherlands, where he "had spoken freely to Count Nassau."[1] He was brought over by Governor Winthrop to train the people in military exercises, and was one of the Deputies from Boston in the first General Court.

It was Endicott's earliest trust of this kind, and the manner in which he acquitted himself of it does not constitute one of the most creditable portions of his history. He killed or wounded some of the Block-Islanders, burned their houses, staved their canoes, and cut down their corn.[2]

[1] Antinomians and Familists, &c., 41.

[2] Underhill says (Newes from America, 8) that fourteen of the Block-Islanders were killed. But perhaps he was romancing. According to Winthrop (I. 194), "they could not tell what men they killed, but some were wounded, and carried away by their fellows." He afterwards learned (Ibid., 196) that only one Block-Islander was killed outright.

Underhill (Newes, &c., 5, 6) relates his own experiences on this occasion: "Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead, so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me (which I was unwilling to do), I had been slain. Give me leave to observe two things from hence: first, when the hour of death is not yet come, you see God useth weak means to keep his purpose unviolated; secondly, let no man despise advice and counsel of his wife, though she be a woman. It was strange to nature to think a man should be bound to fulfil the humor of a woman, what arms he should carry; but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man. What with Delilah's flattery, and with her mournful tears, they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes along in the matter. ..... Therefore let the clamor be quenched I daily hear in my ears, that New-England men usurp over their wives, and keep them in servile subjection. The country is wronged in this matter, as in many things else. Let this precedent satisfy the doubtful, for that comes from the example of a rude soldier. If they be so courteous to their wives as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender, affectionate husband to honor his wife as the weaker vessel. Yet mistake not. I say not that they are bound to call

Re-embarking, he proceeded westward, and delivered his message to the Pequots, including a demand for the surrender of the murderers of Stone, the payment of a thousand fathoms of wampum, and the delivery of hostages for future good conduct. He was answered with what he thought treacherous excuses, and could get no hearing from the chiefs. When the party with whom he conferred had thus gained the time they wanted for preparation, they discharged their arrows at his men, and took to flight. He burned some wigwams and canoes, collected a quantity of corn, and returned to Boston without loss. It was afterwards reported by the Narragansetts "that thirteen of the Pequots were killed, and forty wounded."[1]

Expedition against the Pequots.

The movement, instead of intimidating, as had been hoped, did but irritate that warlike nation. Both the Connecticut and the Plymouth people complained of it, as having been ill-conducted. Sassacus made the most vigorous endeavors to engage the Narragansetts, the hereditary enemies of his tribe, in an alliance for exterminating the English in all their settlements. There was great probability that these endeavors would succeed; and, had he been able to conciliate the Narragansetts, and to enlist or overawe the Mohegans, there was no power in the colonists to make head against him, and the days of civilized New England would have been numbered and finished near their beginning. The ancient hostility of the Narragansetts to their savage rivals prevailed, enforced by the diplomacy of Roger Williams, who, at the hazard of his life, visited their settlements to counteract the solicitations with which they were addressed.[2] Determined by his

their wives in council, though they are bound to take their private advice (so far as they see it make for their advantage and their good); instance Abraham." The parenthesis leaves a pretty wide margin for domestic insubordination.

1 Winthrop, I. 196.

2 "Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, methought, reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Con-

influence, some of the Narragansett chiefs came to Boston in the autumn, and concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with the colonists. The furious and formidable Pequots were to fight their battle alone.

They spared no measures of a nature to spread consternation and provoke resentment. In the autumn, they caught one Butterfield near Gardiner's garrison, and he was never heard of more. A few days after, they took two men out of a boat, and murdered them with ingenious barbarity, cutting off first the hands of one of them, then his feet.[1] All winter, a marauding party kept near the fort, of which they burned the out-buildings and the hay, and killed the cattle.[2] Towards spring, Gardiner went out with ten men for some farming work. They were waylaid by the Indians, and three of them were slain.[3] Soon after, two men, sailing down the river, were stopped and horribly mutilated and mangled; their bodies were cut in two lengthwise, and the parts hung up by the river's bank.[4] A man who had been carried off from Wethersfield was roasted alive.[5] All doubt as to the necessity of vigorous action was over when a band of a hundred Pequots

October.

Hostilities of the Pequots. 1637. Feb. 22.

necticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also." (Roger Williams's Letter to Major Mason, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 277.) — In Mass. Hist. Coll., XXI. 159–161, is a letter from Williams to Winthrop, communicating to him the views of the Narragansetts respecting the best manner of conducting a campaign against the Pequots.

[1] The victim was John Tilley, formerly overseer for the Dorchester Company at Cape Ann; — "a very stout man, and of great understanding." (Winthrop, I. 200.) "He lived three days after his hands were cut off." (Ibid.) Tilley's companion fared yet worse. His captors "tied him to a stake, flayed his skin off, put hot embers between the flesh and skin, cut off his fingers and toes and made hatbands of them." (Underhill, Newes, &c., 23.) "Many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive." (Lion Gardiner, Relation of the Pequot Wars, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIII. 151.)

[2] Winthrop, I. 198.

[3] Gardiner, Relation, &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIII. 143.

[4] Trumbull, History of Connecticut, I. 76.

[5] Gardiner, Relation, &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXIII. 143.

attacked that place, killed seven men, a woman, and a child, and carried away two girls. They had now put to death no less than thirty of the English.

The two hundred and fifty men in the Connecticut towns were surrounded by Indian tribes, who, from their hunting-grounds between Hudson River and Narragansett Bay, could, if united, have fallen upon them with a force of at least four or five thousand warriors. The Pequots, already engaged in open hostility against them, numbered not fewer than a thousand fighting-men. It was but too probable that the friendship of the other tribes would not long be proof against the seductions by which they continued to be plied. There seemed no alternative for the distressed colonists except their own speedy extermination or a sudden exercise of courage and conduct that should crush the assailant. Women and children were not to be abandoned to savage cruelty, the new light of civilization in Connecticut was not to be extinguished, if the desperate valor of a few stout men could save them. And, if a bold movement should succeed, it might be expected to impress a salutary lesson, to break up the dangerous negotiations which had been on foot, to settle for the future the relations of the parties, and to entail a lasting enjoyment of security and peace.

Massachusetts and Plymouth were solicited for aid. At an extraordinary session of the General Court of Massachusetts, "assembled for the special occasion of prosecuting the war against the Pequots, it was agreed and ordered, that the war, having been undertaken on just ground, should be seriously prosecuted," and that for this purpose there should be a levy of a hundred and sixty men, and the sum of six hundred pounds.[1] Plymouth in like manner determined to make a levy of forty men.[2] But no time could be spared for waiting till these troops should come up. A Connecticut force of ninety

April 18.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 192.

[2] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 60–62.

men, forty-two of whom were furnished by Hartford, thirty by Windsor, and eighteen by Wethersfield, was placed under the command of Captain John Mason.[1] This officer had served in the Netherlands under Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had such esteem for him, that, when he was General, several years after, of the forces of Parliament, he wrote to urge him to return to England, and help the patriot cause.[2] Coming over to Massachusetts and joining Ludlow's settlement, he was employed with Gallup, who has just been mentioned, in an unsuccessful cruise after a piratical vessel, and was a member of a committee to direct fortifications at Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Castle Island.[3] He was two years a Deputy from Dorchester to the General Court,[4] before he accompanied his fellow-townsmen to the bank of the Connecticut.

May 1. Captain John Mason. 1632.

Mason was first despatched with twenty men to reinforce the garrison at the river's mouth; but meeting Underhill there, who had just arrived with an equal force from Massachusetts, he returned with his detachment to Hartford, whence he proceeded down the river a second time, taking with him now all his levy, besides seventy friendly Indians. The whole were embarked in three small vessels. The Reverend Mr. Stone, chaplain of the expedition, acted a part in it second only in importance to that of the commander. Uncas, the Mohegan chief, led the Indian allies. An apprehension of their treachery weighed heavily on the spirits of the troops; but they proved faithful, though they rendered no effective service.

1637. May 10.

From the fort, Mason took along with him Underhill with his twenty men, sending back twenty of his own

[1] The preparations for this war constituted the business of the first General Court held in Connecticut. (Conn. Col. Rec., 9, 10.)

[2] Prince's Introduction to Mason's History of the Pequot War.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 106, 124.

[4] Ibid., 135, 156.

party for the better security of the exposed settlements.

His movements against the Pequots.

Here a question of great importance divided the opinions of the council of officers. Mason's orders were express to land at Pequot River, and attack the enemy on their western frontier. He knew that to be the side from which they were expecting to be invaded, and which they had strengthened accordingly, and he was desirous of approaching them through the Narragansett country, in their rear. His officers shrank from taking the responsibility of disobeying the instructions, and leaving their homes so long undefended as the protracting of the campaign through several days would require. Mason, finding himself left alone, proposed to defer the decision till the next morning, and that, during the night, the chaplain should seek Divine direction in prayer. Without doubt the devout Stone prayed earnestly; it may be supposed that he also took care to inform himself, and make up an opinion, on the merits of the case. Early in the morning, he went on shore to head-quarters, to declare that the Captain's plan of the campaign was the correct one. A council of war was forthwith called, which unanimously determined on its prosecution.

Accordingly, the little squadron set sail from the fort, and arrived on the following evening at its destination,

May 20.

near the entrance of Narragansett Bay, at the foot of what is now called Tower Hill, which overlooks Point Judith. The next day, the party kept their Sabbath quietly on shipboard; and then came a storm which prevented them from disembarking till Tuesday evening. Mason had an interview with the sachem of the friendly Narragansetts, who engaged to reinforce him with two hundred men of his own and as many of the neighboring Nyantic tribe. Here, too, Mason received a message from Providence, informing him of the arrival of a Massachusetts party at that place under Captain Patrick, and requesting

him to wait till it could come up. But a rapid movement was thought to be of even more consequence than an augmented force.

On the day following his debarkation, Mason, at the head of seventy-seven brave Englishmen (the rest being left in charge of the vessels), sixty frightened Mohegans, and four hundred more terrified Narragansetts and Nyantics, marched twenty miles westward towards the Pequot country, to a fort occupied by some suspected neutrals. For fear lest intelligence should be conveyed, this fort was invested for the night. On Thursday, after a march of about fifteen miles, to a place lying five miles northwest of the present principal village of Stonington, they encamped, an hour after dark, near to a hill, upon which, according to information received from their allies, (who, "being possessed with great fear," had now all fallen behind,) stood the principal strong-hold of the Pequots. It was evident that no alarm had been given, for the sentinels could hear the noisy revelling within the place, which was kept up till midnight. The savages, who from the heights had seen the vessels pass to the eastward along the Sound, supposed that the settlers had abandoned their hostile intentions in despair.

May 24.

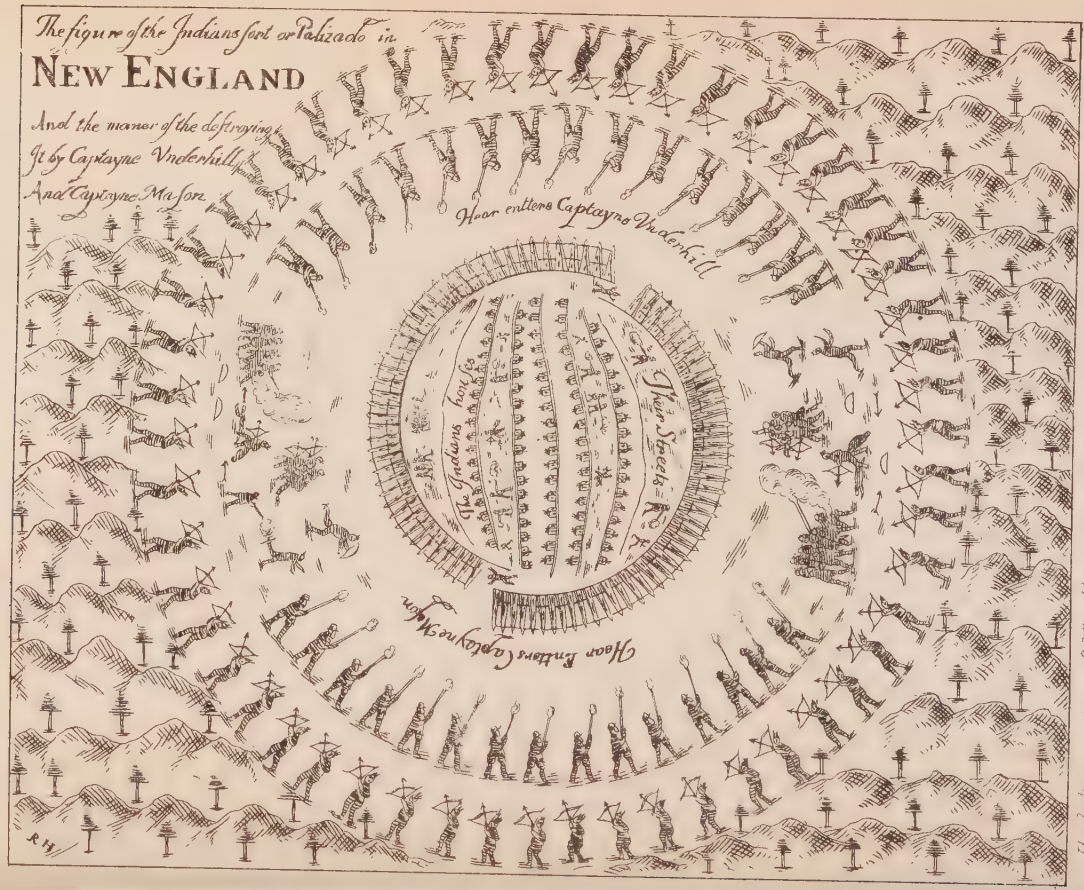
Their fort was a nearly circular area of an acre or two, enclosed by trunks of trees, twelve feet high or thereabouts, set firmly in the ground, so closely as to exclude entrance, while the interstices served as port-holes for marksmen. Within, arranged along two lanes, were some seventy wigwams, covered with matting and thatch. At two points for entrance, spaces were left between the timbers, these intervals being protected only by a slighter structure, or loose branches.[1]

Assault on the Pequot fort.

[1] I recently walked over this ground. Porter's Rocks, among which the party lay hid over night, make a picturesque feature of the scenery at the head of Mystic River. The site of the fort, two or three miles down the western side of the river towards Mystic Village, is a gentle elevation near the road-side, —

At these points, Mason and Underhill were to force an entrance, each at the head of half the Englishmen, while those of the Indian allies who remained (the Nyantics and Narragansetts having mostly disappeared) should invest the fort in a circle, and arrest the fugitives. The anxieties of a night, which was to be succeeded by a fierce and momentous conflict, did not prevent the weary soldiers from sleeping so soundly, that, when the commander roused himself and them, he feared that the propitious hour for a surprise had been lost. But still, before breaking up their camp, they took time to join in prayer. Two hours before dawn, under a bright moonlight, the little band was set in motion towards the fort, two miles distant. Mason had come within a few feet of the sally-port which he was seeking, when a dog barked, and the cry of *Owanux! Owanux!* "Englishmen! Englishmen!" which immediately followed, showed that the alarm was given. With sixteen men, he instantly pushed into the enclosure. Underhill did the same on the opposite side. The terrified sleepers rushed out of their wigwams, but soon sought refuge in them again from the English broadswords and fire-arms. Their number was too great to be dealt with by such weapons. Snatching a live brand from a wigwam, Mason threw it on a matted roof, Underhill set fire in his quarter with a train of powder, and the straw village was presently in flames. All was over in an hour. The muskets of the English brought down those who escaped the conflagration, and most of the stragglers who avoided this fate fell into the hands of the native allies, who had kept cautiously aloof from the conflict, but had no mercy on the fugitives. "It is reported by themselves," says

a mowing field when I saw it, — on the farm of the Widow Fish. Captain Underhill, in his tract, "Newes from America," has given a minute description of the fort, accompanied with a rude engraved representation of the fight, of which the annexed plate is a reduced *fac-simile*.


The figure of the Indians fort or Palizado in
NEW ENGLAND
And the manner of the destroying
of it by Captayne Vnderhill
And Captayne Mason
Hear enters Captayne Vnderhill
The Indians houses
Hear Entters Captayne Mason
RH

Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands."[1] According to other accounts, seven hundred perished. Of the English only two men were killed, but the number of wounded was more than a quarter of the force.[2]

The reader is impatient to turn from a scene so distressing to humanity. Never was a war so just or so necessary, that he who should truly exhibit the details of its prosecution would not find the sympathy of gentle hearts deserting him as he proceeded. Between right public policy and the suffering which sometimes it brings upon individuals there is a wide chasm, to be bridged over by an argument with which the feelings do not readily go along. When, for urgent reasons of public safety, it has been determined to take the desperate risk of sending scores of men into the field to encounter as many hundreds, and to be set upon, if they should be worsted, by as many thousands, the awful conditions of the case forbid being dainty about the means of winning a victory, or about using it in such a manner that the chance shall not have to be tried again. At all events, from the hour of that carnage, Connecticut was secure. There could now be unguarded sleep in the long-harassed homes of the settlers. It might be hoped that civilization was assured of a permanent abode in New England.[3]

Mason had a narrow escape. An Indian close by had taken deliberate aim at him, when Mason's orderly made a spring at the savage just in time to cut the bow-string.[4] There was another Indian fort four or five miles further west, near the way to Pequot Harbor, where he had ap-

1 Newes from America, 39.

2 Mason, Pequot War, 141.

3 "They are assured of their peace by killing the barbarians, better than our English Virginians were by being killed by them. For having once terrified them by severe execution of just revenge, they shall never hear of more harm from them." (Vincent, Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 42.) The recent havoc committed by the savages in Virginia was not likely to be out of their minds.

4 Hubbard, Narrative of the Indian Wars, 38.

pointed to meet his vessels. He did not know the way out of the country. His movements were encumbered by his wounded, who, with their bearers, amounted to full half his force; his scanty supply of ammunition and food was spent;[1] his surgeon had been left behind at the Narragansett landing; and the heat of the weather was overpowering. As the party kept on their slow way, they saw approaching more than three hundred savages from the other fort, who, informed of the morning's work, were tearing their hair, stamping on the ground, and clamoring for revenge. Hiring his allies to carry the wounded, Mason managed to keep up the spirits of his exhausted men, and to hold the assailants at bay while he pursued his impeded march. Fifty of his Narragansetts, set upon by the Pequots, took to flight, and he had to detach Underhill with a party for their rescue. At length, as he reached an eminence, at ten o'clock in the morning, his eyes were gladdened by the sight of Pequot Harbor, and of his vessels coming to anchor within it. The weary conquerors thanked God and took courage, owning, in the spirit of the time, the special Providence that sent them such relief. Their appearance on the heights, "with colors flying," gave the seamen the first notice of their approach, their drum having been "left at the rendezvous the night before." At evening they went to rest on board the vessels, in which they found the company from Massachusetts under Captain Patrick; it had arrived at Point Judith after the departure of the land expedition, and been taken on board.

Return of Mason's expedition.

[1] "Our commons were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the Colony of all sorts of provision. . . . . We had but one pint of strong liquors among us in our whole march, but what the wilderness afforded (the bottle of liquor being in my hand, and when it was empty, the very smelling to the bottle would presently recover such as fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the heat)." One doubts whether the arrangements of the Connecticut commissariat (Conn. Col. Rec., I. 9, 10) are more provocative of smiles or tears.

The first care was to despatch the greater part of the force for the protection of the towns. Then, sending round the wounded by sea, and scouring the intervening country with what remained of his command, Mason led them by land to the fort, where they were "nobly entertained by Lieutenant Gardiner, with many great guns," and where they rested for their Sabbath. The next week saw the whole dispersed to their homes in the three towns. The imagination easily pictures the welcome which greeted the deliverers.[1]

The remnant of the doomed nation collected in the western fort. After stormy debate on the question whether they should fall upon the Narragansetts or upon the English, or seek safety by flight, they resolved on the last course; and, burning their wigwams and their supplies, they set off to join the Mohawks on the Hudson. Giving new provocation by putting to death some Englishmen on the way, they were pursued by Mason with forty men, who were joined by one hundred and twenty from Massachusetts, under Stoughton. A party of them, some three hundred in number, was overtaken a little west of where now stands New Haven, encamped in a spot surrounded by quagmires, which rendered it difficult of access. The English sent an interpreter, with a proposal, which was accepted, for a surrender of the old men, women, and children, whom they were "loath to destroy." In the foggy morning which fol-

Conclusion of the war.

[1] The special contemporaneous authorities for this campaign are Underhill's "Newes from New England"; "A True Relation of the Late Battle," &c., (London, 1638,) by P. Vincent; Captain Mason's "Brief History of the Pequot War"; and Lieutenant Gardiner's "Relation of the Pequot Warres." Vincent was a clergyman of the Church of England, who passed a little time in this country, simply, as far as appears, for the gratification of curiosity, with which purpose he had travelled extensively elsewhere. (See Hunter's Letter, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XXXI. 186.) Some of the Latin verses prefixed to Vincent's tract contain just reflections upon this war, not ungracefully expressed.

A detailed and elegant history of the Pequot War is given by Dr. Ellis in his Life of Captain Mason (Sparks's American Biography, Vol. XIII.).

lowed, the warriors made a sally, and seventy broke through and escaped. Stragglers of the tribe were put to death in considerable numbers by neighboring Indians, who all seem to have owed the Pequots an ancient grudge. Sassacus was killed by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled. The Pequot nation became extinct, the survivors being merged, under English mediation, in the Narragansett, Mohegan, and Nyantic tribes. And from savage violence *the land had rest forty years.*[1]

[1] "An aboriginal coalition, first suggested by the Pequod chief and afterwards carried into such terrible effect by King Philip, at this early period might have resulted in the extermination of the English; and some solitary ship, afterwards touching at Massachusetts Bay, would have beheld the stillness of the wilderness where was expected the busy hum of life, and have carried home the startling news that Transatlantic Puritanism had disappeared." Such is the just reflection of a recent writer. (The Puritan Commonwealth, 118, 119.) If I do not often refer to his interesting work, it is not for want of a thorough acquaintance with it. It is one of the marvels of our time. But for its references to later events, it might have been written by a chaplain of James the Second. Its key-note is sounded in its first sentence: "When King Charles the Martyr," &c. Whoever wishes to be resolved respecting its historical value may look at the account (114–118) of the transactions above described; or at the chronology of the attack on the Narragansett fort (132, 142); or at the statement (192) of the time when "the question whether the civil magistrate may lawfully punish for heresy, first arose"; or at the commemoration (419) of "Samuel Maverick, a clergyman of the Church of England, already settled on a flourishing plantation at Noddle's Island." "The Indians," according to this writer (111, 112), were "a race proverbial for fidelity in keeping their treaties," &c. And for this characteristic of theirs he refers to "Hutchinson, Vol. I. p. 61," where Hutchinson had written "Indian fidelity is proverbial in New England, as Punic was at Rome." In speaking of the time after Philip's war in 1675–6, he says (144, 145): "Not a family remained in Massachusetts or Plymouth but mourned the death of a relative or friend; after having caused a loss of property to the amount of nearly a million of dollars, *the greatest misfortune of all to the thrifty inhabitants*, Philip had finished the work of divine retribution," &c. It is not necessary to believe that he who could write such words had a strangely bad heart. The composition was hasty, and the publication was posthumous.

CHAPTER XII.

The war against the Pequots had been waged by the English on the Connecticut at such extreme disadvantage, that nothing short of a conviction of its necessity can be supposed to have induced them to engage in it. The settlements which undertook to equip and victual[1] a force consisting of more than one third of their adult males, were themselves not far from starvation. In the summer of the principal emigration, the labors of husbandry had been interrupted by those of making roads and erecting and fortifying habitations. In the autumn there were only thirty ploughs in Massachusetts,[2] and it is not likely that there was a quarter of that number in Connecticut. In the winter which followed, the cattle suffered from insufficiency of food and shelter; and farming stock, and provisions, both meat and grain, bore an enormous price, while hunting and fishing were made dangerous occupations by the near neighborhood of watchful savages. Nor did the struggle, successful as it had been, fail to bring heavy burdens of its own. While so large a proportion of the able-bodied men were in the field, production was stinted on the one hand,[3] and debt incurred on the other. Indian corn was sold for twelve

[1] Votes of the first General Court of Connecticut fixed the proportions of supplies to be furnished to the troops by the three towns respectively; there was to be "one hogshead of good beer for the captain and minister and sick men." (Conn. Col. Rec., I. 9.)

[2] Winthrop, I. 206.

[3] "Our plantations are so gleaned by that small fleet we sent out, that those that remain are not able to supply our watches, which are day and night, that our people are scarce able to stand upon their legs. And for planting, we are in the like condition with you. What we plant is before our doors; little anywhere else." (Letter of Ludlow to Pynchon at Springfield, May 17, 1637, in Mass. Hist. Coll., XVIII. 235.)

shillings a bushel, at the time when a tax of five hundred and fifty pounds was levied to pay the expenses of the war, and the towns were required to furnish themselves with military stores, and the individual citizens to keep themselves provided with arms and ammunition.

While the Pequot campaign was going on, still more serious embarrassments of a different description were crippling the energy of the settlement in the Bay. When Patrick and Stoughton were despatched to Connecticut, they left the elder colony rent by faction, and in imminent danger of civil war.

Scarcely were the Massachusetts Magistrates rid of Roger Williams, when they found themselves engaged again in a much more threatening contest than what he had raised, and much more difficult for them to conduct, for various reasons, one of which was, that the head of opposition was a capable and resolute woman. The name of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson is dismally conspicuous in the early history of New England. She perhaps well-nigh brought it to an end very near to its beginning.

Mrs. Ann Hutchinson.

She had come to Massachusetts in the same vessel which bore the copy of the commission, to the two Archbishops and nine others of the Privy Council, to regulate foreign plantations and call in charters, — a coincidence suited to render internal agitations doubly unwelcome.[1] She had accompanied her husband from their home at Alford, near Boston, in Lincolnshire, where they had enjoyed a good estate. He is described by Winthrop as "a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife."[2] She had spirit and talent enough for both. In England, she had found no satisfactory ministrations of religion but those of John Cotton, and of John Wheelwright, her brother-in-law; and her unwillingness to lose the benefit of Cotton's

1634. Sept. 18.

[1] Winthrop, I. 143.

[2] Ibid., 295.

preaching induced her to emigrate. On the voyage, some eccentric speculations of hers, and pretensions to direct revelation, had given displeasure to her fellow-passenger, Mr. Symmes, who soon after their arrival became minister of Charlestown, and, in that capacity, one of her active opponents. Small causes have often great results; contradiction on one part leads to extravagant assertion on the other; and it is not impossible that the accidental petulances of that uncomfortable voyage may have had something to do with the crisis in the fortunes of Massachusetts which followed. As early as the time when Mrs. Hutchinson and her husband were nominated as members of the Boston church, Symmes gave some information of her vagaries, which occasioned her admission to be delayed. She soon recommended herself widely as a kind and serviceable neighbor, especially to persons of her own sex in times of sickness; and by these qualities, united with her energy of character and vivacity of mind, she acquired esteem and influence.

October.

The first mention of her by Winthrop is in these words: "One Mrs. Hutchinson, a member of the church of Boston, a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit, brought over with her two dangerous errors: first, that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; second, that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these errors grew many branches; as, first, our union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself." [1]

Mrs. Hutchinson attached importance to her doctrines and expositions, sufficient to lead her to undertake a sort of public ministration of them. It had been the practice of the male members of the Boston church to hold meetings by themselves, for recapitulating and discussing the sermons

[1] Winthrop, I. 200.

of their ministers. Mrs. Hutchinson instituted similar assemblies for her own sex, which, at one time, were held twice a week. In the want of social meetings of other sorts, it is not matter of surprise that they were attended by nearly a hundred females, some of whom were among the principal matrons of the town. Her bold criticisms were set off by a voluble eloquence, and an imposing familiarity with Scripture. She bestowed unqualified approbation upon Cotton and Wheelwright,[1] whom she declared to be "under a covenant of grace." Of the other ministers of the Colony, she spoke more and more distrustfully and slightingly, till by and by she came to pronounce them in downright terms to be "under a covenant of works."

When the strife broke out in public action, Mrs. Hutchinson had been two full years in the country. The principal proceedings of the dispute with Williams had passed before her eyes, without any evidence, now extant, of its having attracted her attention; from which fact a not unnatural inference is, that it had not all the prominence at the time which has been since ascribed to it. Meanwhile, Mrs. Hutchinson had secured the championship of no less a personage than Vane, the young Governor of Massachusetts,[2] besides that of Dummer and Coddington, eminent among the Magistrates, and of other influential persons. The country towns and churches proved to be, on the whole, strongly opposed to her, while all the members of the Boston church were her partisans except five. Of these five, however, were Wilson, the pastor, and Winthrop, lately

Antinomian controversy.

[1] Wheelwright was admitted a member of the Boston church, June 12, 1636, seventeen days after his arrival. He had been "a silenced minister sometimes in England." (Winthrop, I. 200.)

[2] Vane was lodged with Cotton, in a house which he gave to Cotton when he left the country. It remained as part of a building which was removed only about thirty years ago. It stood upon the side of the hill, several feet back from the western side of Tremont Street, its front fence beginning some thirty feet from the corner which Tremont Street made with Pemberton Hill.

advanced again so far as to the second place in the government. Old friends were estranged, and offensive language was freely used. Mrs. Hutchinson went out of church as the hitherto venerated Wilson rose to speak, and others followed her example of affront in the presence of other preachers.

"The other ministers in the Bay, hearing of these things, came to Boston at the time of a General Court, and entered conference in private with them, to the end they might know the certainty of these things, and, if need were, they might write to the church of Boston about them, to prevent, if it were possible, the dangers which seemed hereby to hang over that and the rest of the churches."[1] For the present, Cotton gave them satisfaction. Wheelwright was not so explicit. A proposal was made in the Boston church to associate him in office with its pastor and teacher. Winthrop, acting with the concurrence of Wilson, whom the delicacy of his position compelled to reserve, with difficulty succeeded in parrying this blow.[2] But the transaction did not fail to leave heart-burnings. Wheelwright was presently invited to a church gathered at Mount Wollaston.

Interference of the ministers. 1636. Oct. 25.

Oct. 30.

These annoyances, together with that of the impending Indian war, and perhaps others of a more personal nature, disturbed the mind of the young and inexperienced Governor. He had scarcely finished half his term of service when he "called a Court of Deputies, to the end he might have free leave of the country," having received "letters from his friends in England, which necessarily required his presence there." In answer to the dissuasive considerations which were urged, "the Governor brake forth into tears, and professed that, howsoever the causes propounded for his departure were such as did concern the utter ruin of his outward

Dec. 10. Perplexity of Vane.

[1] Winthrop, I. 201. [2] Ibid., 202.

estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than have gone from them at this time, if something else had not pressed him more; viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments to come upon us for these differences and dissensions which he saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it best for him to give place for a time, &c." This explanation did but cause more earnest remonstrances; and though they were withdrawn, and the Court finally consented to his departure, further expostulations on the part of the Boston church, to which he "expressed himself to be an obedient child," finally turned him from his design.[1]

A meeting of Magistrates and elders was held, "to advise about discovering and pacifying the differences among the churches in point of opinion." Dudley and "another of the Magistrates" urged the expediency of a frank declaration of sentiments. The discussion which followed was mainly between the English Commonwealth's future minister for naval affairs, and Cromwell's future chaplain. The Governor expressed displeasure that the clergy had been meeting for consultation "without his privity." Hugh Peter, who may have apprehended coercive measures on his part, "with all due reverence" reproved him, and told him "how it had sadded the ministers' spirits, that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberty, &c.," and "that before he came, within less than two years since, the churches were at peace, &c.," and "besought him humbly to consider his youth, and short experience in the ways of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived

[1] Winthrop, I. 207, 208. Winthrop says that Vane first laid his letters before "the council," by which Hubbard (Chap. XXXV.) understood the Assistants for life lately chosen (viz. Winthrop and Dudley, besides the Governor). The learned editor of Winthrop, however, apparently with better reason, considers "the council" here spoken of to have been the whole board of Magistrates. (Winthrop, I. 207, note.)

him to be very apt unto." By "all the Magistrates except the Governor and two others, and all the ministers but two," it was agreed that there was an "inevitable danger of separation, if these differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied," the blame of which they "laid upon these new opinions risen up."[1] For "a very sad speech" made by Mr. Wilson, in maintenance, as we should say, of this *Resolve*, he was called to account by the Boston church, "and there the Governor pressed it violently against him, and all the congregation except the Deputy and one or two more, and many of them with much bitterness and reproaches; but he answered them all with words of truth and soberness, and with marvellous wisdom." The present conclusion of the matter was, that Cotton, who dissuaded any stronger measure against his colleague, "gave him a grave exhortation."[2]

Censure of Wilson by his church.

Hitherto the Hutchinson party had been the movers. Their censure of Wilson was the only formal proceeding, ecclesiastical or civil, which had yet been had in the progress of the controversy; for the meeting at which the passage occurred between Vane and Peter appears to have been unofficial, and is not noticed in the Court records. Matters were tending to assume another phase. At the next General Court, the ministers "all assembled at Boston, and agreed to put off all lectures for three weeks, that they might bring things to some issue."[3] Meantime, "other opinions broke out publicly in the church of Boston," of a character to occasion further scandal; the ministers had corresponded with Mr. Cotton, to their partial satisfaction only; and a fast, appointed by authority, had been kept in all the churches, on account of "the miserable estate of the churches in Germany; the calamities upon

1637. March 9.

Appointment of a fast. Jan. 19.

[1] Winthrop, I. 209.
[2] Ibid., 209, 210.
[3] Ibid., 213. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 187.

our native country, the bishops making havoc in the churches, putting down the faithful ministers, and advancing popish ceremonies and doctrines; . . . . . the dangers of those at Connecticut, and of ourselves also by the Indians; and the dissensions in our churches."[1]

The fast had not done its office. That necessity for union which the selection of topics to be considered on the occasion was intended to enforce, had not made itself felt. "The differences in the said points of religion increased more and more; . . . . . every occasion increased the contention, and caused great alienation of minds; . . . . . and it began to be as common to distinguish between men by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and Papists." The Court found or believed it necessary to take up the matter in earnest. The ministers, being consulted, gave their advice, "that, in all such heresies or errors of any church-members as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the Court may proceed without tarrying for the church." A person of some consequence, "Stephen Greensmith, for affirming that all the ministers, except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and, he thought, Mr. Hooker, did teach a covenant of works, was for a time committed to the marshal, and after enjoined to make acknowledgment to the satisfaction of every congregation, and was fined forty pounds."[2] A more serious matter presented itself "when Mr. Wheelwright was to be questioned for a sermon which seemed to tend to sedition." Wheelwright, "preaching at the last fast, inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, as he described it to be, viz. such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, &c., and called them Antichrists, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the Court, and,

Increase of the excitement.

March 9.

Censure of Wheelwright by the Court.

[1] Winthrop, I. 212. [2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 189. Winthrop, I. 214.

his sermon being produced, he justified it. ..... So, after much debate, the Court adjudged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, &c., and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them." [1]

[1] Winthrop, I. 215. — Both the original (or what seems to be so) of Wheelwright's sermon, and an ancient copy, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by whose kindness I have been permitted to use them. The original, which appears to have once been in the possession of John Coggeshall, Wheelwright's contemporary and adherent, wants a few pages at the beginning. The copy is complete. The composition is of that character which is common with skilful agitators. Along with disclaimers of the purpose to excite to physical violence, it abounds in language suitable to bring about that result. The following passage may serve as a specimen: "The way we must take, if so be we will not have the Lord Jesus Christ taken from us, is this: we must all prepare for a spiritual combat; we must put on the whole armor of God (Ephes. vi.), and must have our loins girt, and be ready to fight. Behold, the bed that is Solomon's; there is threescore valiant men about it, valiant men of Israel; every one hath his sword in his hand, being expert in war, and hath his sword girt on his thigh, because of fears in the night. If we will not fight for the Lord Jesus Christ, Christ may come to be surprised. Solomon lieth in his bed, and there is such men about the bed of Solomon; and they watch over Solomon, and will not suffer Solomon to be taken away. And who is this Solomon but the Lord Jesus Christ; and what is the bed but the Church of true believers; and who are these valiant men of Israel, but all the children of God? They ought to show themselves valiant; they should have their swords ready. They must fight a fight with spiritual weapons. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but spiritual (2 Cor. x. 4), and therefore, wheresoever we live, if we would have the Lord Jesus Christ to be abundantly present with us, we must all of us prepare for battle, and come out against the enemies of the Lord. And, if we do not strive, those under a covenant of works will prevail. We must have a special care, therefore, to show ourselves courageous. All the valiant men of David, and all the valiant men of Israel, Barak, and Deborah, and Jael, all must out and fight for Christ. Curse ye Meroz, because they came not out to help the Lord against the mighty (Judges v. 23). Therefore, if we will keep the Lord Jesus Christ and his person and power in and amongst us, we must fight." (Page 22 of the MS. copy.)

It was perhaps well that this sermon was delivered at Braintree, and that the angry men whom it stimulated did not pass Winthrop's house in returning to their homes. Another art of demagogues Wheelwright perfectly understood. By exhorting his hearers to prepare themselves to be martyrs, he gave them to understand that they were in danger of being so, and that, if they preferred not to be, they must take their measures accordingly: "If we will overcome, we must not love our lives, but be willing to be killed like sheep. ..... We must be willing to lay down our lives, and shall overcome by so doing. Samson slew more at his death than in

The Governor, joined by a few other members of the Court, offered a protest against this proceeding; but the Court refused to receive it. The Boston church also petitioned in Wheelwright's behalf. The Court deferred his sentence. Contumacious Boston was thought to be not a suitable place for its meetings under present circumstances, and a motion was made that it should next assemble at Newtown. The Governor refused to take the vote; the Deputy excused himself from doing it, on account of the delicacy of his position as a Boston man. Endicott took the office upon himself, and the measure was carried.[1]

Disaffection of Boston.

Had the calm and able Winthrop been at the head of the government during these transactions, they might have had a different issue. As it was, they caused the need of his restoration to be felt. At the next Court, the exasperation was at its height. One who considers well the elements that were in conflict, may not unreasonably believe that the fate of New England was trembling in the balance. "So soon as the Court was set, about one of the clock, a petition was preferred by those of Boston." Vane would have read it at once. Winthrop interposed, and insisted that it was out of order till after the transaction of the first business of the annual Court, the election of Magistrates. On

General Court of Elections at Newtown. May 17.

his life; and so we may prevail more by our deaths than by our lives." (Ibid., 25.)

A Quaker tract, entitled "A Glass for the People of New England," written by a person who had been in this country, and published in England in 1676, contains a description of Wheelwright's sermon, and two extracts from it of considerable length. One (on page 5) corresponds to page 24 of the manuscript of which I have spoken above, the other (on pages 19 – 21) to pages 26, 27 of that copy. We may infer from this that the sermon continued to circulate for many years. On pages 14 and 15 of the "Glass" is a passage ascribed to Mr. Wheelwright, which however does not appear in the sermon, but is in fact the conclusion of Vane's "Briefe Answer" to Winthrop (see Hutchinson, Collection, &c., 82, 83). The "Briefe Answer" may have been attributed by the author of the "Glass" to the pen of Wheelwright. See below, p. 483, note 1.

[1] Winthrop, I. 216.

Winthrop's motion, it was decided by a large majority to proceed first to the election; but the Governor still refused; "whereupon the Deputy told him, that, if he would not go to election, he and the rest of that side would proceed." They did so; and the result was, that the old order of things was restored. Winthrop was chosen Governor, and Dudley Deputy-Governor; Endicott was joined to them as one of the Magistrates for life; "Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall [son of Winthrop's ancient colleague] were called in to be Assistants; and Mr. Vane, Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Dummer, being all of that faction, were quite left out. There was great danger of a tumult that day, for those of that side grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others, but, seeing themselves too weak, they grew quiet."[1] In the height of the fray, Wilson climbed a tree and made a speech,[2] the meeting being held in the open air, on Newtown common.

Winthrop again chosen Governor.

At an election the next day, Boston returned Vane and Coddington, with Hough, formerly an Assistant, as its Deputies. In the proceedings there had been a trifling informality, of which the Court availed itself to refuse them seats; but on a re-election the following day, "the Court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted." Winthrop ran the gantlet of daily slights from his neighbors. When he went back to Boston, no escort met him, as had been usual. The four Boston sergeants, who had been accustomed to attend the Governor to and from public worship, "laid down their halberds and went home." "The country, taking notice of this,

[1] Winthrop, I. 219, 220. — "They [the Hutchinson party] expected a great advantage that day, because the remote towns were allowed to come in by proxy." (Ibid.) This arrangement had been made two months before (see above, p. 443; Mass. Col. Rec., I. 188); and it seems the Boston people hoped that, in consequence of it, the freemen from the country towns would not come in to outvote them.

[2] So says Hutchinson (I. 60, note), on the authority of a manuscript Life of Wilson in his possession.

offered to send in some from the neighboring towns, to carry the halberds by course; and, upon that, the town of Boston offered to send some men, but not the sergeants; but the Governor chose rather to make use of two of his own servants." [1]

Resentment of Vane.

Vane did not bear his defeat with the dignity which his riper character displayed. Before he was Governor, he had been used to sit at public worship in the Magistrates' seat, a distinction yielded to his high birth; he now left it with Coddington, and repelled the Governor's invitation to return. The son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, a boy in his teens, having come to Boston "to see the country," the Governor,

June 26.

whose guest he had declined to be during his stay, invited Vane with others to meet him at dinner. Vane "not only refused to come, alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him, but also at the same hour he went over to Nottle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Leigh with him." [2]

His only further conspicuous agency in the pending difficulties related to an order of that Court by which he had been displaced, to the effect of excluding, till the next annual Court, "all such persons as might be dangerous to the commonwealth, by imposing a penalty upon all such as should retain any, &c. above three weeks, which should not be allowed by some of the Magistrates." [3] The

[1] Winthrop, I. 220.

[2] Ibid., 224, 232.— While here, Governor Vane's young friend was unbecomingly forward in his loyalty. "Being told that one Ewre had spoken treason against the king," he sent for a witness who "told him that Ewre had said, about twelve months before, that, if the king did send any authority hither against our patent, he would be the first should resist him." On inquiry, Ewre's language turned out to have been, "that, if there came any authority out of England contrary to the patent, he would resist it," which the Governor thought very orthodox doctrine, and so "did openly declare in the Court"; and the conclusion was, that there was no "offence which deserved punishment, seeing it is lawful to resist any authority which was to overthrow the lawful authority of the king's grant." (Ibid., 234, 235.) Winthrop's legal studies had not been fruitless. Here was law worthy of the sages of the Long Parliament.

[3] Ibid., 224. Comp. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 194.

obvious purpose of the measure was to prevent the increase of the defeated party by recruits from abroad. It was an Alien Law. Winthrop circulated a defence of it, to which Vane replied, and the controversy terminated with a rejoinder from the former.[1] Before the end of the summer, in company with his young friend, Vane left the country for ever, to pass on to higher and harsher fortunes. At parting, his adherents made an ambitious display of their respect and regrets. "Those of Mr. Vane's party were gathered together, and did accompany him to the boat, and many to the ship; and the men, being in their arms, gave him divers volleys of shot, and five pieces of ordnance, and he had five more at the Castle; the Governor was not come from the Court, but had left order with the captain for their honorable dismission."[2] Abandoned by their great patron, the faction henceforward acted at disadvantage.

Vane's return to England. Aug. 3.

The Court had again deferred the sentence of Wheelwright, in the hope that so "their moderation and desire of reconciliation might appear to all." Often things seemed strongly tending to an amicable settlement. "Divers writings were published." The Magistrates issued a defence of their course against Wheelwright, and his friends replied. "Mr. Wheelwright also himself set forth a small tractate," and the ministers retorted, "confuting the same by many strong arguments." But Cotton "replied to their answer very largely, and stated the differences in a very narrow scantling, and Mr. Shepard, preaching at the day of election, brought them yet nearer, so as, except men of good understanding, ... few could see where the difference was."[3] Matters seemed in so good a train

[1] These important papers are in Hutchinson's Collection (67–100). I am not aware that there is any earlier testimony to the authorship of these tracts than that of Hutchinson. (Ibid., 67.) But his is positive, and, I think, in the circumstances, may be substantially relied upon. Still the "Answer" may have been somehow a joint production of Vane and Wheelwright. (See above, p. 480, note.)

[2] Winthrop, I. 235.

[3] Ibid., 221, 222.

that it was hoped a satisfactory accommodation would be effected in a synod, which had been summoned by the ministers, "with consent of the Magistrates."[1]

Ecclesiastical synod at Newtown. Aug. 30.

It met in Mr. Shepard's church, at Newtown. "There were all the teaching elders through the country, and some new come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport."[2] The Magistrates had seats. The moderators were Hooker, of Hartford, and Bulkeley, of Concord, from whose recent ordination Cotton had absented himself, conceiving him to be one of the "legal preachers." The discussions, which on the whole appear to have been conducted with much moderation, continued through three weeks. Eighty-two opinions, each represented to have had some unnamed advocate, were with great unanimity condemned as erroneous, even Cotton giving his scarcely qualified consent to the decree. Prominent among them of course were the peculiar tenets of Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson. Some practical questions of church discipline, bearing upon the recent proceedings, were next "debated and resolved." On the last day, the Governor proposed that, as "matters had been carried on so peaceably, and concluded so comfortably in all love," a similar meeting should be held the next year, and every year; and that "it might be agreed what way was most agreeable to the rule of the Gospel for the maintenance of ministers." "But the elders did not like to deal in that, lest it should be said that this assembly was gathered for their private advantage"; and neither proposal was adopted.[3]

More than a year had now passed since the strife began, and three months since Vane returned to England. There had been great provocation and excitement; but, down to this time, John Greensmith, fined for slander, was the only one of the disturbers who had been punished

[1] Winthrop, I. 236.

[2] Mr. John Davenport had arrived on the 26th of the preceding June. We shall hear much more of him further on. See above, p. 369, and below, p. 528.

[3] Winthrop, I. 237–241.

in any way. "There was great hope that the late general assembly would have some good effect in pacifying the troubles and dissensions about matters of religion; but it fell out otherwise." Whether it was, that, with or without authority from Vane, it was hoped on the one side and feared on the other that he would assert in England those doctrines of allegiance which in America he had urged in controversy with Winthrop, — or from some other cause, — the dispute was revived with such acrimony, that the General Court, "finding upon consultation that two so opposite parties could not contain in the same body without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal." [1]

Nov. 2.

The petition, presented nine months before by members of the Boston church in favor of Wheelwright, was considered as showing the necessity of this measure, in the new ferment which was prevailing. It referred, in ambiguous terms of approbation, which the Court construed as of seditious intent, to the conduct of Peter in drawing his sword, and to that of the Israelites in rescuing Jonathan from Saul. William Aspinwall, a signer of the petition, (and its author, though this was not known till afterwards,) was now a Deputy from Boston; he was sentenced first to dismission from the Court, and then to disfranchisement and expulsion from the territory. John Coggeshall, another Deputy, who declared in Court his approbation of the petition, though he had not signed it, escaped with dismission and disfranchisement.[2] Wheelwright, "refusing to leave either the place or his public exercisings," was also disfranchised, and was banished. He aggravated his offence by an appeal to the king; but "the Court told him that an appeal did not lie, for, by the king's grant, we had power to hear and determine without any reservation." He was allowed to withdraw to his house, under an engagement to surrender

Proceedings against the partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson.

[1] Winthrop, I. 244, 245.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 207.

himself to a Magistrate at the end of a fortnight, unless he should previously retire from the jurisdiction. It was probably before the expiration of this time that he went with a few adherents to the Piscataqua River, as will be by and by related.

Proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mrs. Hutchinson was next sent for, and was charged, among other things, with railing at the ministers, and with continuing her semi-weekly public lectures, in defiance of determinations of the recent synod. In her defence, she laid claim to prophetical inspiration, and declared that among its communications "this was one: that she had it revealed to her, that she should come into New England, and should here be persecuted, and that God would ruin us and our posterity and the whole state for the same." Her trial lasted two days. Two reports of it survive.[1] They contain evidence that her judges did not escape the contagion of her ill-temper. When some of the ministers were to give their testimony, she demanded that they should be sworn. It was done, but not till after objection and delay. She may have meant the claim as an affront, but that was not to be assumed; and, even if known, it did not bar her of her right, which, for every reason of policy and dignity, as well as of justice, should have been promptly allowed. "So the Court proceeded, and banished her; but, because it was winter, they committed her to a private house, where she was well provided, and her own friends and the elders permitted to go to her, but none else."[2]

[1] One was printed by Hutchinson (History, II. 423), from "an ancient manuscript," of which he gives no further account. Of the proceedings against Wheelwright in March, it is related, that "three or four of Boston (being Mr. Wheelwright his special friends) took all by characters." (Antinomians and Familists, 46.) It is likely that the report, which came into Hutchinson's hands, of the arraignment of Mrs. Hutchinson in October, was prepared in the same way. The other is in the "Short Story," &c. (33 – 41). The former, which has some breaks, is the more full and the less unfavorable to Mrs. Hutchinson. But the reader desires an account of the transaction more complete in some respects than is contained in either.

[2] Winthrop, I. 246. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 207. — Two Deputies, Coddington and Colburn, dissented; another, Jennison, declined to vote.

When the Court met again, after an adjournment for a few days, it did not find the agitation at an end, though more than a quarter part of the signers of the petition in Wheelwright's behalf had recanted and apologized. John Underhill, the Captain in the Pequot war, besides being cashiered, was now disfranchised, with six or seven other subscribers to the obnoxious paper.[1] The rest, with "some others, who had been chief stirrers in these contentions," received an order to surrender their arms, which "when they saw no remedy, they obeyed."[2] For further security, "the powder and arms of the country, which had been kept at Boston, were carried to Roxbury and Newtown."[3] Nov. 15.

The "private house," to which Mrs. Hutchinson had been committed for the winter, was that of Joseph Welde of Roxbury, Deputy in the General Court, and brother of the minister. Her conversations there with the elders occasioned such offence, that, at their instance, she was cited to answer to a charge of "gross errors" before the church of Boston, so lately her devoted partisans. One of the errors which were specified, namely, that the soul is not naturally immortal, she was prevailed upon, after a long discussion, to retract and con- 1638. March 1.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 208.

[2] Winthrop, I. 247. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 211. The preamble to this order is as follows: "Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people here in New England, insomuch as there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany, in former times, may, upon some revelation, make some sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment, therefore it is ordered," &c. — For an account of the transactions "in Germany," here alluded to, see Motley, "Rise of the Dutch Republic," I. 79, 80. They had taken place a century before; but the remembrance of them had been revived in England, at the period of which I am writing, by the spread of Anabaptist principles in that kingdom. The feeling of the time may be gathered from a tract, reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany (VII. 361), with the title, "A Warning for England, especially for London, in the Famous History of the Frantic Anabaptists, their Wild Preachings and Practices, in Germany. Printed in the Year 1642, 4to, containing twenty-eight Pages."

[3] Winthrop, I. 251. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 209.

demn; but, as she persisted in the others, the church "agreed she should be admonished." The vote to that effect would have been unanimous, but for the dissent of her two sons, who, for their contumacy, "were admonished also." The meeting was opened about noon, after the weekly Thursday lecture, which had taken place an hour earlier than usual. It "continued till eight at night, and all did acknowledge the special presence of God's spirit therein."[1] Several of her friends, however, were absent, on the search for another home.

This was simply an ecclesiastical proceeding. On the part of the government there was still a desire to be lenient, and at all events to avoid provoking a reaction by unnecessary offence; and Mrs. Hutchinson was "licensed by the Court, in regard she had given hope of her repentance, to be at Mr. Cotton's house [in Boston], that both he and Mr. Davenport might have the more opportunity to deal with her." The result was, that "she made a retractation of near all" the obnoxious opinions imputed to her, and "declared that it was just with God to leave her to herself as he had done, for her slighting his ordinances, both magistracy and ministry." But she marred all by insisting that the doctrines attributed to her were partly such as she had never maintained. This raised a question of veracity, which was decided against her; and "the church with one consent cast her out," or excommunicated her, for having "impudently persisted" in untruth. Cotton acquiesced in the verdict. Her unhappy deportment on this occasion dissipated what was left of her party. "Many poor souls, who had been seduced by her, by what they heard and saw that day were through the grace of God brought off quite from her errors, and settled again in the truth." "The sentence was denounced by the pastor [Wilson], matters of manners belonging properly to his place." Cotton,

March 22.

[1] Winthrop, I. 255.

it is likely, would be naturally averse to that service, from his past relations to the convict. The approach of spring having brought the time for carrying into effect the order of the Court, "after two or three days the Governor sent a warrant to Mrs. Hutchinson to depart this jurisdiction before the last of the month"; which she did accordingly, visiting "her farm at the Mount" [Braintree] on her way.[1] March 28.

It would be an unjust representation of the case of Mrs. Hutchinson and her partisans to allege that they were punished for entertaining opinions distasteful to their associates on dark questions of theology. It is not enough to object to that view, that it would not accord with the recognized habit of the time and place.[2] Reasoning on any obvious principles of human nature, — especially of the nature of such men as then had the trust of the common weal in Massachusetts, — it is impossible, for one who takes due note of the existing state of things, to justify that interpretation of their proceedings. They stood between two great perils; — on the one hand, a rupture with the most formidable of the native tribes, accompanied by the imminent danger of its becoming allied with the tribe

Political necessity for the proceedings against the Antinomian party.

1 Winthrop, I. 257 – 259.

2 "The next aspersion cast upon us," said Winslow in 1646, "is, that we will not suffer any that differ from us never so little to reside or cohabit with us. . . . . To which I answer, our practice witnesseth the contrary." (Hypocrisy Unmasked, 99.) And he specifies some instances of Presbyterians, ministers and others, living in Massachusetts undisturbed and in good esteem. (99, 100.) "Against Anabaptists," he says, "it is true, we have a severe law, but we never did or will execute the rigor of it upon any, and have men living amongst us, nay, some in our churches, of that judgment; and, as long as they carry themselves peacefully as hitherto they do, we will leave them to God, ourselves having performed the duty of brethren to them." (Ibid., 101.) — "If he [Coggeshall] had kept his judgment to himself, so as the public peace had not been troubled or endangered by it, we should have left him to himself, for we do not challenge power over men's consciences." (Antinomians and Familists, &c., 28.) — "Your conscience you may keep to yourself: but if in this cause you shall countenance and encourage those that transgress the law, you must be called in question for it; and that is not for your conscience, but for your practice." (Ibid., 34. The language quoted was addressed by the Court to Mrs. Hutchinson.)

next in force, and consequently with all the tribes of less consideration; — on the other hand, the threat of invasion from the parent country, a danger requiring to be parried by a concentration of their own resources, and by further accessions of strength from abroad, if such could be obtained. It is extravagant to suppose, that, in such circumstances, the fathers of the state would have allowed themselves to be diverted into a mere distracting contest of speculative polemics. Men about them might look upon such questions as the real matter in controversy; and possibly the leaders might be willing to avail themselves of the surrounding excitement for the aid it gave to their counsels for the common security. But it is assuming little for them to say, that their own discernment was clearer, and their aim more practical.

In the simplest form in which the controversy presents itself, the active adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson had made themselves amenable to public censure, on principles recognized by all civilized communities. When Greensmith, the only sufferer for more than a year after the beginning of the troubles, was fined forty pounds "for saying that all the ministers, except Cotton, Wheelwright, and, he thought, Hooker, did teach a covenant of works," the common case of a slander had occurred. A charge of this tenor, if made in the present state of sentiment, might be regarded by many as untrue and unkind, but it would scarcely be felt as an intolerable affront and wrong; while, to the men of whom we are speaking, life would not be worth having, if prolonged under the liability of being met at every corner with that accusation. In the limited vocabulary of which the use is now forbidden by the law of defamation and libel, there is no word more injurious than was then and there the stigma of being a *legalist*.[1] At this

1 "Now the faithful ministers of Christ must have dung cast on their faces, and be no better than legal preachers, Baal's priests, Popish factors, Scribes, Pharisees, and opposers of Christ himself." (Welde, Preface to the Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, &c.)

day, a denunciation of a clergyman as a drunkard or knave would rightly be matter for public animadversion, as being prejudicial to his interest and usefulness, and threatening to the public peace. Equally so, and by force of the same reasons, was in those days the denunciation of him as a *legal* preacher. By dissensions that expressed themselves in such language, some of the English congregations in Holland had been speedily brought to nothing. Such dissensions might be reasonably thought a social disease, which no immature civil society could survive.[1]

In the process of superseding a despotism by free political institutions, the most critical period is often that of the reconstruction of the emancipated society. While the overthrow of arbitrary rule, or escape from it, is in question, a zeal for change, and the utmost liberty and boldness of thought and action, serve the movement, and are encouraged by its leaders. When freedom has been won, and a new order is to be set up, the revolutionary spirit requires to be suddenly checked; and it is naturally the more impatient of restraint for the license in which it has been indulging. It would have been reasonable beforehand to expect that the new commonwealth in Massachusetts would have to go through this trial, though the particular form in which the trial would present itself could not have been foreseen. The disputes introduced by Mrs. Hutchinson threatened no less than immediate anarchy. They had already produced some of its fruits. They had weakened the arm of government at a moment when government especially needed to be strong. An invasion from the mother country was not unlikely, in the apprehension of

[1] "The wars in Germany for these hundred years arose from dissensions in religion; . . . . . so it was among the confederate cantons in Helvetia, which were so many towns as nearly combined together as ours here; so was it also in the Netherlands; . . . . . when the minds of the people were once set on fire by reproachful terms of incendiary spirits, they soon set to blows, and had always a tragical and bloody issue." (Antinomians and Familists, &c., 54.)

which costly military preparations had been made. A war with the most powerful of the native tribes was flagrant, a war which might probably bring about a universal league of the New-England savages. And when a force was ordered to take the field for the salvation of the settlements, the Boston men refused to be mustered because they suspected the chaplain, who had been designated by lot to accompany the expedition, of being under a covenant of works.[1]

There even appears to have been imminent danger of a direct armed resistance to authority. Certainly nothing short of this was apprehended by those intrusted with the safety of the state. It is not necessary that we should yield our judgments to theirs as to the grounds of the apprehension they express, when they say that the assertion, by Mrs. Hutchinson and her partisans, of the obligation to follow their supernatural light, made them fear a repetition of the horrors of Munster.[2] But when, in a memorial signed by more than sixty freemen of Boston, we find examples of forcible resistance to rulers adduced from Scripture, and spoken of as not seditious;[3] and when, in a highly fevered state of the public mind, the chief clerical heresiarch uses in the pulpit language capable of being interpreted as inviting either to bloodshed or to the use of

1 "Whereas in former expeditions the town of Boston was as forward as any others to send of their choice members, and a greater number than other towns in the time of the former Governor, now in this last service they sent not a member, but one or two whom they cared not to be rid of, and but a few others, and those of the most refuse sort, and that in such a careless manner as gave great discouragement to the service." (Antinomians and Familists, &c., 25.) "The same difference hath been observed in town lots, rates, and in neighbor meetings, and almost in all affairs." (Ibid.)

2 See above, p. 487, note 2; comp. Antinomians and Familists, &c. (40), and Dudley's remarks at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson (Hutchinson, History, II. 443, 444).

3 "We have not drawn the sword, as sometimes Peter did, rashly, neither have we rescued our innocent brother, as the Israelites did Jonathan, and yet they did not seditiously." (Boston Petition, in Antinomians and Familists, &c., 22.) "In pretending their moderation, they put arguments in the people's mouths to invite them to violence." (Antinomians and Familists, &c., 29.)

spiritual weapons, according to the temper brought by hearer or reader to the interpretation of his words;[1] and when presently, at the principal popular meeting, the parties come together so inflamed that "some lay hands on others," — we are fain to own that moderate governments have often been moved to adopt far more vigorous measures of self-protection by no plainer symptoms of danger. We are prepared to rest on what the mild and reasonable Winthrop, at the close of the business, announced as "a ground for his judgment; and that was, for that he saw, that those brethren, &c. were so divided from the rest of the country in their judgment and practice, as it could not stand with the public peace that they should continue amongst us. So, by the example of Lot in Abraham's family, and after Hagar and Ishmael, he saw that they must be sent away."[2]

But a wider view should be taken of the subject. In order to do it justice, we must recur to such considerations as were formerly presented respecting the political position of the Colony, and the designs of the leading men among its founders. The reader has been reminded, that, when Winthrop and his associates held their meeting, so pregnant with events, at the English Cambridge, the Parliament which the infatuated king had proclaimed to be perhaps his last had been dissolved, and Laud, as Bishop of London and virtually primate, had had three years' time to develop his odious policy. Despotism, ecclesiastical and civil, seemed destined to carry the day in England. Some wise and religious Englishmen proposed to save the treasure they had no mind to part with, by abandoning what seemed to them a sinking ship. To all the sharers in the enterprise — peculiarly to some of them — expatriation was a heavy ransom to pay for the rights of their minds and souls. They easily con-

[1] See above, p. 479. — "The angels of the churches, ... sounding forth their silver trumpets, heard the jarring sound of rattling drums." (Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence, &c., 96.)

[2] Winthrop, I. 250.

cluded that the purchase was fully worth the price; but certainly they had no intention to pay so great a price for nothing, or to encounter the tremendous hardships of a wild continent, to be no more free, after all, than if they had remained at home. It is not to be imagined, that the Massachusetts founders ever lost sight of the persecutors from whom they had fled, or ceased to fear a renewal of the oppressions from which for the present they were relieved. Partially protected, as yet, by distance and obscurity, they never forgot, that, as hereafter they should emerge into consequence and notice, it would be necessary for them to compensate the immunities of insignificance by the security of power.

The heroic pioneers hoped soon to have their tasks lightened, and their wisdom vindicated and rewarded, by a large increase of numbers. If they could make the experiment seem promising in the eyes of those whom they had left behind, feeling the same wants and the same longings as themselves, its later steps would be facilitated, and its ultimate success made probable. In the circumstances, it would have been no extravagant hope of theirs, that whatever in England was most worth saving from a social wreck would before long be transferred to American soil, — that a new England would more than revive on another continent the glories of the doomed and dying empire. The first steps of the experiment had been on the whole not discouraging. Among those expected to engage in it, if things went on in England in the anticipated way, was a full representation of that class to which, from wealth and hereditary position as well as from personal qualities, belonged in England an eminent agency in the conduct of affairs. By some such the design is known to have been followed near to the point of execution; and it would probably have been persevered in, notwithstanding the denial of a condition which was proposed, had affairs continued much longer to appear des-

perate at home.[1] Depending, as the young colony did, on the good word and active patronage of its Puritan friends in England, and looking to them anxiously for an increase of numbers, and so of power, it could ill bear to be represented to them as already rent and disabled by factions.[2] Nothing more intimately concerned its welfare than

[1] See above, p. 389, note. — The "Proposals," there described, afford striking evidence of the existence of a persuasion, on the part of the "persons of quality," that it would belong to the emigrants to New England to set up just the government they might themselves choose. They were made while the question of Ship-Money was agitated; and very probably the project of emigration which they implied had reference to that question.

[2] "There being, 12 month, 3, [February 3, 1637,] a ship ready to go for England and many passengers in it, Mr. Cotton took occasion to speak to them about the differences, &c., and willed them to tell our countrymen, that all the strife amongst us was about magnifying the grace of God, one party seeking to advance the grace of God within us, and the other to advance the grace of God towards us (meaning by the one justification, and by the other sanctification); and so bade them tell them, that, if there were any among them that would strive for grace, they should come hither." (Winthrop, I. 213.) — The two subjects of anxiety which took precedence of others in March, 1638, the month in which Mrs. Hutchinson was sent away, are indicated in an order for a day of fasting (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 226), "to entreat the help of God . . . . . to divert any evil plots which may be intended, and to prepare the way of friends which we hope may be upon coming to us." — Winthrop says (I. 248), — referring to the Court of November, 1637, when some of the malecontents had been disfranchised and others disarmed, — "All the *proceedings* of this Court against these persons were set down at large, with the reasons and other observations, and were sent into England to be published there, to the end that all our godly friends might not be discouraged from coming to us." The exposition thus made I believe to be that which is contained (pp. 21 *et seq.*) in the little volume, often quoted above, which was printed in London, in 1644, under the title, "Antinomians and Familists condemned by the Synod of Elders in New England," &c. In it, a "Catalogue of Erroneous Opinions . . . . . condemned by an Assembly of the Churches at Newtown, August 30, 1637," is followed (1.) by the treatise just mentioned, with the title, "The *Proceedings* of the General Court holden at New Town in the Massachusetts in New England, October [*sic*] 2, 1637," and (2.) by "A Brief Apology in Defence of the General Proceedings of the Court, holden at Boston the Ninth Day of the First Month, 1636 [March 9, 1637]." The occasion of this "Apology" — which (in the original form, consisting of its first thirteen, or its first eighteen, pages) was written before the *Proceedings* first mentioned (25, comp. Winthrop, I. 221) — was, that it was "thought needful to make public declaration of all the proceedings, with the reasons and grounds thereof, so far as concerneth the clearing of the justice of the Court." (Antinomians and Familists, &c., 46.) I am uncertain whether it is the last three or the last eight pages of the volume, that constitute the "additions"

the creation within it of such a state of things as would justify a report in England suited to encourage a large emigration of men of the desired character and means.

It might not be safe to say, that an absolute political independence of England was distinctly intended in the scheme of which the conveyance of the Massachusetts charter across the water was a part. Thinking men and competent statesmen as the leading founders were, they could not fail to see that the fulfilment of such a vision must be left to the chances of the future, or rather, as they would more truly have said, to the arbitration of a gracious and almighty Providence. But, unless circumstances at home should change, they could not but regard this consummation as possible, and as one earnestly to be desired, and with all perseverance and skilful treatment of events to be watched and striven for. The charter was valuable to them for two things. It gave them a claim (of no great practical value, perhaps, as matters stood) to English protection against the hostility of European powers, — the French, Dutch, and Spanish sovereigns of their neighbors on the north and the south; — and to a considerable extent it tied the king's mischief-making hands in respect to interference with them, while they were using means to consolidate and develop their order and their power, and obtain the validity of prescription for those interpretations of the instrument which sorted with their large and long-sighted purpose.

which, in his Address "to the Reader," the editor (Thomas Welde, then in England) says that, "in a strait of time, not having had many hours," he made "to the conclusion of the book." The Preface and conclusion appear to have been written while the press waited. Two editions were printed, from the same types, except that they had different title-pages, and that one of them, entitled the "Short Story," &c., had the Preface, and the short Address "to the Reader" signed with Welde's initials, while the other, entitled "Antinomians and Familists," &c., is without this introductory matter. Differing, with great reluctance, from Winthrop's learned editor, I ascribe the "Proceedings," as well as the "Apology," to Winthrop's hand. — The "Proceedings" were written while Mrs. Hutchinson was "confined in a private house" (43), in the winter of 1637–8.

It was a great task of statesmanship to play hopefully this game of prospective independence of England. It was a policy only to be carried out by much address, and a dexterous use of events, as well as much constancy and courage. All care was to be taken, from the beginning, that the government of the parent country should acquire no control over the government of the plantation, and no foothold within it. At the same time, internal administration was to be so conducted as to strengthen the young community by the energy of an harmonious and zealous public spirit, as well as by the abundance of its material resources. A healthy consolidation of the social system would be obstructed by the disputes of enthusiastic theorists. It was only to be effected through such fellow-feeling and joint action as could hardly sustain the wear and tear of an irritating discussion of novel opinions and passionate censure of influential men. That there might be readiness for a vigorous advance whenever the time for it should come, it was needful that youth should be trained under the influences of a resolute authority and of a concentrated local patriotism, both of which would be enfeebled by unchecked strife.

Certain it was, that dissensions within the Colony had an important relation to the danger which continued to menace it from enemies beyond its borders. It required protection as much against pretences for assault on the part of foes in the parent country, as from what would give offence to friends, or subject them to discouragement or to reproach. Any plausible report that the local authority had proved incompetent, and that the settlement was falling into the ruin of anarchy, would have been but too welcome to the court as a pretext for what was so repeatedly threatened from the first, an abrogation of its charter, and a resumption of its government into the hands of the king.

The party of Winthrop, generally dominant in the in-

fant commonwealth, put upon the charter an interpretation acquiesced in without dispute by succeeding generations. In their construction of that instrument, as long as the Governor and Company did not violate its provisions, they held the entire, unshared control of their territory and of its European inhabitants; in other words, they owed no submission to England whatever, except such as was comprehended in those charter provisions which forbade the enactment of laws contrary to the laws of the English realm, and required the payment into the English exchequer of one fifth part of precious metals. Such was their claim and their right, as they construed the bargain. No doubt they expected their construction to be contested, when they should emerge into importance, should the English government, in the mean while, not be reformed. But they intended not to yield it except to force, nor to yield it to force, if that was such as they should have grown strong enough to defy. To lose the charter, the title-deed to their lands, was to lose the little property on this side of the water by which they had struggled partially to compensate their sacrifices on the other. Far more; to lose their charter, or to come under a General Governor, was to be reduced again under that uncontrolled despotism of the king and his creatures, from which at such cost they had escaped.

By a short clause in an order passed at the first annual meeting of freemen on this continent, they had vested permanently the administration of the corporate property — in other words, the ultimate powers of government in Massachusetts — in the hands regarded by them as suitable to carry out this policy. No Romanist or Episcopalian was to possess a franchise enabling him to meddle with their affairs or balk their aims; nor even any other unsympathizing religionist, who might make common cause with prelatical malecontents on the ground of a common hostility to the dominant ecclesiastical sys-

1631. May 18.

tem, or whose admission to citizenship would expose them at court to the charge of making offensive distinctions between different classes of dissentients.

They had begun immediately to call themselves, not a *colony*, but a "body politic," a "jurisdiction," and presently a "commonwealth";[1] and Henry Vane, coming over in the sixth year after the charter, found this last designation already so established and current, that he constantly uses it,[2] though he cannot be positively said to have belonged to the local school in politics whose doctrines it symbolized. The English Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy were not administered, while the oath actually prescribed to be taken on admission to the franchise not only contained no recognition of the royal government, but seems to have been devised to engage the freemen in resistance to that government, should occasion for resistance arise. Its meaning is further illustrated by its having been prescribed at the time when some movement might naturally be expected in the nature of that Order in Council, — requiring the charter to be sent back, — which actually arrived two months afterwards.[3] It has been related how that Order, and the commission to the Archbishops and others to regulate plantations, which presently followed, were received.[4]

So appeals to the king, as by Morton, by Williams, by Wheelwright,[5] and by many others, were not only uniformly disregarded, but were taken as additional proof that the appellant was a person dangerous to the public weal, and needed rigorous treatment.

On the other hand, no little prudence was exercised to

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 87, 88, 118.

[2] See his "Briefe Answer," in Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, 71 *et seq.*

[3] Winthrop, I. 137. — "The Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practices against the country, made an Order of Court, to take trial of the fidelity of the people," &c. (Cotton, Bloody Tenent Washed White, &c., 28, 29.)

[4] See above, 391, 394.

[5] See above, p. 485. — "He hath threatened us with an appeal, and urged us to proceed." (Antinomians and Familists, 25, comp. 27.)

avoid unnecessarily provoking an explosion of wrath in England, which as yet there was not strength enough to cope with. Accordingly, when Roger Williams — in the same argument in which he raised questions respecting their right to their lands — "charged King James to have told a solemn public lie because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land," and "charged him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe *Christendom* or *the Christian world*," and "personally applied to King Charles three places in the Revelation, &c.," the Magistrates were nothing loath to impose upon him the Oath of Allegiance, thus at the same time silencing cavil against themselves at court, should the scandal reach so far, and disarming him for the further prosecution of these disturbing speculations respecting the sufficiency of chartered rights.[1] So, when the royal ensign was defaced by Endicott, it is plain that there was a struggle between the inclination, on the one hand, of some of the Magistrates to encourage a superstitious scruple which would have the salutary political effect of driving into disuse a symbol of loyalty, and their apprehension, on the other, of offering premature offence.

The expulsion of the Brownes for setting up Episcopal worship had taken place before the transmission of the charter, or the foundation, properly so considered, of the government.[2] It was a high-handed act on the part of Endicott; but the doubtful rebuke which it incurred showed that he did not much misconceive the purposes already taking shape, out of their rudiments, in the counsels of his masters. Morton was a rollicking vagabond, whose presence it was impossible to endure, were it only for the peril which he brought on the settlement by his misconduct to the Indians.[3] Gardiner was believed to be a Romanist, an adulterer, and a spy, and was sent home to be tried for bigamy.[4] Philip Ratcliffe was here as a

[1] Winthrop, I. 122, 123.
[2] See above, p. 298.
[3] Ibid., p. 319.
[4] Ibid., p. 329.

servant of Mr. Cradock, who, in his capacity of Governor, had enjoined the strictest dealing with that class of emigrants, as being of doubtful fitness for the association into which they were brought.[1] All these persons had made loud complaints in England of their expulsion from Massachusetts; but the position of no one of them bore any great likeness to that of the partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson. The case of Roger Williams much more nearly resembled it; but, compared with the disturbance which followed her proceedings, that occasioned by Williams was limited, superficial, and transient.[2] Had it not been for later transactions, which revealed him in more favorable lights, and for the connection of his exile with the origin of a State, his exile, instead of taking the place in history in which it presents itself to us, might have been recorded simply as the expulsion of one among several eccentric and turbulent persons. His controversy speedily narrowed down to a merely personal dispute; not a half-score of friends followed when he went away, nor were they of a character to show that he inspired confidence in the best and soberest men; scarcely a larger number of persons who remained behind adhered to his peculiarities;[3] and the returning waters presently closed over the track his dashing bark had made. Mrs. Hutchinson's party comprehended several of the most important men in the infant commonwealth, and its business was conducted with a determination and skill well worthy to have been more usefully employed.

The difficult task which was upon the hands of the rulers of Massachusetts has been partially indicated. At a critical period of their prosecution of it, the disturbance made by Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends threatened

[1] See above, p. 351. Comp. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 393.

[2] The chapter in which Cotton Mather treats of Williams and others (Magnalia, Book VII. Chapter II.) is entitled by him "Little Foxes," in allusion, I suppose, to Solomon's Song, ii. 15.

[3] "Three men and eight women," says Winthrop (I. 196).

to disable and defeat them. The fanatics habitually assailed the hitherto revered governors of the state with language of studied and stinging opprobrium. They refused to do military duty, when the savages, already in active hostility, might at any moment be at their doors in formidable force. They had excited such passions, that, on an election day, there was a demonstration of violence. "Fierce speeches" were spoken, and "some laid hands on others." These things would have been serious enough at any time. But they occurred at the moment when the numerous emigration, which was expected, and which they would probably discourage, was greatly needed for the reinforcement of the young colony;[1] when its legal se-

[1] In the State-Paper Office in London, among the papers entitled "America and West Indies," is a letter of Lord Maynard to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated March 17, 1638. In it his Lordship says: "I hear daily of incredible numbers of persons of very good abilities in several counties hereabouts, who have sold their lands and are upon their departure into New England, insomuch as it is apprehended as an occasion of so great an impoverishment in divers parishes as it is feared that those inhabitants who remain behind will not be possibly able to employ and relieve their poor, and discharge other duties; besides, it is conceived that they do carry a great deal of wealth over with them, and some of good understanding do doubt that they do now carry over so much corn as that there will hardly enough be left behind in this great scarcity to feed us till harvest. . . . . I am credibly informed that there are fourteen ships in the river of Thames presently to go their voyage." On the letter is indorsed by Laud: "Read, March 21, 1637 [N. S. 1638]. . . . . I moved it the same day to the Board."

March 30, 1638, it was ordered by the Privy Council, "for reasons importing the state, best known unto their Lordships, that the Lord Treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual order for the stay of eight ships now on the river of Thames, prepared to go for New England, and should likewise give order for the putting on land of all the passengers and persons therein intended for that voyage"; and, April 1, it was ordered that the same course should be taken with "all that should thereafter be discovered to be prepared or to intend to go thither." (Journal of the Privy Council.)

April 6, 1638. "His Majesty and the Board, taking this day into consideration the frequent resort to New England of divers persons ill-affected to the religion established in the Church of England and to the good and peaceable government of this state," though he had been "graciously pleased, at this time, to free them from a late restraint, ... nevertheless his Majesty, — well knowing the factious disposition of the people (or a great part of them) in that plantation, and how unfit and unworthy they are of any support or countenance from hence, in respect of the great disorders and want of government amongst them, whereof sundry and great com-

curities were loudly menaced by a usurping power in England; and when the course of affairs in that country was showing the vital necessity of measures of self-protection on the part of the colony, such as prolonged internal dissensions would be sure to frustrate. Between the time when the vessel, which brought Mrs. Hutchinson to America, conveyed also the intelligence of the appointment of a commission for governing the colonies, and the time of her

plaints have been presented to the Board and made appear to be true by those that, being well-affected both for religion and government, have suffered much loss in their estates by the unruly and factious party, — did think fit, and order, that Mr. Attorney shall forthwith draw up a proclamation expressing his Majesty's royal pleasure to prohibit all merchants, masters and owners of ships, from henceforth to set forth any ship or ships with passengers for New England, till they have first obtained special license on that behalf from such of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable Privy Council as are appointed for the businesses of foreign plantations by special commission." (Ibid.)

Four days after, it was ordered that ships then under restraint might be released, and proceed. (Ibid.) The *surveillance*, however, continued to be strict. The same day, a pass was granted "to Nathaniel Bourne, of the parish of White Chapel, baker, to travel into the parts of America." (Ibid.) May 10, a similar pass was granted to "Thomas Hawkins, of White Chapel, carpenter." And, June 20, William Pierce, master of the ship Desire, presented a petition, showing that "the petitioner, with divers others inhabiting in New England, did lately arrive in the port of London in the same ship, being lately built in New England," and was permitted to return thither on condition of transporting "no other passengers or provisions but such as should be allowed." (Ibid. See also the king's "Proclamation" of April 30, 1637, "against the disorderly transporting his Majesty's subjects to the plantations within the parts of America," in Rymer, Fœdera, XX. 143.)

Cotton Mather says (Magnalia, &c., Book I. Chap. V. § 7), that among the persons thus prevented by the government from emigrating to New England were Hazelrigg, Hampden, and Cromwell. Hutchinson (I. 44) repeats the statement, and adds Pym to the party. Hume (Chap. LII.) singularly speaks of Hutchinson as having "put the fact beyond controversy," though Hutchinson's cautious language was, that Cromwell and the rest were "said to have been prevented," &c. Lord Nugent (Life of Hampden, I. 256), Hallam (Constitutional History, Chap. VIII.), and Chalmers (Political Annals, Book I. Chap. VII.), all adopt the story. But neither Winthrop (I. 266), nor any other contemporary writer (so far as I know), appears to have been informed that any persons who had intended to come over were ultimately detained; and the contrary seems a natural inference from the Order of the Privy Council, discharging the shipmasters. (Rushworth, Collections, II. 409.) Miss Aikin (Memoirs of the Court of King Charles the First, Chap. XIII.) concludes against the credibility of the story. — At all events, "there came over, this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons." (Winthrop, I. 268.)

banishment, demands were twice made for the surrender of the charter. Within three weeks after Winthrop's restoration to power "came the copy of a commission, from the Commissioners for New England, to divers of the Magistrates here, to govern all the people of New England till further order, &c., upon this pretence, that there was no lawful authority in force here, either mediate or immediate, from his Majesty."[1] And it was at the very moment when the indispensableness of an energetic union against the king had been proved by those decrees of the Star-Chamber against Burton and Bastwick, and that decision of the twelve judges against Hampden, which had placed the persons and property of Englishmen at the king's mercy, that the Antinomian malcontents were insisting on appeals to him from the Massachusetts Court.[2]

1637. June 3.

It was in connection with this last point, probably, that Vane's position was regarded with such peculiar uneasiness by Winthrop and his friends. They did not distrust his Puritan principles in religion; but it may well be doubted whether, at that early period of his life when he

[1] See above, p. 391; below, p. 559; Winthrop, I. 225; comp. 231. — The proceedings against the charter under the *quo warranto* (see above, p. 402) had just now been brought to a close. They had lasted from Trinity Term of the eleventh year of Charles the First (September, 1635) to Easter Term of his thirteenth year (April, 1637), when "judgment was given for the king, that the liberties and franchises of said corporation should be seized into the king's hands, and the said Cradock's body to be taken into custody for usurping the said liberties." (Record in "Board of Trade" papers, I. 55, in the State-Paper Office.) — May 3, 1637. "Their Lordships, taking into consideration the patent granted to said government [the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay], did this day order that Mr. Attorney-General be hereby prayed and required to call for the said patent, and present the same to this Board, or to the Committee for Foreign Plantations." (Journal of the Privy Council.) — In the "Board of Trade" papers (I. 56) is a draught of a proclamation of the king, dated July 23, accepting the surrender of the Council for New England, and notifying his intention to appoint Sir Ferdinando Gorges as General Governor, and to secure the lands to individual proprietors as distributed by the Council. But the proclamation is not in Rymer, and I presume it never was issued. See above, p. 402, note.

[2] Antinomians and Familists Condemned, &c., 25, 27; Winthrop, I. 246.

was in America, he had clearly recognized the relations of those principles to the patriot movement on either side of the water, and whether his fellow-magistrates had any reason whatever to trust him for aversion to the claims of prerogative. Next to Laud (if after him), Strafford and Vane's father were at this time the most powerful subjects in the realm of England, the former highest in the king's favor, the latter in the queen's; and when he who, of all the Englishmen that had been in New England, could most easily approach the throne, had just gone home under the vexation of a defeat, of which he had not attempted to conceal his keen resentment, it is no wonder that there was thought to be occasion for the most serious alarm, and for all the precautions that were possible.[1] The repeated suggestions, in Vane's "Briefe Answer" to Winthrop's "Declaration," of a power in the king to control the colonial proceedings,[2] with Winthrop's vigilant though guarded *caveats* against them,[3] are of great significance. Much of what Winthrop said in that controversy could not be better said. There were other things which he, exposed to the wrath of England, was compelled to suppress, or to be content with hinting, but which the historian, who (thanks to Winthrop, more perhaps than to any other man) is under no such restraint, should take into the account.

Mixed motives of the victorious party.

In attempting to set the course of the governors of Massachusetts at this period in the right point of view, it is not necessary to show that measures of the strong character required by such a

[1] Soon after his return to England, Vane took office as Treasurer of the Royal Navy.

[2] See Vane's "Briefe Answer," in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers," 72, 73, 76 – 78, 83.

[3] See Winthrop's "Reply to an Answer," in Hutchinson's Collection, 85, 86, 91. — Clarendon (History, &c., I. 149) thought that Vane in early life was a friend of prerogative. If Clarendon, correctly or otherwise, believed this, so might Winthrop. At all events, in the controversy between him and Vane, carried on in these treatises, there can be no question that such was Vane's position.

crisis were pursued without any alloy of private passion. This would be to suppose something aside from the conditions of human nature. No good man can assure himself, that, while with virtuous energy he pursues a great public object, he shall do it with uniform prudence in the means, and with all the gentleness which is consistent with the demands of the occasion. It would indeed be a new thing if, in such a pursuit, a statesman should place his sole reliance on the cool reason of those whose help he needed to engage, and should refuse to be aided in any degree by more questionable impulses which he found acting on the minds of his friends.

Their moderation.

On the other hand, supposing the exigency to have been such as has been described, it was certainly disposed of with no needless or extreme severity. There was a trial of strength between two excited parties, as there was on the same soil at the beginning of the American war of the last century. The only possible issue was, for one of those parties to maintain itself, and the other to be overcome. In Mrs. Hutchinson's time, as at the later time of the *Stamp Act*, the patriots disabled the recusants because their power was believed to be inconsistent with the safety of the state. In the former case, that object required not only the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson, but the reclaiming of those of her followers who remained; and the ecclesiastical censures, by which she continued to be pursued after the defeat of her faction, may have been employed as the natural expedients for withdrawing from her that sympathy which had been the occasion of so much alarm and trouble. But there was no confiscation, no imprisonment except for safe keeping, and no danger to life or limb. A fine, readily remitted on assurances of peaceable behavior for the future, or degradation from the franchise, or deprivation of the arms which were thought to be no longer safely intrusted in hostile hands, was the mild punishment of the less dan-

gerous offenders. Upon a very small number, who were more feared, the harshest infliction was banishment from the society in which they could not be prevailed on to live in peace. They were required to do nothing worse than what the settlers in Connecticut had just been doing of their own accord; and, in choosing a new home, they had regions close at hand not less eligible than what they would relinquish. The number of persons disarmed was seventy-six.[1] "Two of the sergeants of Boston ..... were disfranchised and fined; William Balston, twenty pounds; Edward Hutchinson, forty pounds."[2] Coggeshall, Underhill, and six others were disfranchised.[3] Wheelwright, Aspinwall, and Mrs. Hutchinson were banished.[4] Coddington and ten others, having "desired and obtained license to remove themselves and their families out of the jurisdiction," were ordered to carry their professed wish into effect within seven weeks, or else "to appear at the next Court, to abide the further order of the Court."[5] It may well be doubted whether an exasperating civil commotion was ever composed at less cost to the unsuccessful side.

In point of moderation and good temper, it cannot be maintained that the malecontents compared favorably with that which proved to be the predominant party. But it is

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 211, 212. — The order for disarming took effect only upon such as should refuse to apologize. (Ibid., 212.) And in due time (November 5, 1639), "It was ordered, that all that were disarmed, remaining amongst us, carrying themselves peaceably, shall have their arms restored unto them." (Ibid., 278.)

[2] Antinomians and Familists, 30.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 207, 208.

[4] Ibid., 207. — "He [Wheelwright] refused to depart voluntarily from us, which the Court had now offered him, and in a manner persuaded him unto," (Antinomians and Familists, 26.) — "The Court intended only to have disfranchised him [Aspinwall] .....; but his behavior was so contemptuous and his speeches so peremptory," &c. (Ibid., 30.) — Roger Williams, when in England, told Robert Baylie, that Winthrop endeavored to prevail on the Antinomians voluntarily to remove to the country on Narragansett Bay, as a measure for the advantage of both parties. (Baylie, Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times, 63, 72.)

[5] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 223.

not necessary to deny to them meritorious qualities of character, in order to prove the substantial rectitude of the course taken for their overthrow. The natural leaders in an insurrection are the ablest men, and sometimes the most virtuous men, of those embarked in it. And it is almost too obvious to bear to be repeated, that the duty of a government, supposing it to have right on its side, is to secure the public safety by putting down the movement, and that the movement is most effectually, and at the same time most mercifully, put down, by striking at those who lend to it its greatest strength. It is not the camp-followers who enlist sympathy, but the men of thought and resolution at the head of the array. The desire is natural that they, rather than others, should be saved from the adversary's aim. But such is not the condition of civil, any more than of martial conflict. If it is right and necessary that opposition be subdued, it is eminently right to assail its chief strength. When extreme danger threatens a community, and martial law is proclaimed, private respects, as well as the maxims and processes which are the ordinary securities of liberty, yield to the overruling emergency of the time.

Their inadequate defence of themselves.

It may further be freely allowed, without impeachment of the substantial wisdom or integrity of the course of the government on this occasion, that its exposition and defence of its course sometimes failed to do it justice. If, misguided by an erroneous system of Scriptural interpretation, the rulers sometimes attempted, with very imperfect success, to rest their case on the authority of single texts in the Bible, this should not deprive them of the benefit of the real justification which they had, — and which they equally put forward, — resting on the grounds of political duty and common sense. And if sometimes slender reasons seem to be alleged in place of those reasons, of a weighty and comprehensive character, which in our judgment must have de-

termined the action of the time, we are not to forget that while silence respecting some of the objects in view was essential to the final attainment of those objects, the necessity for such reserve also constituted one of the chief embarrassments of their prosecution.

If it should be said, that, by their strenuous proceedings, the rulers of Massachusetts impaired the public strength which they aimed to consolidate, the subsequent history would refute the stricture. She scarcely lost a citizen whom it was desirable to retain, and the later course of not a few who took final leave of her showed that it was well for her quiet and credit that they had departed. Edward Hutchinson, Wheelwright, Savage, Aspinwall, — almost every considerable member of the discomfited party, — after making a sufficient experiment of absence from Massachusetts, found that, after all, hers was the best society to live in, and came back to lead a quiet life. Among the exiles of this time, only four men of much importance can be named, that permanently stayed away. These were Coddington, Clarke, Coggeshall, and Easton. When two scores of years passed before the recurrence of any serious internal dissension in Massachusetts, the substantial wisdom of the course now pursued may be deemed to be vindicated by the event. If the treatment was harsh, it was effective. As the Pequot war prevented a repetition of Indian hostilities for forty years, so the defeat of Mrs. Hutchinson's party introduced a long term of internal tranquillity.

Beneficial results of their course.

Few passages in our early history are of more importance than that which has now been treated of. The received accounts of it have gone far to confirm some unjust impressions of the character of the early New-England people, while its true interpretation illustrates their position and designs, in a way harmonizing them with other great features, better understood, of that pub-

lic action of theirs which has so mightily influenced the destinies of America and the world, and colored the politics of the present age. For this reason it has been here dwelt upon at such length. If by unchecked internal dissension, or by foreign force introduced by it, the little colony of Massachusetts had been broken up two centuries and a quarter ago, where would have been the American Revolution of the last century, with its influence on the authority of free principles of government in the Christian world?

It was after the troubles introduced by Mrs. Hutchinson had reached their height, that Winthrop, as has been related, was restored to the chief magistracy. While it is natural to suppose, that, had he been continued in that office, his calm wisdom might have checked them at an earlier stage and at less cost, certainly his admirable qualities never shone more brightly than during the period when he held subordinate positions. When Dudley had failed to have his policy prevail, he was hardly persuaded not to withdraw from office.[1] When Ludlow heard of a proposed popular encroachment, "he protested he would then return back into England";[2] and when he could not be Governor, he would not be captain of the Castle.[3] When Vane found himself thwarted as to a favorite object, he "thought it best for him to give place for a time."[4] No such petulance swayed the firmly balanced self-respect of the first Governor. When deposed from the chief office, he persevered with undiscouraged diligence in watching over the public weal in the inferior places in which it pleased the people to employ him; and he never served them more industriously or heartily, than when deprived of the highest tokens of their regard.

Praiseworthy course of Winthrop.

On the defeat of the Antinomian party, a portion of its members, expelled or voluntarily departing, dispersed in

[1] Winthrop, I. 73.
[2] Ibid., 74.
[3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 145.
[4] Winthrop, I. 207.

different directions, to the north and the south. Several went to Williams's settlement at Providence, where, not changing their mind with their climate, they took part in disturbances, to be recorded hereafter. A more considerable number established themselves together at a lower point on Narragansett Bay.

When Mrs. Hutchinson left Boston, it was her intention to join her brother-in-law on the Piscataqua. At Mount Wollaston, however, she changed her plan, in consequence of hearing of an arrangement of her husband with some friends to make a settlement in a different quarter. Before the final action of the government, Hutchinson, Coddington, John Clarke, and others, — apparently satisfied that, if it should be left to their option, it would be best for them to remove, — had been looking out for a suitable habitation. "By reason of the suffocating heat of the summer before," Clarke, with a party, first "went to the north, to be somewhat cooler; but the winter following proved so cold, that they were forced in the spring to make towards the south." They had in view Long Island or the shore of Delaware Bay, "having sought the Lord for direction"; but, taking Providence in their way, they were induced by the representations of Roger Williams to turn their attention to the beautiful island of *Aquetnet*, which the Plymouth people, whom Clarke and Williams, with two others, made a journey to consult, told them was beyond the bounds of the Plymouth patent.[1] There, accordingly, nineteen persons associated themselves in a body politic,[2] and chose Coddington to be their

Settlement on the island of Aquetnet.

1638. March 7.

[1] Clarke, in the "Brief Discourse," prefixed to "Ill Newes from New England." He had arrived in Boston in November, 1637. He says that it was he who made the proposal to look for another residence.

[2] Their engagement together was as follows: "We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and, as He shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and

"Judge," and Aspinwall to be Secretary. With Williams's mediation, they entered into a treaty with the native inhabitants, and bought the island from Canonicus and Miantonomoh for the consideration of "forty fathom of white beads."[1] At almost the earliest moment of deliberation, they found it necessary to adopt the system which had occasioned them so much offence in Massachusetts; and they ordained "that none should be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the island, but such as should be received in by the consent of the body."[2] The place took at a later time the name of "the Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode Island."[3]

March 24.

May 13.

1641. March 13.

The refugees had brought thither their propensity to faction; and, before the year was ended, they had new trouble among themselves. Mrs. Hutchinson could not willingly be quiet, or be second, anywhere. The materials for this portion of the history are defective; but it is apparent that a serious commotion took place in the new settlement, in the sequel of which several of its founders were driven away. "At Aquiday," says Winthrop, "the people grew very tumultuous, and put out Mr. Coddington and the other three magistrates, and chose Mr. William Hutchinson only, a man of very mild temper and weak parts and wholly guided by his wife, who had been the beginner of all the

1638. Dissensions at Aquetnet.

to all those perfect and absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby. Exod. xxiv. 3, 4; 2 Chron. xi. 3; 2 Kings xi. 17." (R. I. Col. Rec., I. 52.) Among the signers were William Hutchinson and his sons Edward and William, William Coddington, John Clarke, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, and Thomas Savage, the last of whom married the elder Hutchinson's daughter. Twelve were members of the Boston church, and all but two, Coddington and one of the Hutchinsons, were among the persons who had been required to give up their arms. Several of them must have been on Aquetnet Island when Mrs. Hutchinson was excommunicated.

[1] The conveyance (for which see R. I. Col. Rec., I. 45) bears the same date as the conveyance of the Providence lands to Williams.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 53; see above, p. 482.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 127.

former troubles in the country, and still continued to breed disturbance."[1]

This statement supplies a key for the interpretation of the imperfect public records of the time. From them it appears, that, before a year had passed after the election of Coddington to be Judge, it was determined to choose three persons "to the place of Eldership, to assist the Judge in the execution of justice and judgment," and to share with him "the whole care and charge of all the affairs" of the plantation. Those conspicuous persons, Aspinwall and the Hutchinsons, father and sons, were passed over, and the choice fell upon Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, and William Brenton. At the same "General Meeting of the Body," the magistrates were directed "to deal with William Aspinwall concerning his defaults."[2] A few days later, it was resolved to choose two new officers; a Constable, "to see that the peace be kept, and that there be no unlawful meetings, or anything that may tend to civil disturbance practised," and a Sergeant, "to inform of all breaches of the laws of God that tend to civil disturbances," and "to keep the prison, and such who shall be committed unto his custody, with all safety and diligence."[3] Two weeks after this, Mr. Aspinwall was proceeded against as "a suspected person, for sedition against the state."[4] And before two months were passed, it was "thought meet that an alarum be appointed to give notice to all who inhabit the place, that they may forthwith repair and gather together to the house of the Judge for the defending of the island, or quelling any insolences that shall be tumultuously raised within the plantation."[5]

1639. Jan. 11.

Jan. 24.

Feb. 7.

April 6.

It may be presumed, that, in the controversy thus indi-

[1] Winthrop writes thus (I. 356) under the date of May 11, 1639.

[2] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 63, 64.

[3] Ibid., 65.

[4] Ibid., 66.

[5] Ibid., 68.

cated, a party, headed by the Hutchinsons and Aspinwall, got the better of Coddington and his friends, and that that revolution in the government took place, of which Winthrop had been informed. For presently we read of a new civil compact at the existing settlement,[1] and, at the same time, of the removal from it of the Judge, the Elders, and others, under an engagement together "to propagate a plantation in the midst of the island or elsewhere."[2] The party left behind proceeded at once to choose a "ruler or judge." The record is defaced in this part, and the name of the person so chosen is illegible. But there can be no reasonable doubt that it was William Hutchinson, whose signature stands at the head of those of the twenty-nine persons united in the new organization. Aspinwall was placed on a committee raised to lay out lands. And it was "agreed upon, to call the town *Portsmouth*."[3]

April 30.

April 28.

July 1.

Coddington and his friends betook themselves to the magnificent harbor at the southern end of the island, and gave to their new settlement the name of *Newport*.[4] During the summer they had an accession of numbers, including forty or fifty adult males.[5] Acknowledging themselves "natural subjects to their sovereign lord, King Charles, and subject to his laws," they appointed a committee "to inform Mr. Vane by writing of the state of things, and desire him to treat about the obtaining a patent of the island from his Majesty."[6] But the division which had taken place continued only a short time. The last meeting which is recorded of the separate jurisdiction of Portsmouth was held within a year after the first.[7] A negotiation which had been entered into with a view to a re-

May 16.

Nov. 25.

1640. Feb. 18.

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 70.
[2] Ibid., 87.
[3] Ibid., 72.
[4] Ibid., 88.
[5] Ibid., 92.
[6] Ibid., 93, 94.
[7] Ibid., 73.

union[1] having proved successful, William Hutchinson and nine of his confederates, "presenting of themselves and desiring to be reunited to the body, were readily embraced." Others of the Portsmouth settlement, not present in person, were "received as freemen, fully to enjoy the privileges belonging thereto." It was "agreed by the body united, that, if there were any person found meet for the service of the same in either plantation, if there were no just exception against him, upon his orderly presentation, he should be received as a freeman"; "that the chief Magistrate of the island should be called Governor, and the next Deputy-Governor, and the rest of the Magistrates Assistants"; "that the Governor and two Assistants should be chosen in one town, and the Deputy-Governor and two other Assistants in the other town"; "and that the Governor and Assistants should be invested with the offices of the Justices of the Peace."[2] Coddington was chosen to be Governor for a year, and William Hutchinson to be one of the Assistants. It was probably the last time that Hutchinson ever held office.[3] March 12.

Mr. Wheelwright, on leaving Boston, went, with thirty-five companions, to a river called the Swamscot, tributary to the Piscataqua, and on its banks began a settlement which they called *Exeter*.[4] They established a church

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 94.

[2] Ibid., 100, 101. The 12th day of March had been fixed upon as the permanent day of annual election. (Ibid., 98.)

[3] "Mr. Williams related to me that Mrs. Hutchinson, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and of whom he spake much good, after she had come to Rhode Island, and her husband had been made Governor there, she persuaded him to lay down his office upon the opinion, which newly she had taken up, of the unlawfulness of magistracy." (Baylie, Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time, 150.) Perhaps, if we could get at the exact truth, it would be found to be, that Mrs. Hutchinson disliked for her husband, not office, but secondary office.

[4] The genuineness of a deed, purporting to be a conveyance to Wheelwright by the Indians, nine years before, of land including that on which he now sat down, has been matter of learned controversy. It is generally believed to be a forgery, executed not far from the year 1700. It is given in full by Belknap (History, I., Append. I.), who did not suspect it. (Ibid., 36.) I may recur to it hereafter. In the mean time, I refer those who may be

and a body politic, committing the enactment of laws to meetings of the whole body, and their administration to a Governor and two Assistants, to be chosen annually. Of the persons concerned in the recent disturbances, no portion proved afterwards more quiet and orderly than this. But its independent organization lasted only three years.[1]

Exeter. 1639. Oct. 4.

Seaward from Wheelwright's settlement lay extensive salt marshes, covered with a native grass much valued before a better herbage was raised in sufficient quantity upon the uplands. Here, for the purpose of asserting their jurisdiction, the authorities of Massachusetts had erected a house, which subsequently acquired importance in connection with a question of boundary.[2] To this place, Mrs. Hutchinson's adherent, Nicholas Easton, first bent his steps; but, being presently warned away,[3] he went to join his friends on Rhode Island. Here, the next year, Massachusetts laid out her township of Hampton,[4] the fourth settlement within the present territory of New Hampshire, and the last for more than half a century. Its fifty or sixty inhabitants, recognizing their relation to Massachusetts, established no other than a municipal government.

Hampton. 1636. 1638. May 16. 1639. May 22.

Others yet of the dispersed party of Mrs. Hutchinson betook themselves to Cochecho, on the Piscataqua. The

curious respecting it to the able discussion in Savage's Winthrop (I. 405). The other side of the argument is presented in the New Hampshire Historical Collections (I. 299).

[1] Their "Combination," with the names of the signers, is in Hazard, I. 463. It includes a pledge of allegiance to the king, expressed in rather profuse terms of loyalty. — Wheelwright, Philemon Pormont, and seven other men, of no special consideration, received a dismission from the Boston church to "the church at the falls of Piscataqua," Jan. 6, 1639.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 167; comp. Winthrop, I. 290.

[3] "It is ordered, that the magistrates of Ipswich shall have power to discharge Mr. Easton and Mr. Jeffrey from building at Winnacunnet [Hampton], and if they will not take warning, to clear the place of them." (Mass. Coll. Rec., I. 231.) Jeffrey was, I suppose, the same person who was early in Boston Bay. (See above, p. 233.)

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 236, 259. The grant of Hampton for a settlement was made by the General Court, September 8, 1638.

settlement at that place has been mentioned as one of the most ancient in New England.[1] When it had languished seven or eight years, the Hiltons sold their right in it to some merchants of Bristol.[2] The new owners sent over Thomas Wiggin to look after their affairs, who found only three houses on the spot. These had probably been occupied by the two Hiltons and Thomas Roberts. After about a year's residence, Wiggin returned to England, where he found that the patent had been again sold, in his absence, to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and two other partners, who made an engagement with him as their factor. In that capacity he came a second time to America, bringing with him a company of about thirty persons from the West of England, a part of whom are said to have been of "some account for religion."[3] One of them was Mr. William Leverich,[4] who, after officiating as their minister about a year and a half, was obliged to leave them for want of a competent support.

Dover. 1631.

1633. Oct. 10.

1635. July.

Two years after his departure, another clerical person, named George Burdet, found his way to Cochecho. He came thither from Salem, where during a year or two he had preached at different times to the satisfaction of the people. Whether he was then playing a part, or whether he afterwards changed his mind, is not altogether certain; but he turned out at last to be a spy of Laud. At Cochecho, he immediately became an agitator both in civil and in church affairs. Addressing himself to the anti-Puritan interest, he prevailed on a majority of the planters, first to receive him as their minister, and then to make him their ruler, after deposing Wiggin.

1637.

While Burdet was in the enjoyment of this double authority at Cochecho, John Underhill came to seek a retreat there. After being disarmed and disfranchised in the

[1] See above, pp. 205, 233.
[2] See above, p. 397, note.
[3] Hubbard, 221.
[4] Winthrop, I. 115.

sequel of the Antinomian controversy, Underhill had gone first to England for a short time. On his return, he was banished from Massachusetts for retracting his apology and submission made the year before. A charge of adultery, brought against him at the same time, was not sufficiently proved.[1] Betaking himself to Cochecho, he

1638. September. was followed thither by a letter which Winthrop, on the part of the General Court, addressed to Burdet and others, complaining that they had received one lying under sentence of banishment from Massachusetts, and intimating an intention to survey and take possession of all lands within the chartered limits of that Colony.[2] An offensive answer was returned by Burdet; and Winthrop would have had him brought to Boston to answer for a contempt, but was dissuaded by Dudley, on the ground of its being inexpedient to exasperate him at a time when he was known to be furnishing Laud with representations to the prejudice of Massachusetts.[3] Win-

[1] A charge of having used seditious language on his voyage was "proved to his face by a sober, godly woman," who had come to America in the same vessel, and whom, for a while, he had "drawn to his opinions." — "Among other passages, he told her how he came to his assurance, and that was thus: he had lain under a spirit of bondage and a legal way five years, and could get no assurance, till, at length, as he was taking a pipe of tobacco, the Spirit set home an absolute promise of free grace with such assurance and joy, as he never since doubted of his good estate, neither should he, though he should fall into sin." This was thought both levity and heresy; and he did not mend his case when, "the Lord's day following, he made a speech in the assembly, showing that, as the Lord was pleased to convert Paul as he was in persecuting, &c., so he might manifest himself to him as he was taking the moderate use of the creature called tobacco." (Winthrop, I. 270.) — He confessed that his habit of private interviews with the person implicated with him in the charge of adultery "was ill, because it had an appearance of evil in it; but his excuse was, that the woman was in great trouble of mind and sore temptations, and that he resorted to her to comfort her, and that, when the door was found locked upon them, they were in private prayer together; but this practice was clearly condemned by the elders." (Ibid., 271.)

[2] Ibid., 276.

[3] In the State-Paper Office ("America and West Indies") is a letter from Burdet to Laud, dated "Piscataqua, November 29, 1638." He writes: "My Lord, the truth is, it is their court [curt?] conclusion, long since decreed, to spend their blood in opposing all countermands to their present way and humor; to which purpose they use all

throp wrote to Hilton at Cochecho, "intimating how ill it would relish, if they should advance Captain Underhill." But this warning came too late. "Pascataquack men had chosen him their Governor before the letter came to them."[1] He had probably been aided in supplanting Burdet by some Antinomian allies whom he had brought with him. Relieved from public station, and, moreover, being detected in some debaucheries, Burdet before long withdrew to Agamenticus.

October.

With Underhill, or more probably a little sooner, Hansard Knollys came to Cochecho. He had in England been a minister of the Established Church; but, falling under censure for adopting Puritan principles, he determined to seek his fortune in America.[2] After a few weeks passed in Boston,[3] he accepted an invitation to go to Cochecho. Burdet forbade him to preach there; but on Burdet's departure, very soon after, "the people called Mr. Knollys, and in a short time he gathered some of

September.

diligence to fortify themselves." "The day before the writing hereof, I was credibly informed that Massachusetts Magistrates have from England received copies of my first two letters to your Grace, which, themselves say, Mr. Vane procured from your Grace's chaplain. If this was without your Grace's consent, it will much concern your Grace; if with it, which I cannot believe, it will behoove me to consider of it."

About the same time, (December 13, 1638,) Winthrop records (I. 281): "They [Burdet and Underhill] wrote presently into England against us, discovering what they knew of our combination to resist any authority that should come out of England against us." And again (May 6, 1639): "One of Pascataquack, having opportunity to go into Mr. Burdet his study, and finding there the copy of his letter to the Archbishops, sent it to the Governor, which was to this effect: that he did delay to go into England, because he would fully inform himself of the state of the people here in regard to allegiance; and that it was not discipline that was now so much aimed at, as sovereignty; and that it was accounted perjury and treason in our General Courts to speak of appeals to the king." (Ibid., 298.)

[1] Ibid., 277.

[2] Brook, Lives of the Puritans, III. 491, 492.

[3] "I, being very poor, was necessitated to work daily with my hoe, for the space of almost three weeks. The Magistrates were told by the ministers that I was an Antinomian, and desired they would not suffer me to abide in their patent. But within the time limited by their law in that case [see above, p. 482], two strangers coming to Boston from Piscataqua, hearing of me by mere accident, got me to go with them to that plantation and preach there." (Knollys, Account of his Own Life, as quoted by Backus, in his History of New England, &c., I. 102.)

the best-minded into a church body, and became their pastor."[1] In the competition between Churchmen and Antinomians in that remote settlement, the latter party for the present had its way.

There might have been a question, from which of the two Massachusetts was likely to experience most hostility.

1639. July. Before a year had passed, "there was sent to the Governor," says Winthrop, "the copy of a letter written into England by Mr. Hansard Knolles of Pascataquack, wherein he had most falsely slandered this government, as that it was worse than the High Commission, &c., and that here was nothing but oppression, &c., and not so much as a face of religion. The Governor acquainted one of Pascataquack, Mr. Knolles's special friend, with it. Whereupon Mr. Knolles became very much perplexed, and wrote to the Governor, acknowledging the wrong he had done us, and desired that his retractation might be published."[2] Afterwards, having "desired a safe-conduct,

1640. Feb. 20. ..... he came, and upon a lecture-day at Boston (most of the Magistrates and elders in the Bay being there assembled) he made a very free and full confession of his offence, with much aggravation against himself, so as that the assembly were well satisfied."[3]

Meantime, Underhill was not less busy. Presently after his accession to the government of the plantation at Dover (as at that time it began to be called),[4] he "wrote a letter to a young gentleman who sojourned in the house" of Winthrop, "wherein he reviled the Governor with reproachful terms and imprecations of vengeance upon them all."[5] This communication, and at the same time a second charge of dissolute conduct, having been laid before the church in Boston (of which he was still a member), they sent to him to come to that place and clear himself. He would have disregarded the summons; but, finding that his

1 Winthrop, I. 326.
2 Ibid., 306, 307.
3 Ibid., 326.
4 Ibid., 392.
5 Ibid., 291.

friends were not prepared to stand by him, his "courage was abated";[1] he "wrote divers letters to the Governor and Deputy, &c., bewailing his offences and craving pardon";[2] and at length, coming before the Boston church, he acknowledged himself to be guilty of adultery and other miscarriages. He had hoped that his abject expressions of penitence would avert the threatened penalty; but the church, believing his confession, and distrusting his remorse, "presently cast him out," and he returned to Dover, humiliated and incensed.[3] 1640. March 5.

[1] Winthrop, I. 292. [2] Ibid., 306. [3] Ibid., 326.

CHAPTER XIII.

The settlements north of Massachusetts, which last engaged our attention, were more or less connected with the Antinomian dispersion. The principal of those which had been made further towards the east belonged as yet to Churchmen. David Thompson, who, under the auspices of John Mason, attempted a plantation at the mouth of the Piscataqua, soon became discouraged, and removed to an island in Boston harbor.[1] A new patent having been solicited from the Council for New England[2] by Gorges, Mason, and others, the enterprise was resumed, and a party of some fifty men was sent out to be employed in fishing, trade, salt-making, and farming, under the superintendence of Captain Walter Neal.[3] He returned to England after about three years, and, the other partners having withdrawn themselves, the settlement fell into the hands of Mason, who reinforced it with a new supply of men and means, and gave it in charge to Francis Williams. Notwithstanding the judicious management of this agent, the undertaking still continued to be unprosperous. Mason made too free an outlay for stores, tools, arms, ammunition, and live stock, of the last of which he imported costly specimens from Denmark. His death put a sudden end to the measures on foot for retrieving his affairs in the plantation.

1623. Plantation at the mouth of the Piscataqua.

1630.

1633. August.

1634.

1636.

[1] See above, pp. 205, 233.

[2] The patent was the one dated November 3, 1631. See above, p. 398, note. Hubbard (215, 216) has preserved what he understood to be a copy of it.

[3] See Letters of Ambrose Gibbons and others, in Farmer's edition of Belknap's New Hampshire, I. 422–432.

By his will, his two grandsons, John and Robert Tufton, inherited his American property, which he estimated at ten thousand pounds sterling. In the hands of Francis Norton, sent over by his widow and executrix as her attorney, it ran down. Supplies ceased on the one hand, and remittances on the other. Some settlers went away, and those who remained ceased to pay rent for the houses and lands they occupied, which at last they came to look upon as their own. From the disorder into which the plantation fell, it recovered only through some voluntary combination of the inhabitants, the tenor and date of which are alike unknown, no records of the time having been preserved. The fact of the combination is known from a reference to it in an arrangement, subsequently made at an unpropitious moment, for the maintenance of a clergyman of the Church of England.[1]

1638.

1640. May 25.

The country east of the Piscataqua was still almost without English inhabitants. After the capture of the factories on the Penobscot and at Machias by the French,[2] there was probably no English post eastward of the Plymouth trading-house on the Kennebec, except that at Pemaquid,[3] an offshoot from the fishing-station which had been established on the island of Monhegan within six or seven years after Smith's exploration.[4] Perhaps, however, some fishermen may have collected on Muscongus Bay,[5] where land had been granted by the Council for New England to Thomas Leverett of the English Boston, associated with the four

Slow progress of settlement further east.

[1] Francis Williams, Ambrose Gibbons, and eighteen others, "inhabitants of the lower end of Pascataquack," made an appropriation of land for a glebe, and money for building a church and parsonage, to Thomas Walford and Henry Sherburne, churchwardens, and their successors. Walford was apparently the smith who had been found at Mishawum by Winthrop's company, and been speedily expelled for "contempt of authority and confronting officers." (See above, p. 327.) Perhaps the episcopal zeal which ultimately led to his promotion on the Piscataqua was too demonstrative at the earlier period.

[2] See above, pp. 337, 338.

[3] Winthrop, I. 61, 79.

[4] See above, p. 205.

[5] Williamson, I. 267.

London merchants whose partnership had occasioned so much trouble to the New-Plymouth contractors.[1] In settling the country between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua, which was claimed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, scarcely greater progress had been made. William Gorges,
1635. Sir Ferdinando's nephew, had attempted to revive the settlement at Agamenticus, but he had probably remained there less than two years.[2] After his departure, the Massachusetts Magistrates "received a com-
1637. June. mission from Sir Ferdinando Gorges to govern his province of New Somersetshire, which is from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahoc, and withal to oversee his servants and private affairs; which was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence," for other reasons as well as "that it did not appear what authority he had to grant such a commission."[3] Josselyn,
1638. July. who, on his first visit to America, sailed along the coast from Boston to within less than thirty miles of the Kennebec, has recorded, that the country was "no other than a mere wilderness, here and there by the sea-side a few scattered plantations, with as few houses."[4] The little settlements which had been made ten or fifteen years before[5] had acquired no importance, and possessed no orderly organization.

The hope by which Gorges had long been allured, of being at the head of an energetic and magnificent government, was doomed to be signally frustrated. As affairs now stood at home, he could indulge small expectation of immediately realizing his scheme to be made General Governor of New England. But his ambition contracted itself slowly, and its next aim was to establish a miniature sovereignty on his private estate. To this end, he obtained from the king a charter, constituting him Lord

[1] See above, pp. 334, 397, note.
[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Chap. XXV.; see above, p. 205.
[3] Winthrop, I. 231; see above, p. 402.
[4] Account of Two Voyages, &c., 20.
[5] See above, p. 205.

Proprietary of the Province of Maine,[1] with extraordinary powers of legislation and government, transmissible, with the property, to his heirs and assigns. The boundaries were the ocean, the Piscataqua and Kennebec rivers, and a line drawn from one river to the other at a hundred and twenty miles' distance from their mouths. The Proprietary was made ruler in church and state, except so far as his prerogative was limited by the essential rights of the crown. He had the patronage of churches, which were to be instituted agreeably to the hierarchical model. In concurrence with representatives of the freeholders, he might establish laws, with penalties extending to liberty, property, and life. By his sole authority, he could erect courts with civil, ecclesiastical, and admiralty jurisdiction; appoint and remove judicial, military, and ministerial officers; prescribe the forms of litigation; and hear appeals. He could make war, and raise, organize, train, and command troops; erect manors and municipal corporations; regulate markets and tolls; designate ports of entry, and exact duties on merchandise. No one could reside or trade within his province, except by his consent; and all freeholders and tenants were to hold of him and his heirs and assigns, as feudal lords of the soil.

1639. April 3. Province of Maine.

Here was a monarchy, near enough — had it been substantial enough — to blight with its unwholesome shadow the bourgeoning democracy of Massachusetts Bay. What

[1] The instrument is in Hazard, I. 442–455. It calls the territory granted "the Province or County of Maine." It was the same as that assigned to Gorges at the surrender of the charter of the Plymouth Council in 1635 (see above, pp. 400, 401), and then named *New Somersetshire*, from Gorges's English home. This eastern country had been commonly called the *Mayne* [main] land, in distinction from the numerous islands on its coast, (Smith, Generall Historie, 19; Hazard, I. 385); and thus perhaps it was that Gorges's province obtained its name. I know of nothing to confirm the statement of Sullivan (History, &c., 307), — though it is adopted by Holmes (Annals I. 254, note 5), — that "the territory was called the *Province of Mayne* by way of a compliment to the Queen of Charles the First, who . . . . . owned, as her private estate, a province then called the *Province of Meyne*."

was wanting to the completeness of its dignity was a sufficiency of subjects; and these were not to be had. Even if, under sufficiently favorable circumstances, the system of polity set up might have proved attractive to the sort of men who are disposed to seek their fortunes in distant wilds, the experiment was now to be made at just the time when cavaliers and their followers were wanted for different business at home. Gorges flattered himself with being "seized of what he had travailed for above forty years, together with the expenses of many thousand pounds, loaded with troubles and vexations from all parts." [1] But he was too late, though he lost no time in the institution of his government. By an instrument twice executed, — the second time in an amended form, — he appointed his son Thomas Gorges to be Deputy-Governor of his domain, with six persons, residents on the spot, for Counsellors. He accompanied their commission with detailed instructions respecting their official duty. The Counsellors, who were severally to fill the offices of Secretary, Chancellor, Field-Marshal, Treasurer, Admiral, and Master of Ordnance, were jointly to constitute a Supreme Court of Judicature, to meet every month, and to be served by a Registrar and a Provost-Marshal. The Province was to be divided into counties or bailiwicks, hundreds, and tithings. To form a Legislature, eight Deputies, "to be elected by the freeholders of the several counties," were to be associated with the Counsellors. Each county was to have its court, consisting of a lieutenant and eight justices, to be appointed by the Council.[2]

Sept. 2. 1640. March 10.

The first step towards putting this machinery in opera-

[1] Briefe Narration, Book III. Chap. III. — He had been recently put to unpleasant straits. June 27, 1638, he was ordered to pay two hundred and fifty-four pounds to John Mitchell, minister, and others, "poor people," — arrears due from him on account of his adventures to Laconia, "he having hitherto paid only five pounds." (Journal of the Privy Council.) — Similar proceedings against him were had, February 22, March 20, and October 30, 1639.

[2] Gorges, Briefe Narration, Book II. Chap. III., IV.

tion was made at a court held by four of the Counsellors. They took the oaths of office and of allegiance to the Lord Proprietary, appointed subordinate officers, and disposed of some causes, criminal and civil. The Deputy-Governor, arriving soon after, found the official residence at Agamenticus scarcely sufficient to give him shelter, and "nothing of the household stuff remaining but an old pot, a pair of tongs, and a couple of cob-irons."[1] George Burdet, formerly the mischief-maker at Dover,[2] now a person of consequence in the capital of Maine, was arrested by Gorges under a charge of adultery and other offences. The demagogue, convicted and fined, set sail for England with threats of vengeance, which, on his arrival there, he saw the futility of attempting to execute.

June 25.

September.

The Province was divided into two counties, of one of which Agamenticus [now York] was the principal settlement; of the other, Saco. The annual General Courts were appointed to be held at the latter place, while the former was distinguished both by being the residence of the Deputy-Governor, and by the dignity of incorporation as a borough, under the hand of the Lord Proprietary himself. The greatness of Agamenticus made it arrogant; and it sent a deputation of aldermen and burgesses to the General Court at Saco, to save its metropolitan rights by a solemn protest. The Proprietary was its friend, and before long exalted it still more by a city charter,[3] authorizing it and its suburbs, constituting a territory of twenty-one square miles, to be governed, under the name of *Gorgeana*, by a Mayor, twelve Aldermen, a Common Council of twenty-four members, and a Recorder, all to be annually chosen by the citizens. Probably as many as two thirds

Agamenticus and Saco.

1641. April 10.

June 25.

1642. March 1.

[1] Williamson, I. 283.

[2] See above, p. 517.

[3] The charters are in Hazard, I. 470, 480. — When Gorges made Agamenticus a city (Ibid., 481), he of course meant it to be the seat of a bishop, for the word *city* has no other meaning in English law.

of the adult males were in places of authority. The forms of proceeding in the Recorder's Court were to be copied from those of the British Chancery. This grave foolery was acted more than ten years.

We pass to the opposite extremity of New England, where, simultaneously with the settlement at Aquetnet, another community was erected, of a different character from any of those which have been mentioned in this or the last chapter. Theophilus Eaton has already been named as a member and Assistant of the Massachusetts Company.[1] The son of a clergyman at Stony Stratford in Buckinghamshire, he had risen to opulence in London, and had attracted the notice of the government, by which he was sent in a diplomatic capacity to Denmark. He was a parishioner of John Davenport, minister of St. Stephen's Church, in Coleman Street, London. Davenport, son of a Mayor of Coventry, in Warwickshire, was an Oxford graduate, and a clergyman of so much eminence as to have attracted the special notice of Laud, who mentions him in a letter to the king. Driven by the proceedings of that prelate to resign his cure, he was for some time preacher to an English congregation at Amsterdam. By John Cotton, with whom he had kept up a correspondence, he was induced to turn his thoughts towards America; and at Davenport's instance — at all events, in his company — Eaton came to New England, arriving there, with a number of friends, "in two ships," at the height of the troubles of the Antinomian controversy and the Pequot war.

Theophilus Eaton.

John Davenport.

1634. Jan. 2.

1637. June 26.

The habits of thought of this fraternity led them to carry out to its last results the idea which had fascinated so many thinking persons at that period, of finding in Scripture a special rule for everything of the nature of civil as well as of ecclesiastical order and administration;

[1] See above, p. 303; comp. 484, note 2.

and, for the experiment, they desired a more unoccupied field than was to be found at that late hour in Massachusetts.[1] Having taken some months for inquiry and deliberation, they in early spring set forth by water to Quinnipiack, — an inviting site, on a commodious harbor of Long-Island Sound, thirty miles west of the mouth of Connecticut River. The company included two ministers besides Davenport, namely, Samuel Eaton and Peter Prudden.

Emigration to Quinnipiack. 1638. March 30.

Their voyage occupied a fortnight. Under the shelter of an oak, they kept their first Sabbath, listening to a sermon from Davenport on the leading up of Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted. A few days later, "after fasting and prayer," they formed their political association by what they called a "plantation covenant," "to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered." In this compact they resolved, "that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature," they would "be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures hold

April 15

Plantation covenant.

[1] In their letter, however, to the Magistrates (Winthrop, I. 484), who had strongly urged them to remain in the neighborhood of Boston, they put their decision on the ground of want of satisfactory accommodation there. Winthrop says (Ibid., 259) that an opinion of "more safety from danger of a General Governor, who was feared to be sent this summer," had its influence in swelling the number of the party. Winthrop, however, hoped that the dispersion would be useful "for diverting the thoughts and intentions of such in England as intended evil against us, whose designs might be frustrated by our scattering so far; and such as were now gone that way were as much in the eye of the state of England as we here." (Ibid., 260.) Eaton had been to view Quinnipiack, with others, the second month after his arrival (Ibid., 237), and appears to have left a small party to winter, perhaps for a trial of the climate. Stoughton had become acquainted with Quinnipiack in the Pequot campaign (Letter of Stoughton, in Winthrop, I. 478, comp. Mass. Hist. Coll., XXVI. 13), and his favorable representations to the Governor probably directed the attention of Eaton's party to the place.

forth."[1] It had no external sanction, and comprehended no acknowledgment of the government of England. The company consisted mostly of Londoners, who at home had been engaged in trade. In proportion to their number, they were the richest of all the plantations. Like the settlers on Narragansett Bay, they had no other title

Nov 24. Dec. 11. to their lands than that which they obtained by purchase from the Indians.[2]

With a wiser judgment of the safe way of proceeding in such affairs than Gorges exercised when he planned a government beforehand for his province, or Locke when he made a constitution for those who might people South Carolina, the settlers at Quinnipiack gave themselves a year to learn from experience the arrangements suitable to a social organization for persons so circumstanced. They were "cast into several private meetings, wherein they that dwelt nearest together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together and conferred to their mutual edification."[3] By this intercourse they matured a unity of sentiment, and became prepared for the selection of those whom they were to intrust with office.

In early summer, "all the free planters" met in a barn, "to consult about settling civil government according to

1639. June 4. God." Mr. Davenport prayed, and preached from the text, "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars."[4] He proved in his

[1] New Haven Col. Rec., 12.

[2] Trumbull supposed otherwise. He says (History, Chap. VII.): "The colonists, both in Connecticut and New Haven, were the patentees of Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and the other gentlemen interested in the old Connecticut patent." But I presume he was in this instance, as he very rarely was, in error. I can find nothing to authorize his statement. "New Haven's Case Stated" (which see in N. H. Coll. Rec., II. 517; comp. Bacon, Hist. Discourses, 359) was written in 1664, when the Colony was endeavoring to avoid a union with Connecticut. It contains a full recital of the early transactions. It declares the soil to have been "purchased of the Indians, the true proprietors thereof," and is entirely silent as to any grant from English patentees.

[3] N. H. Col. Rec., 15.

[4] Prov. ix. 1.

discourse the fitness of designating seven competent men to construct the government which was contemplated. After a solemn exhortation to his hearers to act deliberately and conscientiously on the great matters before them, he proposed four fundamental articles for their adoption. They were as follows: —

Organization of a government.

1. That "the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to God and men, as well in the government of families and commonwealths as in matters of the church."

2. "That, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing of laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by those rules which the Scripture holds forth."

3. That they were "settled in the plantation with a purpose, resolution, and desire, that they might be admitted into church fellowship according to Christ, as soon as God should fit them thereunto."

4. That "they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinances to themselves and their posterity according to God."

These articles having been discussed, and accepted by unanimous votes, Mr. Davenport proposed, and the company adopted, two others, designed to reduce the theory to practice. They were, —

5. "That church members only should be free burgesses, and that they only should choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have the power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the Plantation, of making and repealing laws, dividing of inheritances, deciding of differences that might arise, and doing all things or businesses of like nature."

6. "That twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work might be tried. However, there might be more named; yet it might be in their power, who were chosen, to reduce them to twelve, and it should be in the power of those twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that should be most approved of the major part, to begin the church."

These articles — free, like the "plantation covenant" of the previous year, from all acknowledgment of allegiance or subjection to the parent country — were on the day of their adoption subscribed by sixty-three persons, and soon after by about fifty more.

The fifth article, establishing the same condition of franchise as that in force in Massachusetts, may be presumed to have been recommended by the same reasons as had there prevailed. After its adoption, "one man" (probably the minister, Samuel Eaton, brother of Theophilus Eaton) "stood up, and expressed his dissenting from the rest in part"; but he did not press his objections.[1] The twelve men chosen under the last article, after due time for reflection, elected the "seven pillars,"

1639. Aug. 22. and, after another pause, the "pillars" proceeded to their office of constituting the body of church members. Next, at a meeting held by them as a "court," all former trusts were pronounced vacated and null; their

Oct. 25. associates in the church, nine in number, were recognized as freemen; and Eaton, elected by the sixteen as "Magistrate" for a year, and four other persons chosen with him to be "Deputies," were addressed by Mr. Davenport in what was called a *charge*.[2] A "public

[1] N. H. Col. Rec., 11–18. — In 1673 was published at Cambridge "A Discourse about Civil Government in a new Plantation whose Design is Religion." The title-page attributes it to John Cotton. But Dr. Bacon (Thirteen Historical Discourses, &c., 289–292) offers strong reasons for believing that Davenport was its writer, and that it was composed by him while the question of the New Haven constitution was pending, with a view to satisfy his doubting colleague, Samuel Eaton.

[2] It was grounded upon Deut. i. 16, 17. (N. H. Col. Rec., 21).

notary," or Secretary, was also appointed, and a "marshall," or Sheriff. The "Freeman's Charge," which stood in the place of an oath, pledged no allegiance to the king, nor to any other authority than "the civil government here established."[1] The little state of Quinnipiack was as yet independent of all the world.

It was resolved that there should be an annual General Court, or meeting of the whole body, in the month of October; and "that the word of God should be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government."[2] By the authority thus constituted, orders were immediately made for the building of a meeting-house, for the distribution of house-lots and pasturage, for precautions against attacks from the savages, and for regulation of the prices of commodities and of labor. And the general course of administration proceeded thenceforward in the same manner as in the earlier well-organized plantations. Like the people of the other settlements, the planters of Quinnipiack claimed the right to choose their company, and at an early moment they passed an order "that none should come to dwell as planters without their consent and allowance, whether they came in by purchase or otherwise."[3] In its second year, they gave their town the name of *New Haven*.[4]

Nov. 25.

1640. Sept. 1.

Distress from want of food was never felt within the limits of the colony of which the foundation had here been laid. Nor did it ever have a war with the natives. It studied to treat them with equity and indulgence. At the same time, it took care to make them understand its vigilance and its power. A straggler of the Pequot tribe, named Nepaupuck, convicted on full evidence of having killed an Englishman at Wethersfield, and of having taken part in the murder of three others in a boat on Connecticut River, confessed the

1639. Oct. 29.

[1] N. H. Col. Rec., 19.
[2] Ibid., 20, 21.
[3] Ibid., 25.
[4] Ibid., 40.

crime; and "his head was cut off the next day, and pitched upon a pole in the market-place."[1]

The Englishmen at Quinnipiack had not fully arranged their own social system before they began to swarm; and others, of similar sentiments and objects, came presently to seek homes in their neighborhood. Among the newcomers were the Reverend Henry Whitefield; William Leet, destined to act a distinguished part in the colony; and Samuel Desborough, brother of Cromwell's general of that name. A company of two hundred persons, some of them from Quinnipiack, some from Wethersfield, were led by the Reverend Mr. Prudden to a harbor on Long Island Sound, near the mouth of the Housatonic, which they bought of the Indians, and, after a year's occupation, called by the name of *Milford*. Another party, fresh from England, under the conduct of Mr. Whitefield, went somewhat further in the opposite direction, and established themselves, also on the shore of Long Island Sound, at a place named by them *Guilford*, after the English town from which several of them had come. Leet, then a young man, and Desborough, were of this company.

Settlement of Milford. 1639. Aug. 22.

Settlement of Guilford. Sept. 29.

The founders both of Milford and Guilford, taking for their model the proceedings at the recent settlement, erected their church and state on a foundation of "seven pillars." The original magistrates of Guilford were Robert Kitchel, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and William Leete. At Milford, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, Zechariah Whitman, John Astwood, and Richard Miles, were elected to be "judges in all civil affairs, to try all causes between man and man, and as a court to punish any offence and misdemeanor." They were to hold office till the next annual court in October,[2] and

Nov. 20.

[1] N. H. Col. Rec., 22–24.

[2] Lambert, History of the Colony of New Haven, 92.

were probably re-elected from year to year, except Miles, who soon removed to New Haven. Departing from the method of organization which had been pursued in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the settlement at New Haven, and those which had made it their model, continued, for the present, independent of each other.[1] They preferred what, in Greek history, has been called the system of *autonomy*. Perhaps the incentive to this scheme was an idea of extending to civil institutions the *Separatist* theory of an absolute independence of churches.

When the Pequot war had been concluded, the most urgent business demanding the attention of the General Court of the towns on Connecticut River was to defray its expenses (for which purpose a special tax of six hundred and twenty pounds was levied);[2] to make arrangements for future security, including measures for protecting the Indians against everything that might be reasonable ground of offence; and to purchase from them supplies of food till the new fields should become productive.[3] These first cares disposed of, the planters of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield met, to constitute a "public state or commonwealth" by voluntary combination, and to settle its frame of government. Their object they declared to be, "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus which they professed, as also the discipline of the churches, which according to the truth of the said Gospel was now practised among them; as also, in their civil affairs, to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as should be made, ordered, and decreed."[4]

1638. Feb. 9.

1639. Jan. 14.

Frame of government in Connecticut.

The instrument framed by them has been called "the

[1] "Every plantation intended a peculiar government." (Winthrop, I. 306.)

[2] Conn. Col. Rec., 12.

[3] Ibid., 11–20.

[4] Ibid., 21.

first example in history of a written constitution, — a distinct organic law, constituting a government, and defining its powers."[1] Containing no recognition whatever of any external authority on either side of the ocean, it provided, that all persons should be freemen who should be admitted as such by the freemen of the towns, and take an oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; — that there should be two general meetings of the freemen in a year, at one of which, to be holden in April, should be elected by ballot a Governor (who must be a member of some church), and as many Magistrates (not, however, fewer than six), and other public officers, as should "be found requisite"; — that at the same times there should be meetings of Deputies, four to be sent from each of the existing towns, and as many as the General Court should determine from towns subsequently constituted; — and that the General Court, consisting of the Governor and at least four Magistrates and a majority of the Deputies, should have power to make laws for the whole jurisdiction, "to grant levies, to admit freemen, dispose of lands undisposed of to several towns or persons, to call either court or Magistrate or any other person whatsoever into question for any misdemeanor," and to "deal in any other matter that concerned the good of the commonwealth, except election of Magistrates," which was to "be done by the whole body of freemen." The Governor was not re-eligible till a year after the expiration of his term of office. In the absence of special laws, "the rule of the word of God" was to be followed.[2] Neither the oaths of

[1] Bacon, Early Constitutional History of Connecticut, 5, 6.

[2] Conn. Col. Rec., 20 – 25. The instrument, drawn with great care and knowledge, seems to bear marks of the statesmanlike mind of Haynes, and the lawyerlike mind of Ludlow. I am indebted to my learned friend, Mr. J. H. Trumbull, editor of the "Records of the Colony of Connecticut," for an abstract of a sermon deciphered by him from a manuscript in short-hand, preserved in the Library of the Hartford Historical Society. This sermon, preached by Mr. Hooker to the General Court in May, 1638, may probably have been intended to prepare the people for the great step which was soon after taken. Its

officers nor of freemen promised any allegiance except to "the jurisdiction."[1] The whole constitution was that of an independent state. It continued in force, with very little alteration, a hundred and eighty years, securing, throughout that period, a degree of social order and happiness such as is rarely the fruit of civil institutions.

At the first election, Haynes, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, was chosen Governor. Roger Ludlow, of Windsor, formerly Deputy-Governor of Massachusetts, and Edward Hopkins, formerly an opulent merchant of London,[2] were two of the six Magistrates, Ludlow having precedence as Deputy-Governor. William Phelps, another Magistrate, had, as well as Ludlow, been one of the Commissioners of Massachusetts for the management of the Connecticut towns in the year of their settlement.

Election of magistrates. April 11.

The government having been thus organized, the administration proceeded in substantially the same manner as in the earlier governments of Massachusetts and Plymouth, except that in Connecticut the Court of Magistrates confined itself more to judicial business. In the first year a general law was passed, of an elaborate character, for the incorporation of *towns*, on the model of those in Massachusetts, each with a government, for municipal affairs, of "three, five, or seven of their chief inhabitants," chosen annually by themselves. A public registry was established in each town for conveyances of real estate, with the provision,

Early legislation.

Oct. 10.

doctrines (drawn from Deut. i. 13) are the following: — "1. The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance. 2. The privilege of election which belongs to the people must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God. 3. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them."

[1] Conn. Col. Rec., 25, 26, 54.

[2] He was the husband of Theophilus Eaton's stepdaughter (Kingsley, Historical Discourse, &c., 76), and had come to Boston in 1637, in the same vessel with Eaton (see above, p. 528) and Lord Leigh (see above, p. 482).

that "all bargains or mortgages of land whatsoever should be accounted of no value until they were recorded." "For the better keeping in mind of those passages of God's Providence which had been remarkable since the first undertaking these plantations," six principal men were "desired to take the pains severally in their respective towns, and then jointly together, to gather up the same," to be recorded; and their office was made permanent "for future times," with provisions for such superintendence as might prevent errors from finding their way into history. But the plan does not appear to have been carried out.[1] At the second election under the constitution, Edward Hopkins was chosen Governor, and John Haynes Deputy-Governor. Ludlow was made a Magistrate, and the four other Magistrates of the last year were rechosen.

Connecticut had in the course of the year interposed itself, by two new plantations, between New Haven and the Dutch. Mr. Ludlow, with eight or ten families from Windsor, began a settlement at an inviting spot called by the Indians *Uncoa*, and by the English *Fairfield*, at the head of a small inlet from Long Island Sound. They were joined by a party from Watertown in Massachusetts, and before long by another from Concord; and after some questions, in which Mr. Ludlow did not escape censure, their Deputies were admitted to the General Court of Connecticut.[2] East of Fairfield, between it and the Housatonic, and near the mouth of that river, a number of persons — several recently arrived from England, several from Boston and other parts of Massachusetts, and a few from the Connecticut towns — collected on an expanse of meadow-land, known then by the names of *Cupheage* and *Pequannock*, and since by that of *Stratford*. The General Court recognized them by setting out their bounds and providing for the administration of justice within

Fairfield.

1640. June 11.

Stratford. June 15.

[1] Conn. Col. Rec., 35–40.

[2] Ibid., 36.

them.[1] They had bought their lands of the Indians, and pretended no other title.[2]

The post at the mouth of the Connecticut, which Gardiner had commanded in the Pequot war, had as yet, and for four or five years longer, no political connection with the upper towns. It was nothing but a fort, occupied by some twenty men, and surrounded by a few buildings and a little cultivated land, till George Fenwick, "and his lady and family, arrived to make a plantation."[3] Fenwick, "a worthy, pious gentleman, and of a good family and estate,"[4] had been a barrister of Gray's Inn.[5] His wife was a daughter of Sir Edward Apsley.[6] He was interested in the Connecticut patent, and to explore its territory had made a short visit to this country three years before.[7] He now came as agent for the patentees, and, fixing on the site at the river's mouth as his residence, gave it the name of *Saybrook*, in honor of the two noblemen who were the most distinguished members of the company which he represented.

George Fenwick at Saybrook. 1639. July.

The reader has seen how the spirit of commercial enterprise, which in later times has so distinguished the inhabitants of Plymouth Colony, was early manifested in the establishment of distant trading-houses on the Penobscot and Kennebec to the northeast, and on the Connecticut to the southwest.[8] In both directions the adventures were attended with little profit and with no little annoyance. The seizure and robbery of

Plymouth factories.

1 Conn. Col. Rec., 53.

2 Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Goodwin purchased from the Indians all the land between Milford and Hudson's River, John Higginson, of Hartford, acting as their interpreter. (Records of Stratford, as quoted by Goodwin, Genealogical Notes, &c., 2, note.)

3 Winthrop, I. 306.

4 Hutchinson, I. 97.

5 Winthrop, I. 469.

6 This lady was, I suppose, of the family of the wife of Colonel Hutchinson. (See above, p. 280, note 1.) Fenwick's second wife, espoused after his return to England, was a daughter of Sir Arthur Hazelrigg.

7 Winthrop, I. 470.

8 See above, pp. 230, 337, 340.

the Penobscot factory by a party of French, soon after its establishment, has already been related.[1] An attempt at a re-establishment of it proved no more prosperous. On the strength of the cession to the French, by the treaty of St. Germains, of the territory of New France captured by the English three years before, Rasilli, the French commander at Cape Breton, claimed for his master the country as far to the southwest as Pemaquid.[2] Charles de Menou d'Aulnay and Charles Étienne de la Tour were his subordinates in its government. The former was in charge of the division west of the St. Croix. He came by sea to the Plymouth house on the Penobscot, helped himself to the goods there deposited, with a promise of future payment at his own valuation, warned off the Plymouth traders as trespassers,[3] and occupied their house for his own residence. The intelligence of this proceeding naturally occasioned great exasperation at Plymouth. The Magistrates in vain solicited the government of Massachusetts for aid to recapture the post; the Bay exchequer was too empty. The most they could obtain was permission to engage at their own cost one Girling, master of a ship then lying at Boston, to undertake the conquest. The enterprise miscarried through his incompetency, which he refused to have supplied by the superior courage and conduct of Standish, who had been sent along with him. It had cost too much to be renewed, and the Penobscot remained in unfriendly hands.[4]

1632. March 29.

1635. August.

Unsuccessful expedition against the French.

In respect to the wrong which the Plymouth people conceived themselves to have suffered from the English planters on the Connecticut, their generosity did not limit itself to mere forbearance from retaliation.[5] Three

[1] See above, p. 337.
[2] See above, p. 205.
[3] Bradford, 332. Winthrop, I. 166.
[4] Bradford, 333, 336; Winthrop, I. 168, 169.
[5] See above, p. 452.

vessels, "going to Connecticut with goods from the Massachusetts of such as removed thither to plant," having been cast away near Plymouth, "the Governor caused the goods to be gathered up, and drawn together, and appointed some to take an inventory of them, and others to wash and dry such things as had need thereof, by which means most of the goods were saved and returned to their owners."[1] Their Dutch rivals in that quarter they had before treated with no less humanity. A party of these "went up at the beginning of winter to live with the Indians, to get their trade, and prevent them from bringing it to the English, or to fall into amity with them." The small-pox broke out and made great ravages among the natives. The Dutchmen, "almost starved before they could get away, for ice and snow, got with much difficulty to the Plymouth trading-house, whom they kindly relieved, being almost spent with hunger and cold."[2] Nor were the suffering Indians neglected. "Those of the English house, though at first they were afraid of the infection, yet, seeing their woful and sad condition, and hearing their pitiful cries and lamentations, they had compassion of them, and daily fetched them wood and water and made them fires, got them victuals whilst they lived, and buried them when they died."[3]

Generous conduct of the Plymouth people. 1636.

1634.

This was before the Pequot war. In another transaction with the Indians after that event, considerations of equity were enforced by reasons of prudence. Some natives brought three Englishmen to Rhode Island, charging them with having waylaid, robbed, and fatally wounded one of the Pokanoket tribe.

1638.

1 "Such crosses they [the Massachusetts interlopers] met with in their beginnings, which some imputed as a correction from God for their intrusion, to the wrong of others, into that place. But I dare not be bold with God's judgments in this kind." (Bradford, 348, 349.)

2 Ibid., 325.

3 Ibid., 326.

While they were detained as prisoners, Roger Williams, taking with him a physician, found the wounded man, who died after fully confirming the report. Williams wrote to consult the Governor of Massachusetts, who advised that the Plymouth people should assume jurisdiction of the matter, if they would, the prisoners being of that colony,[1] "but pressed by all means that justice might be done in it, or else the country must rise and see justice done, otherwise it would raise a war." They were accordingly sent to Plymouth, where, on their confession, they were convicted by a jury, and executed in the presence of several natives. "But it was a matter of much sadness to them here, and was the second execution which they had since they came."[2] The Governor of Plymouth felt some hesitation about proceeding, "especially for that he heard they intended to appeal into England." But Winthrop, on being consulted by him, cut that knot. "The Governor returned answer of encouragement to proceed notwithstanding, seeing no appeal did lie."[3]

Sept. 4.

The perplexities incident to the commercial connection with the English partners were still far from being unravelled. Among the objects of Winslow's mission to England, one has been already mentioned;[4] another was the defence of the charter rights of Massachusetts before the Privy Council; and another still, the final adjustment of the mercantile affairs of Plymouth.[5] One of his first measures after arriving incurred the disapprobation of the far-sighted Governor of Massachusetts. In a petition to the Lords Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, in which were set

Winslow in England. 1634.

[1] If Plymouth should refuse, Winthrop advised (I. 267) that the principal offender should be given up to the Indians, since "they at the Island" (Aquetnet) had not "any government established."

[2] Bradford, 362–365. — Letter of Williams in Mass. Hist. Col., XXI. 171–173.

[3] Winthrop, I. 268.

[4] See above, p. 339.

[5] He took with him to the partners a remittance of furs valued at four thousand pounds sterling. (Bradford, 323.)

forth the ambitious designs of the French and Dutch, he prayed the Commissioners, "on the behalf of the plantations in New England," to "either procure their peace with those foreign states, or else to give special warrant unto the English to fight and defend themselves against all foreign enemies";[1] — a step, says Winthrop, "undertaken by ill advice, for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that we should do nothing but by commission out of England."[2]

Winslow flattered himself prematurely that his business was prospering. At the time of his arrival the appointment of a General Governor was seriously meditated. When, in a hearing before the Council, he had successfully parried the charges made by Morton under the instigation of Gorges and Mason, the Archbishop, taking him to task for officiating in religious ministrations, and for marrying in his capacity of magistrate, browbeat the Commissioners into ordering his committal to the Fleet prison, where he lay four months.[3] When the business with Shirley, Beauchamp, and Andrews, the London partners, was resumed,[4] it was under some disadvantage from this delay. The Plymouth people believed that they had already made remittances of merchandise more than sufficient to discharge their obligations. But they had reposed a degree of confidence, such as in transactions between the most upright men does not tend to the highest ultimate satisfaction; barter accounts had gone on unstated from year to year; questions arose upon mutually conflicting claims of the English associates; and the complicated embarrassments became distressing to persons who could not consent to fall short of their engagements, but

1 Bradford, 328.

2 Winthrop, I. 172.

3 Bradford, 329, 330.

4 Hatherley, the fourth partner, (see above, p. 230, note 3,) was now in America, at his new plantation of Scituate. (Bradford, 301.) He came in 1632. In 1633 lands at Scituate were granted by the Court to him and his three associates. (Plym. Col. Rec., I. 13, 81.) — Scituate (at first spelled *Sa'uit*) was an Indian name.

who could not afford to go much beyond them.[1] Repeatedly, after seeming to themselves to have already done more than discharge their debt, they were moved by some new complaint to send to England all the later accumulations of their hard labor.

But, notwithstanding such discouragements, prosperity could not fail at last to come in the train of industry and intelligence such as were exercised at Plymouth. The large emigration to Massachusetts created a profitable market. "It pleased God, in these times, so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers years together." A cow was sold for twenty pounds, sometimes even as high as twenty-eight pounds; a goat for three or four pounds; and corn for six shillings a bushel; "by which means the ancient planters which had any stock began to grow in their estates, ... so as other trading began to be neglected." The commerce with the Indians on the Kennebec, which had been likely to be abandoned, was farmed by the colony to a new company, for the rent of a sixth part of the profits, "with the first fruits of which they built a house for a prison."[2] This was one sign of the permanency of the settlement, which hitherto had been matter of uncertainty. When the Dorchester planters came to the Connecticut, their Plymouth rivals complained of being deprived "of that which they had with charge and hazard provided, and intended to remove to, as soon as they could and were able."[3] Three years later, it was remarked of "a great and fearful earthquake" which was felt at Plymouth and the other settlements,

Prosperity of Plymouth.

1638.

1635.

1638. June 1.

[1] Bradford, 331, 344 – 348, 361, 362, 365 – 367.

[2] Ibid., 365; Plym. Col. Rec., I. 115.

[3] Bradford, 341. "It was well known," the Plymouth people said, "that they were upon a barren place, where they were by necessity cast; and neither they nor theirs could long continue upon the same." (Ibid.) See above, p. 452.

that "it fell out at the same time divers of the chief of this town were met together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removal from the place, as if the Lord would hereby show the signs of his displeasure in their shaking a pieces and removals one from another."[1]

One reason of their unsettled state was the continued ill-success of their endeavors to obtain a minister who should in some measure supply to them the place of their venerated Robinson. Smith was soon seen to be a man of mean abilities, and, after six or seven years' patient endurance of him by the colony, he "laid down his place of ministry, partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burden, and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of others."[2] To assist him, Winslow had brought over from England Mr. John Norton, who "was well liked of them, and much desired by them."[3] But he remained at Plymouth only through a winter, and then departed, to enter on a conspicuous career in Massachusetts. On Smith's retirement, "it pleased the Lord to send them," in Mr. Rayner, "an able and a godly man, and of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth, and every way unreprovable in his life and conversation"; but not, it appears, of commanding abilities or character. Two years after Norton's departure, Mr. Charles Chauncy, "a reverend, godly, and very learned man," as he afterwards fully proved himself, was brought to Rayner's aid. He soon announced himself to be a believer in the doctrine of baptism by immersion. Indisposed to have any variance with him on that account, the congregation offered to respect his conscience, if he would but tolerate theirs, and to allow the rite to be performed by the two ministers in whichever way they and the subjects of it should prefer. "But he said he could not yield

Disappointments in church affairs.

1636.

1635.

1638.

[1] Bradford, 366. [2] Ibid., 351. [3] Ibid., 343.

thereunto"; and, after unsuccessful attempts at accommodation, he withdrew from his relation to the Plymouth church, at the end of nearly three years.[1]

For almost sixteen years from the beginning of the Old Colony, the scanty record which remains of the public administration exhibits it as principally occupied with police and military regulations, and rules and orders for the division of lands and the settlement of estates. In the sixteenth year, a committee was raised, consisting of four freemen of Plymouth, two of Scituate, and two of Duxbury, to aid the Governor and Assistants in *codifying* the laws, of which "divers were found worthy the reforming, others the rejecting, and others fit to be instituted and made."[2]

Course of civil administration.

1636. Oct 4.

Besides a system of general jurisprudence, such as suited the simple wants of the colony, their report included a revisal of the Constitution of government.[3] It provided that annual elections of a Governor, seven Assistants, a Treasurer, a Coroner, a Clerk, Constables, and other inferior officers, should be made by the freemen on the first Tuesday of March; and it defined the very narrow powers of those functionaries, reserving to the body of freemen the chief share both of legislation and of administration. The oaths prescribed to be taken by freemen and residents, as well as by officers, — unlike those in use in Massachusetts and in the western settlements, — comprehended an engagement of loyalty to the king; and the Courts were ordered to be held in his name. Laws and ordinances were to be made only by the freemen, who were cautioned to be just in laying taxes upon others.

Nov. 15.

The same policy, by which in Massachusetts the holders

[1] Winthrop, I. 330; Bradford, 351, 382, 383.

[2] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 43.

[3] It has been printed from the original at Plymouth by Mr. Brigham, in his "Compact, with the Charter and Laws, of the Colony of New Plymouth," 36 *et seq.* No vote of the General Court, adopting it, has been preserved, though the subsequent record, from time to time, of proceedings conformable to it, shows it to have gone into effect.

of the soil selected their associates, was adopted in a supplementary rule, "that no person or persons thereafter should be permitted to live and inhabit within the government of New Plymouth without the leave and liking of the Governor, or two of the Assistants, at least."[1] The frame of government was before long completed by the creation of a second class of legislators. On a "complaint that the freemen were put to many inconveniences and great expenses by their continual attendance at the Courts," it was "enacted by the Court, for the ease of the several colonies and towns within the government, that every town should make choice of two of their freemen, and the town of Plymouth of four, to be Committees or Deputies to join with the bench to enact and make all such laws and ordinances as should be judged to be good and wholesome for the whole." Laws might, however, be enacted or repealed by the whole body of freemen, convened in their Courts of Election. The Deputies — who were to be freemen — were to be paid by their towns; and tax-paying "masters of families," though not freemen, were to have a vote in their election. Deputies found to be "insufficient or troublesome" might be "dismissed" by their associates and the Assistants, in which case their town should "choose other freemen in their place."[2] At a General Court in the next year, Deputies appeared from seven towns, namely, Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Sandwich, Cohannet, Yarmouth, and Barnstable.[3] In the same year "Ussamequin [Massasoit] and Mooanam, his son, came into the Court in their own proper persons," and, at their request, "the ancient league and confederacy, formerly made," and now

1637. March 7.

1638.

1639. June 4.

Indian treaty. Sept. 25.

[1] Brigham, Compact, &c. 57. — Masters of vessels bringing passengers into any plantation without leave "either from the government or committees of the place," were further obliged to "keep them whilst they stayed, and recarry them and their goods to the place from whence they came." (Ibid., 62.)

[2] Ibid., 63.

[3] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 126.

enlarged by some further stipulations, was renewed, and ordered to "stand and remain inviolable."[1]

In Massachusetts, the thoughts of the freemen had not been engrossed by the pressing distractions of the troubled times through which they were passing. They still had attention to bestow on the wants of posterity; and no men better understood what were the necessary foundations for the permanent well-being of a commonwealth. The seventh year since the transportation of the charter had just begun, when "the Court agreed to give four hundred pounds towards a school or college, whereof two hundred pounds to be paid the next year, and two hundred pounds when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building."[2] That Massachusetts assembly, over which Henry Vane presided, has been said to be "the first body in which the people, by their representatives, ever gave their own money to found a place of education."[3] Their College preceded the next oldest in British America (the College of William and Mary in Virginia) by more than fifty years. Provision had hardly been made for the first wants of life, — habitations, food, clothing, and churches. Walls, roads, and bridges were yet to be built. The power of England stood in attitude to strike. A desperate war with the natives had already begun, and the government was threatened with an Antinomian insurrection. Through and beyond these dark complications of the present, the New-England founders looked to great necessities of future times, which could not be provided for too soon.[4]

Institution of a college.

1636. Oct. 28.

[1] Plym. Col. Rec., I. 133. See above, p. 178.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 183.

[3] Edward Everett, Speech at the Celebration in 1836, in Quincy's History of Harvard University, II. 654.

[4] "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the first things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our pres-

The appropriation was equivalent to the colony tax for a year. Regarded in that point of view, a million of dollars would at the present day inadequately represent it. Newtown was fixed upon for the site of the College,[1] and a committee of seven Magistrates and six ministers, men of the first distinction in their respective classes, were directed "to take order" for it.[2] The generous project engaged the sympathy of John Harvard, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, who, dying childless within a year after his arrival at Charlestown, bequeathed his library and "the one half of his estate, it being in all about seven hundred pounds,[3] for the erecting of the College." In just gratitude, the Court ordered it to be called by his name.[4] Newtown had just before received the name of Cambridge.[5]

1637. Nov. 15.

Nov. 29.

John Harvard.

1638. Sept. 14.

1639. March 13.

ent ministers should lie in the dust." (New England's First Fruits, 12.)

"The early establishment of your College," said the Marquis Wellesley to a Massachusetts man in India, "hastened the American Revolution half a century." (Knapp, Biographical Sketches, &c., 180.) The Governor-General did not know how far short this came of the truth. The College, for more than its first century, did not a little to preserve a British America to be revolutionized.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 208. — This was with a view, says Johnson, — but perhaps Johnson did not know, — to securing for the youth "the orthodox and soul-flourishing ministery of Mr. Thomas Shepheard." (Wonderworking Providence, 164.) The town of Shepard's ministry, "a place very pleasant and accommodate" (New England's First Fruits, 12), gave two acres and two thirds of land. The site, a level ground on a river's bank, resembles the sites of houses of religion and education in England, and was naturally recommended by that association.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 217.

[3] New England's First Fruits, in Mass. Hist. Coll., I. 242; comp. Winthrop, II. 87, note 2. The statement is ambiguous; and the amount of Harvard's bequest (that is, whether the whole or the half of his property amounted to "about seven hundred pounds") is not ascertained from other sources. The question is discussed by President Quincy, in his valuable History of the University (I. 460, &c.). The library, of two hundred and sixty volumes, consisting of classical and patristical works, as well as modern writings in theology and general literature, was, with the building containing it, all consumed by a fire in 1764, with the exception of a single volume. This book, so precious from its association with the founder, is John Downame's "Christian Warfare against the Devil," a folio volume published in London in 1634, three years before Harvard's emigration.

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 153.

[5] Ibid., 228; comp. 180.

When the Indian war was over, and the movers of sedition had been quelled, everything within Massachusetts began to wear the aspect of a new prosperity. The vigor of the rulers had in England inspired confidence, and no fewer than three thousand settlers came over in three months.[1] The government was indulgent as soon as it was safe; and the arms which had been taken from nearly a hundred excited persons were restored to as many of them as remained in the colony "carrying themselves peaceably." Probably it was the remembrance of the recent alarm that caused the government to hesitate, when "divers gentlemen and others, out of their care of the public weal and safety by the advancement of the military art and exercise of arms, desired license of

1638.

1639. Nov. 5.

[1] Winthrop, I. 268. Settlers came, not only from England, but from Virginia and the West Indies. "Those countries, for all their great wealth, have sent hither, both this year and formerly, for supply of clothes and other necessaries, and some families have forsaken both Providence, and other the Caribbee Islands and Virginia, to come and live here. . . . . Our people saw what meagre, unhealthful countenances they brought hither, and how fat and well-liking they became soon." (Ibid., 331.) — In 1640, Winthrop was annoyed "by divers letters and reports, that the Lord Say [with views altered by the new career now opened to him in England] did labor, by disparaging this country, to divert men from coming to us, and so to draw them to the West Indies"; and that to that end he, and his associates in the project of a plantation there, "finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governors than such as they should make choice of themselves, &c., condescended to articles somewhat suitable to our form of government, although they had formerly declared themselves much against it, and for a mere aristocracy, and an hereditary magistracy to be settled upon some great persons, &c." Winthrop remonstrated with him by letter, and "showed his Lordship how evident it was that God had chosen this country to plant his people in, and therefore how displeasing it would be to the Lord, and dangerous to himself, to hinder this work. . . . . To this letter his Lordship returned answer, not denying the evidence of the Lord's owning the work, but alleging that this was a place appointed only for a present refuge, &c., and that, a better place being now found out, we were all called to remove thither." (Ibid., I. 333.) "Many sold their estates here to transport themselves to Providence, among whom the chief was John Humphrey," who went out to be Governor. (Ibid., 331.) But the scheme proved a failure. The island was soon after taken by the Spaniards, and most of the New-England adventurers, who could, came back.

the Court to join themselves in one company, and to have liberty to exercise themselves at such times as their occasions would best permit."[1] But, for the present, few occasions arose for any extraordinary legislation; and the record exhibits for the most part only the details of the common administration, as it has been already described, varied here and there with the introduction of some improvement in the transaction of the public business, or by some action which is interesting as throwing light on the sentiments and manners of the time.

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

As, with the increase of population, the original provisions became inadequate for a speedy and convenient dispensation of justice, courts additional to those at the seat of government were established at Salem, Ipswich, and Newtown;[2] and in the following year, to the end of bringing legal relief near to every man's door, other tribunals, for the determination of controversies for small amounts, were instituted in the respective towns.[3] A public registration of births, marriages, and deaths[4] was established, as well as that excellent

Progress of organization, legislation, and administration.

1637. May 17.

1638. Sept. 6.

1639. Sept. 9.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 251. "Divers of our chief military officers had declared themselves favorers of the familistical persons and opinions." (Ibid., 256.) The petition of the "gentlemen and others" was granted, March 13, 1639, with a careful proviso, "that this order or grant, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to free the said company, or any of them, their persons or estates, from the civil government and jurisdiction here established." This company, called for the last hundred and twenty years *The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company*, is the oldest corporation existing in Massachusetts, except the College and a few towns. The pleased spectator of its proceedings, when, on the first Monday of every June, according to ancient usage, it parades on Boston Common, that its officers, annually chosen, may receive their commissions from the Governor's hands, finds himself troubled by none of the apprehensions of two hundred and twenty years ago, when "the Council, considering, from the example of the Pretorian Band among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe, how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes." (Winthrop, I. 253.)

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 197.

[3] Ibid., 239.

[4] Ibid., 276.

system of registration of deeds and of testamentary instruments which has rendered the conveyance of property in New England so safe. A rule was made for the publication of intentions of marriage.[1] A post-office for foreign correspondence was set up.[2] "That abominable practice of drinking healths" was forbidden, under a penalty of twelve pence for each offence, as being "a mere useless ceremony," and "also an occasion of much waste of the good creatures, and of many other sins, as drunkenness, quarrelling, bloodshed, uncleanness, misspense of precious time, &c., which, as they ought in all places and times to be prevented carefully, so especially in plantations of churches and commonweals, wherein the least known evils are not to be tolerated by such as are bound by solemn covenant to walk by the rule of God's word in all their conversation."[3] Prohibitions, addressed to both possessor and purveyor, were aimed against "the excessive wearing of lace and other superfluities, tending to little use or benefit, but to the nourishing of pride and exhausting of men's estates, and also of evil example to others."[4] To a

Nov. 5.

Sept. 4.

Sept. 9.

1 Mass. Col. Rec., I. 275.

2 Ibid., 281.

3 Ibid., 272; comp. Winthrop, I. 324. This was a great point with Winthrop, whose own example had discountenanced the practice.

4 Mass. Col. Rec., I. 274. The contemplated extirpation included other enormities of the same kind, as "short sleeves, whereby the nakedness of the arm may be discovered in the wearing thereof," "sleeves more than half an ell wide in the widest place thereof," "immoderate great breeches, knots of ribbon, broad shoulder-bands and rails, silk rases, double ruffs and cuffs, &c." (Ibid.) A law of the same character had been passed five years before, Sept. 3, 1634. It took notice of the appearance of "some new and immodest fashions, as also the ordinary wearing of silver, gold, and silk laces, girdles, hat-bands, &c."; and "ordered that no person, either man or woman, should hereafter make or buy any apparel, either woollen, silk, or linen, with any lace on it, silver, gold, silk, or thread, under the penalty of forfeiture of such clothes, &c.; also, that no person, either man or woman, should make or buy any slashed clothes, other than one slash in each sleeve, and another in the back; also all cutworks, embroidered or needlework caps, bands, and rails, were forbidden hereafter to be made and worn, under the aforesaid penalty; also all gold or silver girdles, hat-bands, belts, ruffs, beaver hats, are prohibited to be bought and worn hereafter, under the aforesaid penalty, &c." "Men and

sentence of banishment was added — what, however, was no novelty[1] — the injunction "to return no more, upon pain of death."[2] William Andrews, for having "conspired against the life of his master, and not only so, but also against the peace and welfare of the whole commonwealth, was censured to be severely whipped, and delivered up as a slave to whom the Court should appoint."[3] "For going to a jury and pleading with them out of Court," Thomas Lechford, of Lincoln's Inn, the only professional practitioner, as yet, before the New-England tribunals, was "debarred from pleading any man's cause hereafter, unless his own, and admonished not to presume to meddle beyond what he should be called to by the Court," and "not to meddle with controversies."[4]

In all the riper business of organization and administration, as well as in its first stages, the orderly and enlightened genius of Winthrop was active. Since his restoration to the chief magistracy from the inferior place into which the democratic spasm had cast him, he had continued to be aided by his former counsellors. In each of these three years Dudley held the second office; and all of the former Assistants who remained in the colony, except Dummer, retained their position in the government.

But the public confidence in Winthrop, so well merited and generally so constant, did not blind the electors to the danger of the precedent that might grow out of a too long continuance in office of one favorite public ser-

women," however, had "liberty to wear out such apparel as they were now provided of, except the immoderate great sleeves, slashed apparel, immoderate great rails, long wings, &c." (Ibid., 126.) Connecticut adopted similar provisions, though less stringent. (Conn. Col. Rec., I. 64.) I do not recollect any legislation of the kind either at New Haven or at Plymouth. Plymouth was perhaps too poor to need it, New Haven too rich to like it.

[1] See above, p. 457. There had been still other instances.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 234.

[3] Ibid., 247. This was a sentence, after conviction of crime, to confinement and labor under private superintendence, instead of in a penitentiary, which was not yet provided. (Comp. ibid., 284.) Andrews was afterwards "released upon his good carriage." (Ibid., 269.)

[4] Ibid., 270, 310.

vant. His second election after that when he succeeded Vane, had not been carried with universal satisfaction. "Some laboring had been, by some of the elders and others, to have changed, not out of any dislike to him, for they all loved and esteemed him, but out of their fear lest it might make way for having a Governor for life, which some had propounded as most agreeable to God's institution and the practice of well-ordered states."[1] The same jealousy was evinced on the part of the freemen when Emmanuel Downing, the Governor's brother-in-law, was nominated by the Magistrates to be an Assistant, "which they conceived to be done to strengthen his [the Governor's] party; and therefore, though he were known to be a very able man, &c., and one who had done many good offices for the country for these ten years, yet the people would not choose him."[2] Another temporary cause of discontent with the existing administration was, that "the Court, finding the number of Deputies to be much increased by the addition of new plantations, thought fit, for the use both of the country and the Court, to reduce all towns to two Deputies. This occasioned some to fear that the Magistrates intended to make themselves stronger and the Deputies weaker, and so in time to bring all power into the hands of the Magistrates." "By force of reason," the question about the number of Deputies was settled to the general satisfaction;[3] and for forty years from this time there was a uniform delegation of two representatives from every town in the jurisdiction.

1639. May 22.

Restriction of the number of Deputies.

The aristocratical element of the society had been extended to its utmost limit in the institution of a Council

[1] Winthrop, I. 299. "One of the elders, being present with those of his church, when they were to prepare their votes for the election, declared his judgment that a Governor ought to be for his life, alleging for his authority the practice of all the best commonwealths in Europe, and especially that of Israel, by God's own ordinance." (Ibid., 301.)

[2] Ibid., 300.

[3] Ibid.

for Life.[1] Without doubt, that measure had reference to the expected immigration of some men of high rank; and, with the decline of this expectation, whatever reason there had been for the arrangement was done away. It had never enjoyed the popular favor; and only three Counsellors appear ever to have been elected. It had been in force but three years, when, at the Court of Elections, the Deputies proposed "an order drawn to this effect, that . . . . . no person chosen a Counsellor for Life should have any authority as a Magistrate, except he were chosen in the annual elections to one of the places of magistracy established by the patent." The Magistrates concurred in the order, after an alteration of its phraseology, bringing it into the form of an explanation, instead of a repeal, of the act. "That which led those of the Council to yield to this desire of the Deputies was because it concerned themselves, and they did more study to remove these jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others."[2]

Restriction of the Council for Life. 1638. May 22.

After the third year of Winthrop's second period of service as Governor, the personal question relating to him was disposed of in the best way possible, as things stood, both for him and for the country. Dudley was elected in his place,—"a man," says his magnanimous predecessor, "of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country; and therefore it was his due to share in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow. The elders, being met at Boston about this matter, sent some of their company to acquaint the old Governor with their desire, and the reasons moving them, clearing themselves of all dislike of his government, and seriously professing their sincere affections and respect towards him, which he kindly

1640. May 13.

Second deposition of Governor Winthrop, and election of Dudley.

[1] See above, p. 441.

[2] Winthrop, I. 302.

and thankfully accepted."[1] In the new election, he had the satisfaction of seeing still better evidence of the public approbation of that government of which he had been the head. It was no further changed than by the promotion of Dudley and Bellingham each one step in official station, while he himself took Bellingham's place as an Assistant.[2]

In the second period of Winthrop's administration of the chief magistracy, yet another attempt had been made — the final one for the present — to get possession of the charter of Massachusetts. A "very strict order" came from the Commissioners of Plantations for its instant transmission to England.[3] The General Court, after a pause of some months, "agreed that a letter should be written by the Governor in the name of the Court, to excuse our not sending of it; for it was resolved to be best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon we should be bound to receive such a Governor and such orders as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones, among ourselves, would think it lawful, if not necessary, to accept a General Governor."[4]

Renewed demand for the charter.

1638. Sept. 6.

[1] Winthrop, II. 3. Winthrop also expressed "his unfeigned desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occasions." He had lost property, and become embarrassed, through the roguery of his bailiff. Hearing of this, some of the towns made voluntary contributions for his relief, and the General Court gave his wife three thousand acres of land. "One gentleman of Newbury, Mr. Richard Dummer, propounded for a supply in a more private way, and, for example, himself disbursed a hundred pounds." (Ibid., 4.) This is a touching incident, for Dummer had been one of the actors and sufferers in the Antinomian *émeute*.

[2] It may, however, be mentioned as a fact, which possibly had some relation to this rotation in office, that Winthrop, nearly a year before, had had a trifling difference with Bellingham, who was then Treasurer. (Winthrop, I. 320.)

[3] The order, dated April 4, 1638, is in Hubbard, 268, and in Hazard, I. 432.

[4] Winthrop, I. 269; comp. 274. — The importance of the Puritan establishment in New England had by this time attracted general attention in the par-

Winthrop's letter addressed to the Commissioners for Plantations, under this order, is a document worthy of all remembrance, as displaying the spirit and policy of the time. It begins with a refusal to transmit the patent, expressed in the form of a petition for a further consideration of the demand, and in the style of diplomatic courtesy appropriate to such communications. It declares, that, had notice been received of the prosecution under the *quo warranto*, there would have been "a sufficient plea to put in." The material part of the manifesto then follows: —

Winthrop's reply to the recall of the charter.

"It is not unknown to your Lordships, that we came into these remote parts with his Majesty's license and encouragement, under his great seal of England; and, in the confidence we had of the great assurance of his favor, we have transported our families and estates, and here have we built and planted, to the great enlargement and securing of his Majesty's dominions in these parts, so as,

ent country. In "this present year, 1638," the *quidnunc* Sir Simonds D'Ewes understood that "their numbers there did now amount to some fifty thousand, and most of them truly pious; and every parish supplied with such able, painful, preaching ministers, as no place under heaven enjoys the like." (Autobiography, &c., II. 117, 118.) Three years later, Milton wrote: "What numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean and the savage deserts of America could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops? O sir, if we could but see the shape of our dear mother England, as poets are wont to give a personal form to what they please, how would she appear, think ye, but in a mourning weed, with ashes upon her head, and tears abundantly flowing from her eyes, to behold so many of her children exposed at once, and thrust from things of dearest necessity, because their conscience could not assent to things which the bishops thought indifferent? What more binding than conscience? What more free than indifferency? Cruel, then, must that indifferency needs be, that shall violate the strict necessity of conscience; merciless and inhuman that free choice and liberty, that shall break asunder the bonds of religion! Let the astrologer be dismayed at the portentous blaze of comets, and impressions in the air, as foretelling troubles and changes to states; I shall believe there cannot be a more ill-boding sign to a nation — God turn the omen from us! — than when the inhabitants, to avoid insufferable grievances at home, are enforced by heaps to forsake their native country." (Reformation in England, Book II.)

if our patent should be now taken from us, we should be looked at as runagates and outlaws, and shall be enforced either to remove to some other place, or to return to our native country again, either of which will put us to insuperable extremities; and these evils (among others) will necessarily follow: —

"1. Many thousand souls will be exposed to ruin, being laid open to the injuries of all men.

"2. If we be forced to desert the place, the rest of the plantations about us (being too weak to subsist alone) will for the most part dissolve and go along with us, and then will this whole country fall into the hands of French or Dutch, who would speedily embrace such an opportunity.

"3. If we should lose all our labor and cost, and be deprived of those liberties which his Majesty hath granted us, and nothing laid to our charge, nor any failing to be found in us in point of allegiance, (which all our countrymen do take notice of, and do justify our faithfulness in this behalf,) it will discourage all men hereafter from the like undertakings, upon confidence of his Majesty's royal grant.

"4. Lastly, if our patent be taken from us, (whereby we suppose we may claim interest in his Majesty's favor and protection,) the common people here will conceive that his Majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and thereupon will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves of incurring his Majesty's displeasure, which we would by all means avoid." [1]

[1] Hubbard, History, 269, 270. Hubbard, from whom Hazard copied, (I. 435, 436,) printed this paper from the original in the Massachusetts archives, where it is still preserved. The scarcely covert threats contained in it were suited to have effect, not only on the temper of the imperilled government

Here, after a little more empty threatening from the Commissioners,[1] the business slept for the present. There was more serious matter for concern nearer home. The Scots were in arms. Hutchinson thought that, if the settlers in Massachusetts had now been pushed to extremity, "it is pretty certain the body of the people would have left the country," either betaking themselves to the Dutch on Hudson's River, or seeking some unoccupied spot out of the reach of any European power.[2] But a combination with the Dutch, while it would have secured their liberty of worship, might not even have involved a necessity for their change of residence. As things stood, the great maritime power of the United Provinces, had it been engaged to come in aid of what they could do for themselves, might fairly be supposed competent to protect them in their Massachusetts homes.

at home, but on further machinations of Gorges, who, however some of his interests might clash with those of the chief adjacent colony, could not but contemplate the probable contingencies which might make him desire its protection for his domain against his French neighbors on the other border. See Thomas Gorges's letter in Hutchinson's Collection, &c., 114.

[1] "The Governor [May 6, 1639] received letters from Mr. Cradock, and in them another order from the lords commissioners, to this effect: That, whereas they had received our petition upon their former order, etc., by which they perceived that we were taken with some jealousies and fears of their intentions, etc., they did accept of our answer, and did now declare their intentions to be only to regulate all plantations to be subordinate to the said Commission; and that they meant to continue our liberties, etc., and therefore did now again peremptorily require the Governor to send them our patent by the first ship; and that in the mean time they did give us, by that order, full power to go on in the government of the people until we had a new patent sent us; and, withal, they added threats of further course to be taken with us, if we failed. This order being imparted to the next General Court, some advised to return answer to it. Others thought fitter to make no answer at all, because, being sent in a private letter, and not delivered by a certain messenger, as the former order was, they could not proceed upon it, because they could not have any proof that it was delivered to the Governor; and order was taken, that Mr. Cradock's agent, who delivered the letter to the agent, etc., should, in his letters to his master, make no mention of the letters he delivered to the Governor, seeing his master had not laid any charge upon him to that end." (Winthrop, I. 298, 299.)

[2] History, I. 86, 87. — "If the earth will not help the woman, let her go into another wilderness." Such was the language of the times, borrowed from Rev. xii. 6, 14, 16.

CHAPTER XIV.

It was while events were ripening for the overthrow of the English throne and church, that the ten years had passed since the arrival of Winthrop's company in Massachusetts Bay. From the time of the dissolution of his third Parliament, King Charles had ruled with absolute authority. After reducing his expenses by a sudden and inglorious peace with both France and Spain, still he wanted money, which he proceeded to raise by illegal impositions. Duties on imported merchandise were exacted, in contempt of the denial of a Parliamentary grant; and customs were levied, unknown to former practice. Compositions with Papists for breaches of the laws became a permanent resource of the exchequer. Titles to crown lands anciently alienated by the crown were scrutinized, and, on pretence of some defect, fines were extorted from the possessors. A law, long obsolete, had required landholders to the amount of twenty pounds' yearly rent to receive knighthood when summoned for that purpose; Charles so far revived it as to oblige all persons with twice that rental to buy a release from the liability. The charter of London was declared forfeit, for some alleged irregularity of administration; and the city only saved its legal existence by the payment of a fine of seventy thousand pounds. In other quarters enormous mulcts were exacted by the Star-Chamber Court, on various pretexts. Monopolies were sold for the manufacture and vending of necessary articles.[1] Custom-

Despotism of Charles the First.

[1] "Salt, starch, coals, iron, wine, lace, meat dressed in taverns (the vintpens, cards, dice, beavers, belts, bone- ners of London gave the king £ 6,000

house officers were empowered to search warehouses and dwellings. An early practice of requiring seaport towns to furnish vessels for the king's service — which was the same thing as for their own protection — had, for the convenience of both parties, led to a pecuniary commutation by what was called *Ship-money*. The sovereign's right in respect to it had never received any stricter definition than was furnished by the obvious conditions of the case. Profiting by this vagueness, Charles assessed ship-money on the whole kingdom. By a fiction of state, the central counties were held to bound upon the Channel, and Derbyshire and Oxford were summoned to pay coin in the place of a despatch of squadrons from their docks.

Exaction of Ship-money.

1634. October.

The spirit of Englishmen was not broken down to an acquiescence in the encroachments of prerogative. But where to find means of redress? There was no Parliament to provide new securities for the violated or threatened liberties of the subject. There were no honest tribunals to give him the benefit of those securities which were his by ancient law. Prostitute officials did thoroughly the work of an insolent court. The twelve judges endeavored to forestall public opinion by an extra-judicial

for freedom from this horrible imposition), tobacco, wine-casks, game, brewing and distilling, lamprons, weighing of hay and straw in London, gauging of red herrings, butter-casks, kelp and seaweed, linen cloth, rags, hops, buttons, hats, gut-string, spectacles, combs, tobacco-pipes, sedan chairs, and hackney-coaches (now first invented), saltpetre, gunpowder, down to the privilege of gathering rags exclusively, — all these things were subject to monopolies, and all heavily taxed." (John Forster, Historical and Biographical Essays, I. 59.) — "It is a nest of wasps, or swarm of vermin, which have overcrept the land, — I mean the monopolers and pollers of the people. Like the frogs of Egypt, they have gotten the possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them. They sup in our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire. We find them in the dye-fat, the wash-bowl, and the powdering-tub. They share with the butler in his box. They have marked and sealed us from head to foot. Mr. Speaker, they will not bate us a pin. We may not buy our own clothes without their brokage." (Ibid., 64; a quotation from a speech of Culpepper, — afterwards King Charles's Chancellor of the Exchequer, — at the opening of the Long Parliament.)

argument of their own in favor of the legality of ship-money. Some men of fortune and consequence, among whom were Lord Say and Sele, William Vassall, and John Hampden, were resolved to bring the question to a trial. The case of Hampden, who was assessed twenty shillings on a small property of his in a parish of Buckinghamshire, chanced to stand first of the three on the docket. The Attorney-General and Solicitor-General argued for the crown; the Sergeants St. John and Holborne were of counsel for Hampden. Finch, the infamous Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and six other judges, agreed in a judgment for the king. Brampston and Davenport, the heads respectively of the Courts of King's Bench and of Exchequer, gave a qualified opinion of the same tenor. The remaining three dissented, notwithstanding their discreditable committal of themselves before the trial. A decision, accompanied with all the solemnities, had been pronounced by the highest English tribunal. If it was necessarily good English law, then had the king of England the unlimited power of the purse, as well as of the sword.

1637.

The abuses of ecclesiastical authority were not less exasperating and intolerable. William Laud, who, from the time of the sequestration of the indulgent Archbishop Abbot, had been virtually at the head of church affairs, was able, when, on the death of that prelate, he succeeded to the primacy, to pursue with increasing facility his arbitrary course. He was united in strict intimacy and harmonious policy with Thomas Wentworth, now Earl of Strafford and President of the Council of York, — before which tribunal the northern counties were placed out of the protection of the courts in Westminster Hall; and the friends dedicated their joint forces to the ambition of the monarch and the subjugation of the realm. Laud's special province lay in the enforcement of severe laws of uni-

Archbishop Laud. 1633.

formity, which his moderate predecessor had suffered to go into neglect, and of new ecclesiastical ceremonies of his own device; in the exaltation of the sacerdotal character and power, and of the authority of the fathers of the early Church;[1] and in the prohibition of the preaching of the doctrines of the Genevan Reformer. A few specimens of his administration may indicate its general tone.

One Lilburne was arraigned before the Star-Chamber Court for publishing seditious writings. Refusing to answer on oath certain interrogatories designed to make him criminate himself, he was punished for contempt by being whipped and set in the pillory. From that stage he addressed the by-standers, and scattered pamphlets among them, for which new offence he was gagged, and imprisoned in irons.[2] A book of a thousand pages in quarto, against the amusements of the theatre and the ball-room, written by William Prynne, a barrister, had been licensed for publication by Abbot's chaplain.[3] It came to Laud's knowledge, who thought he detected in it some allusion to the king and queen. He certainly might have read in it some sharp animadversions on the hierarchy, and on his own recent innovations in the ritual; and at his instance Prynne was sentenced by the Star-Chamber Court to be degraded from the bar, to stand in the pillory at two places in London and lose an ear at each, to be branded on the forehead, to pay a fine of five thousand

April 18.

1634. Feb. 7.

[1] It is now known — what at the time could only be surmised — that negotiations were carried on by Windebank, Secretary of State, and Cottington, First Lord of the Treasury, with Panzani, the Papal nuncio in London, for a reconciliation of the English Church with that of Rome, and the acknowledgment of a sort of supremacy of the Holy See; a measure to which — as Panzani was informed, but perhaps without good authority — Laud, with other prelates, was prepared to be a party. See Hallam, Constitutional History, &c., Chap. VIII.

[2] Rushworth, Collections, &c., II. 466.

[3] It was entitled "Histrio-Mastix, the Players' Scourge, or Actors' Tragedie," &c.

pounds, and to be imprisoned for life.[1] Prynne employed his prison leisure in another essay of the same kind, for which he had to submit his ears a second time to the hangman's knife, to be branded on both cheeks, and to pay another fine of the same amount. Burton, a clergyman, and Bastwick, a physician, both men of honorable repute, now suffered with him the same mutilation and fine, for what were called schismatical libels upon the ritual and government of the Church.[2] Leighton, a Scotchman, for a similar offence, was sentenced to be severely whipped twice, to be set in the pillory, to have his nose slit, his cheeks branded, and his ears cut off, and then to be imprisoned for life.[3] A person named Allinson, convicted of reporting that the Archbishop of York had solicited the king for some toleration to the Catholics, was fined a thousand pounds, whipped, set in the pillory in four different towns, and bound to good behavior for life.[4]

1637. June 14.

1630. November.

1634.

Laud aimed at a higher quarry. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, formerly Lord Keeper, had abandoned his arbitrary principles, and provoked the displeasure of the primate, whose early patron he had been. On some trifling pretence that he had attempted to suborn evidence, he was sentenced in the Star-Chamber Court to suspension from his episcopal duties, to a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to committal to the Tower during the king's pleasure.[5] The officers employed to levy the fine found in Williams's house some letters, thrown by as waste-paper. One of them, addressed to him by the master of Westminster School, contained references to "a little hocus-pocus," and "a little urchin." On the presumption that this language denoted Laud, the Bishop

1637. July.

[1] Rushworth, Collections, &c., II. 220–233.

[2] Ibid., 382.

[3] Ibid., 57.

[4] Ibid., 269.

[5] Ibid., 416–449.

was sentenced to pay eight thousand pounds more, and the writer of the letter ten thousand pounds, besides having his ears nailed to a pillory set up in front of his school, and then being imprisoned during the king's pleasure.[1] Impudent abuses of the criminal law were paraded to the view of all classes of Englishmen, to break them down by terror into unconditional submission to the arbitrary will of courtiers, and so to the ulterior despotic projects of the court. 1639. February.

As yet there had been no effectual check to the downward tendency of things. Without the combination of a Parliament, the patriotic party was powerless against the parasites of the council-chamber, the tribunals, and the Church, and against the "divinity doth hedge a king." There remained only the hope that an exchequer still unprovided, after all the illegal expedients that had been used, would sooner or later compel the infatuated monarch to convene the estates of his realm. But the hope, long deferred, had as yet little to reanimate it, when an event occurred, but for which, in the opinion of wise judges, the liberties of Englishmen might for an indefinite period have remained prostrate on their own soil.[2]

No object was nearer to the hearts of the king and the Archbishop than to establish the episcopal hierarchy and ritual in Scotland, in uniformity with the system of the southern kingdom, and to the exclusion of the Presbyterian order, which had been rooted in Scotland since the time of John Knox. It is not within the purpose of this work to rehearse the measures which had been pursued with that aim. The day arrived on which a liturgy, prepared by Laud and other prelates, and only differing from the English service-book in a nearer resemblance to the Romish missal, was appointed to be used in the great church Outbreak at Edinburgh. 1637. July 23.

[1] Rushworth, Collections, &c., II. 803–817.

[2] Hume, Chap. LIII.; Hallam, Constitutional History, Chap. VIII.

of St. Giles in Edinburgh. The vast space, now divided among four churches, was filled with anxious and angry men and women. The Chancellor and others of the Privy Council, the two archbishops and other bishops of Scotland, the dignitaries of the law, and the magistrates of Edinburgh, were present in their robes. The Dean of St. Giles's began the service. Instantly an outcry arose about the mass, the Pope, and Antichrist. A woman, Jenny Geddes by name, threw a stool at the Dean's head,[1] which scarcely missed him. A shower of stones and cudgels followed. The Bishop of Edinburgh mounted the pulpit, but could get no hearing. The magistrates, commanded by the chancellor to interpose, succeeded in ejecting the most noisy of the rioters. But the service was with difficulty concluded, amidst the hooting of those within, and the breaking of windows from the street; and the prelates were reviled and pelted as they passed on foot from the church, — the Bishop of Edinburgh, it was said, being placed in peril of his life. The Lord Privy Seal, who, later in the day, conveyed the Bishop in his coach, was scarcely protected by a party of armed servants.

Though as yet there was no proof that any persons of consequence had patronized this violence, the court thought it unsafe to repeat the experiment till the temper of Scotland should be ascertained and soothed. But as time passed, and credible indications showed that the delay was only for the advantage of better opportunity,

[1] Such is the commonly received version of the story. The king, however, says that it was a mitred head which was the mark of this famous missile. "If a stool, aimed to be thrown at him [the Bishop of Edinburgh], had not, by the providence of God, been diverted by the hand of one present, the life of that reverend Bishop . . . . . had been endangered, if not lost." (Large Declaration concerning the Late Tumults in Scotland, &c., 23.) Chambers says, in one work (History of Scotland, Vol. II. Chap. II.), that the person so irreverently treated was the Bishop of Edinburgh; in another (History of Rebellions, &c., Chap. III.), that it was the Dean of St. Giles's.

the excitement was renewed, and now manifested itself over a wider extent and in a more elevated sphere. There was a great resort to Edinburgh. The populace, in chase of the Bishop of Galloway, clamored at the door of the chamber where the Privy Council were met, and threatened to force an entrance; and the City Council had to apply to some popular noblemen for protection. Petitions began to come in, each set bearing signatures of more consideration than the last.

Spread of the insurrection in Scotland. October.

The king's fierce obstinacy, or evil fate, made him immovable against the representations urged by his own creatures as to the critical state of affairs; and before long he had to hear that an extra-constitutional government was set up, consisting of four houses, called *The Tables*. They were composed respectively of nobles, of gentry, of clergymen, and of burgesses. The movement was no longer an aimless tumult of "base and unruly people";[1] it was henceforward to be conducted with equal dignity, order, address, and energy. The "Covenant" — the first fruit of the new combination — was subscribed with enthusiasm by persons of both sexes and all ranks throughout the kingdom. Crowds pressed into the churchyards of Edinburgh and Glasgow, to affix their names to it in characters traced with their blood on parchment spread out upon gravestones. It bound them together "until death," in resistance to religious usurpation.

1638.

The mining and countermining of state contests succeeded; — reluctant, insufficient, and suspected concessions on the king's part, more comprehensive and resolute demands on the other. At length his malignant

1 "These base and unruly people, who were so much out in their first act of rebellion, ... though they were but asses, yet they were cried up for having their mouths opened immediately by God, as the mouth of Balaam's ass, to the upbraiding of all the rest of the land, when they should have cried and brayed as they did." (King Charles, Large Declaration, &c., 31.)

star led him to the North, to chastise the insolent rebellion. In his army, of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse,[1] there was a halting affection for the cause, and accordingly little stomach for the fight. It was no mercenary host, but composed of men who, from high to low, had been outraged by the tyrannical conduct of the reign. The king had not taken the rebels by surprise. The Scottish general, Alexander Leslie, an experienced soldier of the Continental wars, met him with a hasty levy, but one scarcely less numerous than his own, — inspired with an ardor of purpose which was wholly wanting to the royal troops,[2] and officered by veterans who had learned their art under Gustavus Adolphus, and whom the danger of their country had now called home. After some bloodless manœuvring, in which the king had the worst, he granted the insurgents a "pacification"; rather, we should say, they granted it to him, for, with all their excitement, they had leaders capable of seeing, that, at this juncture, moderation on their part was policy.

1639.

Advance of the king with an army to Scotland.

June 18.

Returning to London, the king at once found cause to revise the decision to which the manifold perplexi-

[1] This is Hume's estimate, in Chap. LIII. According to Clarendon (Book II.) the force consisted of about twelve thousand men, half of them cavalry.

[2] "It was an army full of ministers of religion, accoutred with swords and pistols; an army which assembled, at beat of drum, to engage in prayer; an army which was within itself a church, of which every corps possessed a presbytery, — and whose regiments were represented in a General Assembly; an army encamped under a forest of banners, on each of which was written in golden letters, 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant.' Could such men be reconciled to such a sovereign?" (Duke of Argyll, Presbytery Examined, an Essay Critical and Historical on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, 168. — My subject does not involve a *résumé* of the religious politics of Scotland. But I cannot refrain from professing my obligations to a treatise, of which the reader hesitates whether most to admire the thorough knowledge, the sagacious discrimination, or the generous and religious tone. Such calm and wise surveys of an excited period are among the gems of historical literature.)

ties of the hour had brought him, for the dismission of his array. The Parliament and the General Assembly of the northern kingdom, which had been convened agreeably to a stipulation with its army, proved contumacious. The Assembly voted that episcopacy was unlawful in Scotland, that the Church canons and liturgy were Popish, and that the High-Commission Court was a tyranny; decisions which only a speedy prorogation prevented the Parliament from confirming. Again the bewildered monarch concluded that he must have recourse to arms. But, the second time, it required to be done under more painful conditions. The recent fruitless expedition had exhausted the scanty accumulation of past years. The illegal methods of obtaining revenue had proved insufficiently productive, and to strain the prerogative further at such a time of general discontent was too perilous. There remained no resource but the dreaded one of convoking a Parliament. The existence of a rebellion, and that on the part of Scotchmen, with whom the feud of past ages was not yet quieted, would afford strong ground for appeals to the loyalty of the Commons of England; and some gracious concessions, fair words, and dexterous management might do the rest. At all events, in the circumstances, the measure was an apparent necessity.

Proceedings of the Scottish Parliament and Assembly.

August.

After the longest vacation that it had ever witnessed, the old Palace at Westminster gathered again within its walls the lords, knights, and burgesses of England. They proved to have come together in a wonderfully placid temper, considering the provocations which were uppermost in every man's thoughts. The business of the lower House was opened by Mr. Pym with a recital of public grievances,[1] in which he was followed by other mem-

King Charles's Fourth Parliament.

1640. April 13.

[1] Parliamentary History, II. 546 – 551.

bers. The relation of Puritan religion to English liberties broke forth at once. "They have so brought it to pass," said Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, "that under the name of Puritan all our religion is branded. . . . . Whosoever squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan. Whosoever would be governed by the king's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever other men would have him do, he is a Puritan."[1] When, at the end of a week, the other House, on the instigation of the court, pressed for an immediate supply, the Commons resented the intrusion. But the king made a personal appeal for twelve subsidies; and the money seemed on the point of being given, had not his own arbitrary humor determined otherwise. While things were in this posture, and it appeared that a day's action might put them in a train of permanent peace, he suddenly dissolved the Parliament, to the consternation of his wisest friends, and the infinite content of those who already carried their distrust of him so far as to hope that his perversity would bring about his ruin. Patriotic but loyal men went away, disgusted afresh with the impracticable arrogance of a sovereign, whose errors they had had but too much reason to condemn and deplore, but had not yet become indisposed to forgive.

Its dissolution.

May 5.

This error was repented of as soon as it was irreparable. The king consulted whether he could not construe the dissolution as a prorogation merely, and, being advised that this was impossible, complained impotently of the malign influence which had misguided him into such a fault.[2]

It was with no discouragement as to the prospect of future Parliaments, that the popular leaders saw him

[1] Rushworth, Collections, IV. 24; May, History of the Long Parliament, 73.

[2] Clarendon, Book II.

collect from private lenders the sum of three hundred thousand pounds for another campaign. It was much to have reduced him to that resource, which they well knew was one to be speedily exhausted, leaving none in its place but that public treasury which the Commons would supply in their own time and on their own terms. His spiritless and disaffected army was beaten by the Scots at Newburn in a skirmish which cost little blood, compared with its importance as a political indication. Having crossed the river Tyne, the victors continued to advance, sending apologies and assurances of loyalty to their retreating king. His money was spent. His ill-paid and undisciplined troops were not far from a general mutiny, while some of those about his person murmured the more from mortification at their own misconduct in the field. Again he consented to treat. Meanwhile, intensely dreading a House of Commons, he revived a custom long disused, and convoked at York a Council of Peers. But the peers saw nothing better to advise than submission to the hated necessity of another Parliament; and, before the year was out, it was assembled, the last with which the infatuated monarch was to contend. Meanwhile, a truce for two months with the invaders was arranged on shameful terms, — among others, that, during its continuance, they should receive eight hundred and fifty pounds a day, and that, in default of payment, they might force it from the northern counties, where they were also provided with winter quarters.

The royal army beaten by the Scots. Aug. 28.

Council of Peers. Sept. 24.

Truce with the Scots. Oct. 16.

The history of the assembly known as the *Long Parliament* is too familiar for even a brief recital of it in this place. After so much wrong endured, so much alarm, and so much patience, the recovery and security of the liberties of Eng-

King Charles's Fifth Parliament. Nov. 3.

lishmen seemed to require that the false and headstrong king, and some of the foremost of his incorrigible accomplices, should be severely dealt with. The king, through the Lord Keeper, one of his most hated tools, communicated his wants, and made gracious promises. The patriotic party knew the extent of the embarrassments, and the worth of the professions. Following a precedent which they affirmed to be of immemorial authority, the House of Commons took up the subject of grievances before that of grants. They impeached of high-treason the Archbishop of Canterbury; Wren, Bishop of Norwich; Finch, Lord Keeper; and the Earl of Strafford. Finch fled to Holland; Wren lay twenty years in the Tower; Laud went from it, after four years, to execution; Strafford, condemned by a bill of attainder, was presently beheaded, under a warrant from his faithless master. Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, discharged from prison, and reimbursed for their fines by a fine laid on the Lords who had condemned them in the Star Chamber, were escorted into London by an exulting cavalcade of five thousand men and women decked with rosemary and bays,[1] followed by a vast throng on foot. Numbers of less conspicuous sufferers from the abuses of recent times were released and indemnified.

Nov. 9.

1641. May 12.

The assessment of ship-money and compositions for knighthood were condemned by Parliament, as contrary to law and justice. The patents of monopoly and the judgment against Hampden were cancelled. The absolute control of the Commons over tonnage and poundage was affirmed in peremptory terms. The Council of York and the Courts of Star-Chamber and High-Commission were abolished by unanimous votes of both Houses; and with the Star-Chamber

Its first measures of reform.

[1] Clarendon, Book III.; May, 79.

fell the authority of royal proclamations, the function of enforcing them belonging to that court. Patents of judicial office were to run henceforward *during good behavior*, and not, as had been the practice, during the royal pleasure. Parliament assumed the payment of the armies of both England and Scotland, while they should be continued on foot. Officers professing the Catholic religion were discharged. "Scandalous" ministers were censured and displaced. Deprived and imprisoned clergymen were released, and restored to their cures. The forest laws were revised and expurgated. Provision was made for triennial Parliaments, with curiously elaborate securities for their convocation, and with the unprecedented privilege of exemption from being adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, except by their own consent. It was enacted that no Privy Counsellor, officer of state, or judge, should be appointed without the Parliament's approbation. At the adjournment of this eventful session, a committee was raised to sit during the recess, clothed with almost sovereign powers.

Its prorogation. Sept. 8.

Before its close, the king set off for Scotland, ostensibly to superintend the measures, to which he had been brought to consent, for the settlement of that kingdom and the disbanding of the armies. The Lords and Commons reassembled but three days before the breaking out of that sanguinary Popish rebellion in Ireland, which the king, in the exasperation of the time, did not escape the charge of having contrived or favored. Parliament assumed the conduct of the war, which in a letter from Scotland he had "wholly committed to their care and wisdom";[1] and they proceeded to levy money for its prosecution, and to take arms from the royal magazines. The committee, raised at the close of the preceding session, reported

Aug. 10.

Irish rebellion. Oct. 20.

[1] Clarendon, Book IV.

what was called a Remonstrance, reviewing with severe animadversion the administration of public affairs through the fifteen years from the beginning of the reign to the existing Parliament.[1] All the influence of the Court, and all parliamentary devices, were employed to prevent its approval by the House of Commons. But it was adopted, presented by a committee to the king, and then printed for effect upon the people.[2]

Grand Remonstrance.

Nov. 22.

In this course of measures, if the Commons had taken the lead, they had for the most part carried the concurrence of the Lords, and, with their help, had obtained the hard wrung consent of the sorely embarrassed king. Reaction is always to be expected from such excitements of the public mind; and the king, had he been wiser, might have taken the flood of a loyal sympathy at the turn of tide. When he came from the north, the city, which had of late abounded in expressions of resentment, welcomed him with a magnificent feast at Guildhall, with a numerous

Revival of loyal sentiments.

Nov. 25.

[1] A flood of light has just now been thrown on the character and relations of this great measure, in the "Essay on the Grand Remonstrance," in the first volume of Mr. John Forster's "Historical and Biographical Essays." The materials for this new illustration have been drawn by Mr. Forster, with great industry, from notes which were taken from day to day by Sir Simonds d'Ewes, a member of the Parliament, and which are preserved in manuscript in the British Museum. In mental structure and tastes Sir Simonds bore some resemblance to the best and most absurd of biographers; and by force of qualities which they had in common, he drew almost as life-like an image of the Long Parliament, as Boswell produced of his hero.

While this sheet is in the compositor's hands, I obtain my first sight of Mr. John Langton Sanford's "Studies and Illustrations of the Great Rebellion." A glance at its contents makes me regret that I was not earlier acquainted with a work so promising of instruction.

[2] The measure was carried, at the end of a session of fourteen hours, by only 159 votes against 148. After the division Cromwell told Lord Falkland, as they passed together from the House, that, if it had been lost, "he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more." (Clarendon, Book IV.)

From a sentence in the Remonstrance, it appears that the value of a *subsidy* (see above, p. 247, note 1) was at this time fifty thousand pounds. "Six subsidies have been granted, and a bill of poll-money, which, if it be duly levied, may equal six subsidies more, in all six hundred thousand pounds." (Parliamentary History, II. 956.)

attendance on his way to Westminster, and with other unwonted tokens of respect. Many, who had been acting against him, now thought, and some said freely and angrily, that he had been dealt with rigorously enough for punishment, and had been sufficiently disarmed of power to do further mischief; and that the Remonstrance was an unnecessary and vindictive measure. He chose this time to do an act to confound his friends, and prove to doubters that they who most severely judged him knew him best.

The king's attempt to arrest members of the House of Commons.

Singling out Lord Kimbolton, afterwards Earl of Manchester, and five commoners, Hollis, Hazelrigg, Hampden, Pym, and Strode, as objects of his special vengeance for the part taken by them in the recent measures, he sent the Attorney-General to the House of Lords to arraign them for high-treason, and a sergeant-at-arms to demand the five members of the House of Commons. Instead of surrendering them, the House resolved that the attempt to apprehend them was a breach of its privileges, and passed a vote for the security of their persons and property. Transported beyond all bounds of prudence, the king undertook their arrest in person. He came the next day to the House of Commons with two or three hundred armed attendants. The Countess of Carlisle, a lady about the court, had sent intelligence of his purpose to the persons accused, just in time for them to escape by one door as the king reached the other. Leaving his guard outside, he passed up the hall, while the members stood uncovered. The Speaker came down from his chair, and the king, standing before it, inquired whether any of the members whom he had impeached were present. The Speaker, dropping on his knee, asked pardon for saying that in that place he had no eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, except as the House, whose servant he was, should direct. Glancing

1642. Jan. 4.

around the room, the king said in a short speech, that he had come to serve the process which yesterday, in the hands of his officers, had been evaded; but that, since he saw "the birds were flown," he should expect them to be sent to him by the House as soon as they should return. As he passed from the hall, there was a cry from the members of "Privilege! privilege!" The House immediately adjourned to the next day, and the five members withdrew to the city, which had its train-bands under arms all night.

Nothing could have more exasperated and at the same time emboldened the Commons, than this display of passionate impotence. When they met again, they raised a committee to report on the recent transaction, then adjourned, and repeated their adjournments from day to day. At length, at the end of a week, they entered St. Stephen's Chapel in procession, having been escorted thither, partly on the river by armed vessels and city barges, partly along the thoroughfares of London and Westminster by the city train-bands under Philip Skippon, whom they had made Major-General. The king had withdrawn from Whitehall to Hampton Court the night before, at once to escape so disagreeable a neighborhood, and to digest his intense mortification for the issue of his folly. He had departed alive from his metropolitan palace for the last time.

Procession of the House of Commons to Westminster. Jan. 11.

The vexation and discouragement of the king's friends facilitated the measures of opposition. Acts passed the Houses for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Peers, and for the pressing of troops, both which received the royal sanction. At length the decisive step was taken of passing a bill for nominating the commanding officers of the militia in the several counties, and making them responsible to Parliament and not to the king. This was seizing

Bill to give Parliament the control of the militia. February.

the power of the sword, as that of the purse had already been secured.

Down to this time, it may be presumed that Charles had flattered himself with the idea of having made no important concessions but such as under future more favorable circumstances he might revoke. But now he was called upon to surrender the instrument needful for the recovery of what had been resigned. Here then he turned, and stood at bay. First he temporized and argued. Next, taking his two sons, he moved northwards to York, whither he was followed by numerous nobles and gentlemen. When, from this distance, he retorted the charges of the Parliament in a bolder tone, they proceeded to measures for officering the militia, and taking possession of the garrisons. At Hull was a magazine of military stores, which the king would have seized; and he presented himself before the town for that purpose. But the Governor held it for the Parliament, and denied him entrance. Messages, declarations, popular appeals in proclamations and counter-proclamations, succeeded to each other. The king rejected a basis of settlement offered him by Parliament in nineteen "propositions." At last, feeling strong enough for the final arbitrament of war, he set up his standard at Nottingham, and called on all good subjects to rally to the rescue of the throne.

The king's resolution to resist. March.

April 23.

Beginning of the civil war. 1642. Aug. 22.

For nearly a year and a half his affairs went on not unprosperously, and England was in serious danger of being reduced to the condition of Spain. The Earl of Warwick, the Parliament's Admiral, got possession of the fleet with little difficulty, and kept the sea with good security against aid to the royal cause from the ports of France and Holland. But the Earl of Essex, general-in-chief for the Parliament, though a man of eminent probity and courage, had neither military genius nor diligent enterprise.

His levies were not of a character to be opposed, on equal terms, to the dashing spirits that gathered round the royal standard. Nor was there wanting a suspicion, on the part of the more ardent patriots, that he did not desire a victory over the king more decisive than would suffice to discourage and humble him. The battle of Edgehill, fought against Essex by the king's nephew, the German Prince Rupert, was claimed as a triumph by the royal party. After more than one abortive attempt at pacification, — in which Parliament abated little of the rigor of its demands, — and not a few fluctuations of unimportant success and failure at York, at Stafford, at Bradee Down, at Stratton, at Lansdown, at Roundway Down, and elsewhere, the king took Bristol, then the second most considerable city in the kingdom, by storm; and, according to a reasonable opinion of that day, as well as of times more recent, he might have occupied London and ended the contest, had he pushed on while the panic from the great disaster in the West was fresh.

Oct. 23.

1643. May - July.

July 26.

Rupert, however, or the king, determined not to leave Gloucester in the rear. That city was held for the Parliament by a resolute and skilful officer. During the slow progress of the siege which followed, Parliament had time for new arrangements, till Gloucester, after being reduced to the last extremity, was at length relieved by a reinforcement, which reached Lord Essex, of militia from London; and the campaign closed with the battle of Newbury, contested stoutly with large forces, but with undecisive success. The great event of the season was the death of Hampden, from wounds received by him on Chalgrave field, at the head of a small force of cavalry, which he had suddenly raised to intercept Prince Rupert. When Pym died, six months later, the patriotic party had lost the guides who, by general consent, were most competent to con-

Sept. 20.

June 18 - 24.

Dec. 8.

duct it through the difficulties of the undertaking in which it was engaged.

The progress of the royal arms in the West had been partially counterbalanced in the North by the successes of Sir Thomas Fairfax at Wakefield, and of Oliver Cromwell at Gainsborough; and the victory won at Atherton Moor by the royalist Earl of Newcastle over Lord Fairfax, and that of Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax at Horncastle, alternately raised and depressed the trembling scales. When the armies went into winter quarters, Parliament applied itself with diligence to rousing again the spirit of the Scots. In the result of the negotiation, mainly due, as was thought, to the energy and address of Sir Henry Vane, the former Governor of Massachusetts, a "Solemn League and Covenant" was subscribed by the Convention of Scotland and by the English Parliament, both of which bodies also imposed it on all office-holders, civil, ecclesiastical, and military. And a second time a Scottish army crossed the border, now twenty-one thousand strong, and again under the command of the same experienced soldier of the Continental wars, recently ennobled by Charles as Earl of Leven. It was destined not to retrace its march till it should have obtained the disposal of the person of its king.

1644. January.

Of this course of events in the mother country the guides of New-England politics were no unconcerned observers; nor is it possible to get a correct view of some of their proceedings without attention to what was taking place about the same time on the other side of the water. When Massachusetts, on the news of the appointment of a General Governor, spent a few hundreds of pounds to put her plank forts in order, the scheme and the means of resistance provoke a smile of surprise. But, among their observations on the state of things in the parent country,

Influence of these transactions on New England politics.

the Massachusetts fathers did not overlook the fact, that English ships would be manned from Puritan ports, — those same ports, whose sailors not long before had refused to serve against the Huguenots of Rochelle,[1] and not long after, when the civil war broke out, turned over the king's fleets to the Parliament's Admiral. And when they sent their bold denial of the last demand made in King Charles's reign for the transmission of the charter,[2] it may be presumed that it was not without consideration of those pregnant transactions in Scotland, which for more than a year had fixed the attention of Englishmen in every region of the globe.

The reader is aware, that, while some of the associates in the Massachusetts Company emigrated to this continent to carry out its plan, others, who had either never contemplated that step, or who had been led by the later course of events to reconsider it, acquired distinction at home in the civil or the military service during the struggles of the Long Parliament and the Commonwealth.[3] How far the leaders in New England had active participation in those transactions which preceded and attended the overthrow of the hierarchy and the throne, is a question which does not fail to arrest the thoughts of the attentive observer of that period. There is manifest reason for supposing that, under circumstances so interesting to them in common, there would be free interchange of thought between the patriots on the opposite shores; and the intimate personal relations, which many of them had mutually sustained, convert this probability into a sort of certainty. It would be interesting in the highest degree to know the communications which, during the first three decades of years after the transfer of the

[1] It has been noticed (see above, p. 266, note) that even the loyal Gorges, whose shadow so haunted the Massachusetts worthies, was one of those whose religious overpowered their political affinities on this occasion.

[2] See above, p. 556.

[3] See above, pp. 304, 305.

charter of Massachusetts, passed across the water between men allied by personal confidence and by a common devotion to the noblest objects.[1] But, as yet, curiosity as to such intercourse has very partial gratification. In the alarm of the Restoration, there was a large destruction of papers in families connected with the resistance to the king;[2] and, though treasures of this kind survived, for the most part they were presently lost sight of, and it is probable that many exist, which have not yet found their way again to the light.[3]

A singular recognition of the relation of New England to the parent country appeared soon after the Long Parliament addressed itself to the reformation of religious affairs. A letter from five peers and thirty-four other persons (members of the Lower House and ministers) was received by Cotton of Boston, Hooker of Hartford, and Davenport of New Haven, urging them "to come over with all possible speed, all or any of them," to give their help "for the settling and composing the affairs of the church."[4] The Act of Parliament convoking the Westminster Assembly of Divines was not passed till the following summer. But the measure had been proposed several months before the invitations were despatched, and there

New England ministers invited to the Westminster Assembly of Divines. 1642. September.

1643. June 12.

1641. December.

[1] The *Idem sentire de republicâ*.

[2] A friend who made the inquiry of a near relative of the Duke of Cleveland, the representative of Sir Henry Vane, informed me that Vane's papers of the period in question had not been preserved. I had similar information from the family of Lord Say and Sele, in respect to their ancestor; and less directly I was told the same thing respecting the archives of the houses of Warwick and Kensington, representing respectively Greville Lord Brooke, and Rich, Earl of Warwick.

[3] Lady Whitelocke burned quantities of her husband's manuscripts. (Lord Campbell, Lives of the Chancellors, III. 386.) The recent publication of the Fairfax Papers inspires the hope that more of the same kind may be forthcoming. They were found, in 1822, at Leeds Castle, in an old chest, under a heap of Dutch tiles, which seemed to fill it.

[4] Hutchinson (I. 111) has printed this letter, with the names of the signers.

can be little doubt that they had reference to it, and were prompted by the desire of eminent persons, disposed to the most radical reforms in church government, to resist the Presbyterian influence, which was expected to prove strong in that body.[1] Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, and Oliver St. John were among the signers of the letter.

Davenport would have gone, but could not obtain the consent of his church. Cotton was of the same mind, but was not inclined to go alone. And Hooker, who at the time was engaged upon a plan of church government for New England on the Congregational or Independent model, "liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go three thousand miles."[2] There was no doubt an apprehension of getting involved in the ecclesiastical politics of the mother country, whatever might there be the ultimate turn of events. Presbytery would never take root in New England. A feeble attempt to introduce it at Boston, after the meeting of the Assembly of Divines, by some persons from abroad, only served to show how alien the system was from the sentiments and habits of the place.[3]

It was certainly far from being through any indisposition to influence the great affairs then in progress in England, that the invitations addressed to the ministers were declined. Little time had passed, after the temper of King Charles's last Parliament began to manifest itself, when Hugh Peter of Salem and Thomas Welde of Roxbury, with William Hibbens, a merchant of Boston, were appointed "to go for England upon some weighty occasions for the good of the country, as was conceived."[4] It

Mission to England. 1641. June 2.

[1] Winthrop, II. 76; comp. 137.

[2] Ibid., II. 76.

[3] Hutchinson, I. 112. I have observed no mention of this transaction earlier than Hutchinson's.

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 332. — "With them went one of the magistrates, Mr. John Winthrop, Jr." (Winthrop, II. 31.)

is perhaps not owing to accident that their instructions have not been preserved. Winthrop says: "They [the General Court] thought fit to send some chosen men into England to congratulate the happy success there, and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as in former years we had done, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required, for the settling of the right form of church discipline there; but with this caution, that they should not seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which were lawful and honorable."[1] It may be presumed to have been through the influence of these envoys, that an Act of Parliament was passed relieving all commodities carried between England and New England from the payment of "any custom, subsidy, taxation, imposition, or other duty," till the further order of the House of Commons.[2] It is also known, that

1643. March 10.

[1] Winthrop, II. 31; comp. 25, 26. — It is probable that Winthrop (II. 42) refers to a proceeding of these agents, when he writes, in September, 1641: "Some of our people, being then in London, preferred a petition to the Lords' House, for redress of that restraint which had been put upon ships and passengers to New England; whereupon an order was made that we should enjoy all our liberties, &c., according to our patent; whereby our patent, which had been condemned, and called in upon an erroneous judgment in a *quo warranto*, was now implicitly revived and confirmed." While commemorating the benefit, he is, however, careful to add: "This petition was preferred without warrant from our Court." (Comp. above, p. 543.) He did not like to have the question moved, or to have anything done which could be construed as a recognition, on the part of Massachusetts, of foreign authority. On this point his vigilance never relaxed. "Some of our friends there [in England] wrote to us advice to send over some to solicit for us in the Parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much, &c. But, consulting about it, we declined the motion, for this consideration, that, if we should put ourselves under the protection of the Parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us." (Winthrop, II. 25.)

[2] See Hazard, I. 494. — In the use of a remarkable phraseology, this Act calls New England "that kingdom," as if

part of their business was to collect funds for the preaching of the Gospel to the natives.[1] On the trial of Hugh Peter after the Restoration, a witness testified to having heard him say, that he had been sent from New England "to promote the interest of reformation, by stirring up the war, and driving it on";[2] and, with due allowance for the language, this cannot be deemed unlikely to have been true. Neither Peter nor his clerical companion ever returned to America. For twenty years the former was a busy actor in the revolutionary movements of the time, till the restoration of Charles the Second brought him to the block. Welde, whose agency was less prominent, though not inconsiderable, was, on the restitution of the old order of things, ejected from a church which he had been serving, and is believed to have died soon after.

1662.

One all-important consequence of the meeting of the Long Parliament had been immediately apparent in relation to New England. It put a final stop to the emigration.[3] At the end of ten years from Winthrop's arrival, about twenty-one thousand Englishmen, or four thousand families, including the few hundreds who were here before him, had come over, in three hundred vessels, at a cost of two hundred thousand pounds sterling.[4] During the century and a quarter that

Discontinuance of emigration. 1640.

acknowledging it to be an independent power. The preamble recites, that "the plantations in New England have, by the blessing of Almighty God, had good and prosperous success, *without any public charge to this state*."

[1] In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a collection of manuscript papers of Welde, chiefly relating to this part of his commission. A copy is in the Library of Harvard College. The reader of them infers that the business of evangelizing the Indians was not prominent among Welde's objects, and still less among those of Peter.

[2] Account of the Trial of Twenty-nine Regicides, 170.

[3] "The Parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the Archbishop, our great enemy, and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world." (Winthrop, II. 31.)

[4] "The number of ships," says Johnson, "that transported passengers in this space of time ["fifteen years' space to

passed between that time and the publication of the first volume of Hutchinson's History, it is believed that "more had gone from hence to England, than had come from thence hither";[1] nor did anything that can be called an immigration occur again till after Boston was two hundred years old. From the day of the summoning of Charles's fifth Parliament, there was the prospect of a fair field to fight out the battle of freedom at home, and the expatriation of patriotic English ceased with the existence of its motive.

Nor did the tide of emigration merely stop flowing. It turned back. The ranks of opposition, civil and military, in the parent country, were swelled by accessions from New England. Stephen Winthrop, son of the Governor, became one of the Parliament's Major-Generals; Robert Sedgwick, of Charlestown, one of Cromwell's; and John Leverett (subsequently Governor of Massachusetts) one of his subalterns, having left the colony for that purpose at an early period of the troubles. Stoughton, the Massachusetts leader in the Pequot war, and George Fenwick, of Saybrook,[2] went over to command regiments in the Parliament's ser-

Return of emigrants to England.

the year 1643"], as is supposed, is 298. Men, women, and children, passing over this wide ocean, as near as at present can be gathered, is also supposed to be 21,200, or thereabout." (Wonder-Working Providence, Chap. XIV.) The whole sum expended in their establishment in New England, including the transportation of themselves and of their effects, and the cost of their arms and ammunition, of their materials for building, and of their food till they had time to produce it, was estimated in that generation at "one hundred ninety-two thousand pound, besides that which the Adventurers laid out in England." (Ibid., Chap. XIII.) This estimate of expense was approved, in the third following generation, by that very intelligent and well-informed writer, Jeremiah Dummer. (Defence of the New-England Charters, 13; comp. Oldmixon, British Empire, &c., I. 81; Hutchinson, History, I. 91.) Dummer restricts the estimated expenditure to "the single province of the Massachusetts Bay."

[1] Hutchinson, Preface, vii.

[2] Fenwick attained various honors. He was one of the Board of Commissioners for Plantations; a Commissioner for the treaty with Scotland in 1646; a Commissioner for regulating the affairs of Scotland in 1651; and Governor of Berwick in 1652. In 1656 he

vice. Samuel Desborough, of Guilford, was, by the Protector, made Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland. Hugh Peter and Thomas Welde, sent over by Massachusetts to look after its affairs, both rose to influence with Cromwell, and the former, as his chaplain, walked by the Protector's Secretary, John Milton, at his funeral.[1] Edward Hopkins, Governor of Connecticut, became a member of Parliament, Warden of the Fleet, and Commissioner for the Navy and Admiralty. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was made one of the Commissioners in command of the naval force sent by the Protector against Jamaica, and lost his life in that service. George Downing, one of the nine graduates at the first Commencement of Harvard College, became Scoutmaster-General of the English army in Scotland, and afterwards ambassador of Cromwell to the Low Countries, perhaps the most important civil post in the public service. Benjamin Woodbridge, another of the academical first-fruits of New England, was made chaplain to Charles the Second, when that prince, in the time of his troubles, professed to have renounced Episcopacy. Of other New-England ministers, John Woodbridge, of Newbury, was chaplain to the Commissioners of Parliament sent to the Isle of Wight to treat with King Charles; and William Hook, of New Haven, was one of the chaplains of Cromwell. Hoadly, of Guilford, grandfather of the much more famous Bishop Hoadly, became chaplain to Cromwell's garrison in Edinburgh Castle, when chaplains of garrisons were men of some trust and power. Other persons, already or afterwards ministers, returned to England to be employed in less important spheres.[2] Between

was returned to Parliament, and was excluded from it by the Protector. He died soon after.

[1] Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., &c., II. 524.

[2] Among them may be named Samuel Mather, John Knowles, John Allen, Thomas Allen, John Bulkley, Giles Firmin, Henry Whitefield, Henry Butler, Nathaniel Brewster, William Ames,

such persons and the friends whom they had left in New England, it is inconceivable that there should not have been a frequent interchange of information and advice.

Effects followed of less general importance than the arrest and refluent tide of emigration, but such as were not without influence on the condition of the new country. It was no time for measures in England to secure the claim of Mason's heirs in New Hampshire; and Lord Brooke and Lord Say and Sele had no longer leisure for attention to their affairs in the same quarter.[1] With the more freedom Massachusetts pushed its boundary in that direction. The charter of the Massachusetts Company, literally interpreted, endowed it with nearly all the territory of the present State of New Hampshire; for the most northerly source of the waters of the Merrimack is in the White Mountains. And even at this early time it was well known that a parallel of latitude drawn three miles north of every part of that river enclosed the settlements at and near the mouth of the Piscataqua.[2] Massachusetts had had some regard to this pretension, in building her house at Hampton;[3] but the course of events determined that she should have no occasion to make a forcible assertion of the claim.

Territorial claim of Massachusetts.

On Underhill's return to Dover after his submission to the Boston church, he set himself to defeat a negotiation which had been on foot for annexing that settlement to the jurisdiction of Massa- 1640.

Jeremiah Holland, John Birden, and Abraham Walver. More than half of these were graduates of Harvard College in its first six years.

[1] Lord Brooke was killed while besieging the Cathedral close of Lichfield in 1643. Scott says (Marmion, cant. 6):

"Fanatic Brooke
The fair Cathedral stormed and took."

Clarendon, however, who knew the man, though he liked his politics no better than the poet did, could say: "They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well-natured and just." (History, Book VI.)

[2] See above, p. 287.

[3] See above, p. 516.

chusetts;[1] and some treacherous proceedings of his to this effect became known at Boston. At Exeter, "one Gabriel Fish was detained in the officers' hands for speaking against the king." The magistrates of that feeble settlement had probably felt obliged to take this step for appearances' sake; but, in view of the Puritan tendencies of the time, they had seen at once the responsibility which they assumed, and had gone to "the Bay to take advice what to do." Underhill seized upon this occasion to display his lately conceived loyalty, by a measure for preventing that release of Fish which he anticipated that the advisers in the Bay would recommend. "To ingratiate himself with the state of England, and with some gentlemen at the river's mouth, who were very zealous that way, and had lately set up Common Prayer,[2] &c., he sent thirteen men armed to Exeter to fetch" the prisoner to Dover. This, and the part he had taken in obstructing the movement for a union with Massachusetts, gave offence to the majority of his neighbors, who began "consulting to remove him from his government." Hearing of their purpose, "he could not refrain, but came and took his place in the Court," which they had desired him not to do; "and, though he had offered to lay down his place, yet when he saw they went about it, he grew passionate, and expostulated with them, and would not stay to receive his dismission, nor would be seen to accept it, when it was sent after him. Yet they proceeded and chose one Roberts to be President of the Court, and soon after they returned back Fish to Exeter, which," says Winthrop, "was considerately done of them."[3]

Disorders in New Hampshire.

[1] "Whereas he himself was the mover of them to break off their agreement with us, he had written to our Governor, and laid it upon the people, especially upon some among them." (Winthrop, I. 327.) — November 5, 1639, "The Deputy-Governor, Mr. Emmanuel Downing, and Captain Edward Gibbons were appointed to treat with the three Committees from the town of Dover upon Piscataqua." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 276.)

[2] See above, p. 523, note 1.

[3] Winthrop, I. 327.

"Soon after this the captain came by water into the Bay, to tender (as he said) satisfaction to the church. . . . . But the church, not being satisfied of his repentance, would not admit him to public speech. So, after one week, he returned home."[1] Before the end of many months, however, "being brought, by the blessing of God on the church's censure of excommunication, to remorse for his foul sins," he obtained leave to come to Boston, where, "upon the lecture-day, after sermon," he made a full avowal of his offences,[2] and was relieved by the church from his excommunication, and by the General Court from his sentence of banishment. Sept. 3.

In the month after this transaction, and perhaps through apprehension of its influence on Underhill's mind, certain planters at Dover, to the number of forty-one, entered into the first formal compact which had there been made, confederating together to be governed by the laws of England, and by other laws to be enacted by a majority of the settlers, till such time as the king's government should prescribe some different organization.[3] Among the names subscribed to this document, the first is that of Thomas Larkham, who had just come with a new contribution to the fermenting elements at Dover. He "had been a minis- Oct. 22. Thomas Larkham.

[1] Winthrop, I. 328.

[2] "He came in his worst clothes, (being accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness,) without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes; and, standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears, lay open his wicked course, his adultery, his hypocrisy, his persecution of God's people here, and especially his pride (as the root of all, which caused God to give him over to his other sinful courses) and contempt of the Magistrates. . . . . He appeared as a man worn out with sorrow, and yet he could find no peace; therefore he was come now to seek it in this ordinance of God. He spake well, save that his blubbering, &c. interrupted him." (Winthrop, II. 14.)

[3] For this "Combination," see Hutchinson, I. 102, or Farmer's edition of Belknap, 433. The subscribers say that they find it expedient to confederate, "his most gracious Majesty having settled no order for them, to their knowledge."

ter at Northam near Barnstable in England.[1] ..... Being a man of good parts and wealthy, the people were soon taken with him, and the greater part were forward to cast off Mr. Knollys, their pastor, and to choose him." "He received into the church all that offered themselves, though men notoriously scandalous and ignorant, ... so as there soon grew sharp contention between him and Mr. Knollys, to whom the more religious still adhered."[2] The renewed strife between Churchman and Antinomian was not merely a war of words. "Mr. Knollys and his company excommunicated Mr. Larkham, and he again laid violent hands upon Mr. Knollys." Larkham's party undertook to arrest Underhill, who, by his recent favorable reception at Boston, had been converted back again from his unwonted sympathy with the "gentlemen at the river's mouth"; and, on his part, "he also gathered some of the neighbors to defend himself and to see the peace kept; so they marched forth towards Mr. Larkham's, one carrying a Bible upon a staff for an ensign, and Mr. Knollys with them armed with a pistol." Seeing that they were likely to be worsted, Larkham's party "sent to Mr. Williams, who was Governor of those in the lower part of the river." Williams "came up with a company of armed men, and beset Mr. Knollys's house, where Captain Underhill then was, and there they kept a guard upon him night and day." Larkham's friends "called a court, and, Mr. Williams sitting as Judge, they found Captain Underhill and his company guilty of a riot, and set great fines upon them, and ordered him and some others to depart the plantation. The cause of this eager prosecution of Captain Underhill was," if Winthrop judged rightly, "because he had procured a good part of the inhabitants there to

1641. May.

[1] From this circumstance Dover took, for a little while, the name of Northam.

[2] Winthrop, II. 27.

offer themselves again to the government of the Massachusetts." [1]

Underhill and his friends applied to Massachusetts for help, and the magistrates "gave commission to Mr. Bradstreet, ... Mr. Peter, and Mr. Dalton,[2] to go thither and to endeavor to reconcile them; and, if they could not effect that, then to inquire how things stood, and to certify, &c. They went accordingly, and finding both sides to be in fault, they brought matters to a peaceable end. Mr. Larkham was released of his excommunication, and Captain Underhill and the rest from their censures." A different result of the investigation was, that "Mr. Knollys was discovered to be an unclean person." [3] On the whole, Dover was in no hopeful way.

[1] Winthrop, II. 27, 28. — Thomas Lechford, in his "Plain Dealing," &c. (p. 44), gives an account of the same transaction. "Master Larkham," he says, "flying to the magistrates, Master K. [Knollys] and a Captain [Underhill] raised arms and expected help from the Bay, Master K. going before the troop with a Bible upon a pole's top, and he, or some of his party, giving forth that their side were Scots, and the other English. ..... Nine of them were censured to be whipped, but that was spared. Master K. and the Captain, their leaders, were fined a hundred pounds apiece." Knollys's calling his party *Scots* and the other party *English* will be understood when it is remembered that the battle of Newburn-upon-Tyne (see above, p. 571) had lately been fought. According to Hubbard (p. 362), Larkham "laid violent hands on Mr. Knollys, taking the hat from his head, pretending it was not paid for; but he was so civil as to send it him again."

[2] The Reverend Timothy Dalton, who was now, or soon after, teacher of the church of Hampton. (Johnson, Wonder-working Providence, Book II. Chap. XIII.)

[3] Winthrop, II. 28 — Underhill returned to Boston the following year; but, partly, perhaps, because he was, after all, in no good credit there, he "found no employment that would maintain him and his family." The Dutch on Hudson's River, and the English at Stamford, having made him proposals, the Boston church advised him to take service with his countrymen at the latter place, and gave him a passage and a liberal outfit accordingly; "but, when he came there, he changed his mind, or at least his course, and went to the Dutch." (Ibid., II. 63.) He signalized himself in wars between them and the Indians (Ibid., 157); and at length died, in 1672, on Long Island, having, in the interval, been for some time a resident in New-Haven Colony, and a Deputy to its General Court from Stamford. (N. H. Col. Rec., 85.) Both Larkham and Knollys, in 1641, went back to England, where they lived many years in good repute.

Accession of the New Hampshire settlements to Massachusetts.

Experiences of this kind taught the Piscataqua settlements that they were not in a condition to go on comfortably by themselves; the territorial claim of Massachusetts was always hanging over their heads; the state of affairs in England precluded the expectation of any present attention from that quarter; and the communities were too dissimilar from each other, as well as singly too feeble and heterogeneous, to find sufficient strength in a union together. The natural and prudent resource was to seek the protection of Massachusetts. At the end of more than a year's negotiation, Strawberry Bank[1] and Dover placed themselves under the jurisdiction of that colony,[2] with careful reservations of the rights of the English patentees to their property in the soil. Two Deputies were allowed to be sent "from the whole river to the Court at Boston"; and in all respects the persons now admitted were to have the privileges of settlers in Massachusetts. The freemen and deputies (the settlers at Strawberry Bank, and many at Dover, not being of the Puritan persuasion) were exempted from the obligation

1641. June 14.

[1] The earliest use of this name, that I have observed, as a designation of the town at the mouth of the Piscataqua, was in September, 1642. (Mass. Col. Rec., II. 32.) "Strawberry Bank Creek," however, is referred to in the grant of the parsonage glebe in 1640. (See above, p. 523.) *Strawberry Bank* continued to be the name of the town till 1653. (Mass. Col. Rec., III. 309.)

[2] The instrument of cession, which was executed by the patentees, is in Mass. Col. Rec., I. 324. (Comp. Ibid., I. 332. Winthrop, II. 38, 42.) It recites that the inhabitants residing at present within the limits of both the said grants had of late and formerly complained of the want of some good government amongst them, and desired some help in this particular from the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay, ... for the avoiding of such insufferable disorders, whereby God had been much dishonored amongst them." The patentees reserved to themselves "one third part of the land" in the Dover patent, and all the land in the other. The transaction was completed by an Act of the General Court, of October 7, 1641 (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 342), the preamble of which recites both the claim of Massachusetts by patent to the jurisdiction assumed, and the consent of the inhabitants. It creates a provisional government, to have authority "till the next General Court," and appoints six magistrates to administer justice, with "the same power that the Quarter Courts at Salem and Ipswich have."

of being church-members, Massachusetts having now become strong enough to admit of this limited deviation from her fundamental policy.[1] Exeter[2] before long followed the example of accession;[3] and Wheelwright, still jealous of the power of Massachusetts, besides being yet under her sentence of banishment, withdrew himself to the territory of Gorges. The three towns — with Hampton, which had been planted by avowed subjects of Massachusetts, and with the neighboring settlements of Salisbury and Haverhill, on the northern bank of the Merrimack — were made to constitute one of the four counties into which Massachusetts was now divided.[4] And for forty years this relation of the New Hampshire towns continued, greatly to their satisfaction and advantage.

1643. May 10.

Meanwhile, reasons similar to those which satisfied the groups of planters about the Piscataqua had influenced a party of settlers on the remote border of the patent of Gorges; and Thomas Purchas and his company, who had sat down on the convenient spot called by the natives *Pejepscot* (now Brunswick), sought the protection, and by a formal instrument submitted themselves to the jurisdiction, of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.[5] Wheelwright, on leaving Exeter to escape from that government, betook himself, with some adherents, to a tract adjoining to Agamenticus, which he had bought of Gorges, and gave it the name of *Wells*.[6] In the quiet of his new solitude, his past course presented itself to his reflections under a different aspect

Annexation of Pejepscot. 1639. July 22.

1643. April 17.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 29.

[2] See above, pp. 515, 516.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 37, 38, 43.

[4] See below, p. 617.

[5] The act of surrender is in Hazard, I. 457. — How long Purchas had been on this land, or what was his title to it, is not known. "Eleazer Way, in a deed to Richard Wharton of his right as son and heir to George Way, 1683, alleged, that Way and Purchas had a grant of the territory from the Council of Plymouth." (Willis, History of Portland, 41; comp. Ibid., 14, and Williamson, I 266, 290.)

[6] The deed of it is in Sullivan, 408.

from what it had worn in the ardor and pride of conflict. He had been there but a little time before he resolved to seek a reconciliation with the Massachusetts Magistrates and elders; and he wrote to the Governor, avowing that he had been misled by his "own distempered passions." He professed himself "unfeignedly sorry that he had such a hand in those sharp and vehement contentions"; that he "did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errors or evil practices"; and that he "did appeal." He "confessed that herein he had done very sinfully, and he humbly craved pardon." To a letter offering him safe-conduct to Boston he sent a dignified reply, distinguishing between the offences which he acknowledged and those which he disavowed.[1] He was answered with respect and courtesy; and at the next session of the General Court his sentence of banishment was revoked, "without his appearance." He continued, however, to reside with his new community a short time till it had taken root, and then returned to the neighborhood of his former residence, and lived seven years at Hampton. Next he sailed for England, where, like other ministers from New England, he enjoyed the special regard of Cromwell.[2]

Sept. 10. Remission of Wheelwright's sentence.

1644. March 1.

The Lygonia, or Plough,[3] patent now emerged into some little importance. It covered a territory, forty miles square, including the lower part of the river Saco, and extending northeastward-

The Plough Patent. 1631.

[1] The letters are in Winthrop, II. 162, 163.

[2] He is said to have had a college friendship or acquaintance with the Protector. After the Restoration, he returned to America, and was minister at Salisbury, where, having lived to be the oldest minister in New England, he died, November 15, 1679, in the odor of sanctity. The chief part of his property, which was considerable, had remained at Wells.

[3] The latter name, according to some authorities, commemorated the agricultural pursuits of the first colonists; according to others, it was the name of the vessel which brought them over. See above, p. 397, note.

ly along the coast, nearly to Casco Bay. The patentees without delay made some attempts at settlement,[1] but met with difficulties, and were soon discouraged.[2] At length, after the turn of affairs in England, the patent was purchased from the holders by Alexander Rigby, a patriot member of Parliament, who appointed George Cleaves to take possession and administration of his property. Cleaves had lived some years upon it, and it was probably at his instance (for he was then in London) that the purchase was made. A collision between Cleaves and the government of Gorges was naturally expected, as the two grants conflicted with each other. Cleaves, arriving at Boston, solicited the intervention of the Massachusetts General Court, who, however, declined to interfere. Proceeding next to organize a government upon the place, he was interrupted by a remonstrance from Richard Vines, who had been left at the head of Gorges's government, on the recent departure of the Deputy-Governor for England. Cleaves sent a proposal to Saco, to submit the question provisionally to the arbitration of the Massachusetts Magistrates; but Vines refused to listen to it, and threw the messenger into prison. Cleaves then wrote to Boston, repeating his application for aid, and Vines came thither to represent his case in person;[3] but neither could obtain more than advice to remain quiet till further instructions should arrive from England. The parties were not strong enough, or near enough, to threaten each other with serious harm;

1643. April 7.

1644.

[1] Winthrop, I. 58.

[2] Richard Dummer was intrusted by the patentees with the management of their business, when he came over in May, 1632. Mr. Charles Deane has an original letter from them to Winthrop, dated December 1 of that year, in which they complain of Dummer's proceedings. It is signed by John Dye, John Roch, Grace Hardwin, Thomas Inppe, whom Hubbard (Narrative of Indian Wars, Part II. p. 9) mentions as patentees, and by eight others. It was brought over by Allerton.

[3] Winthrop, II. 154, 155.

neither probably was disposed, by the rejection of the counsel, to supply a reason for the inhabitants of the Bay to interpose to keep the peace between them; and here the controversy rested for the present. The loyal and hearty proprietor of Maine was now involved in his king's affairs; and when, if not before, he died, as he did soon after his capture by the Parliamentary forces at Bristol, his Transatlantic rights fell to the management of hands less diligent and able.

While affairs were still so unsettled on the northeastern outskirts, the religious and thrifty people of Plymouth were keeping the even tenor of their way. Earnestly seeking peace and order, they arrived at an adjustment of some questions which, if left open, would have been a disturbance to their posterity. Their first patent had defined no boundaries. The second never took effect, having been surrendered by Pierce in the sequel of a dispute with the Associates. The grant in the third furnished the rule for determining the line between the jurisdictions of Massachusetts and Plymouth. If the patents conflicted in the descriptions of the territory conveyed, the claim of Massachusetts was best, as being prior in time; but it was maintained by Plymouth, that the other colony gave an unjustifiable interpretation to the name *Charles River*, in holding it to extend as far south as the most southerly of its tributaries. The Plymouth planters had assigned partly to their London associates, and partly to actual settlers, certain lands at a place called *Scituate*, contiguous to the Massachusetts town of Hingham, but understood by the Plymouth people to lie within their own northeastern border. A dispute which ensued between the neighbors was taken up by their respective governments. Commissioners, two on each side, met, and came to an agreement, which proved mutually satisfactory

1621.
1622.
1630. Jan. 13.
Boundary question between Massachusetts and Plymouth.
1640. June 16.

for the present,[1] though, under a change of circumstances, it was revised at a later time.[2] 1664.

The patent from the Council for New England, under which the lands continued to be held, was a grant to "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns." The freemen, being now dispersed through seven[3] towns in addition to Plymouth, desired legal possession of the common property; and Bradford executed an instrument, by which, after certain reservations for the "Purchasers or Old Comers,"[4] he surrendered "into the hands of the whole Court, consisting of the freemen of the corporation of New Plymouth, all that other right and title, power, authority, privileges, immunities, and freedoms, granted in the said letters patents by the said Right Honorable Council for New England."

Conveyance of the patent of Plymouth to the freemen. 1641. March 2.

The vexatious business with the English partners was brought to a partial settlement by their consent to give a full discharge on the receipt of twelve hundred pounds.[5] One of them, Andrews, "a haberdasher in London, a godly man," presented five hundred pounds, his share of the proceeds, to the Massachusetts Colony, "to be laid out in cattle, and other course of trade for the poor."[6] The eight men of Plymouth,[7] having made a scrupulously high valuation, on oath, of the effects in their hands, had not only been

Settlement with the London partners. Oct. 15.

[1] Bradford, 367–372. — The commission of Plymouth to Winslow and Bradford is in the Massachusetts Archives (III. 432). The plan of Woodward and Saffery, surveyors, is in the same collection (Ibid., 1).

[2] See Mass. Col. Rec., IV. Part II. 114–116.

[3] See above, p. 547.

[4] They were fifty-eight in number. (Hazard, I. 466.) Mr. Deane (Bradford, 372) gives good reasons for understanding "Old Comers" to denote the persons who had purchased from the original Adventurers at the end of the seven years' partnership. (See above, p. 228.) In this he differs from Baylies (Hist. of Plym. Col., 308) and from Judge Davis (Morton's Memorial, 403).

[5] Bradford, 379–382; comp. 323, 327, 331, 343, 348, 361, 365, 374.

[6] Winthrop, II. 75. — Beauchamp, however, continued to make difficulties, and his claim was not set at rest till ten years later.

[7] See above, p. 230.

great losers, but considered themselves to have been very hardly treated.[1] And the case turned out still worse than their fears, when, in consequence of the arrest of emigration occasioned by the altered state of affairs in the parent country, the value of their salable property was excessively depressed. The price of a cow fell in a month from twenty pounds to five, and of a goat from three pounds to ten shillings;[2] and the prospect was so dark, that thoughts of removal were again entertained,[3] which probably nothing short of a local attachment matured under the severest experiences could have overcome.

And the strength of this sentiment was tried at the critical moment by an event, which, if suited to weaken it in one class of minds, would be likely to give it double force in another. "Their reverend elder," writes Bradford, "and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster," died; "a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And, notwithstanding the many troubles he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age, if not all out, when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than

Death of Brewster. 1643. April 18.

[1] "That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end, was partly to stop the clamors and aspersions raised and cast upon them hereabout, though they conceived themselves to sustain the greatest wrong, and had most cause of complaint." (Bradford, 376; comp. 378, 379.)

[2] Ibid., 376.

[3] Ibid., 384.

half a day, and then failed him; and about nine or ten o'clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings; and so sweetly departed this life unto a better."

"I should say something of his life," the bereft friend continues, "if to say a little were not worse than to be silent." But he cannot dismiss the theme, and pauses with a fond detail, too earnest to admit a word of ambitious eulogy, on the series of distant and long past scenes through which the writer and the departed had walked hand in hand. Then the record passes off into what is not so much a delineation of his character, as a thanksgiving to God, who, for the joy of all who knew him, and the good of all whom he could serve, made him so brave and gentle, so faithful and generous, so frank and sympathizing, so "peaceable, sociable, and pleasant," so wise, modest, devout, and useful; and it comes to a fit close with discourse on the high tendencies by which strength is unfolded from infirmity, and trouble blossoms into joy. Through the sorrows and struggles of these upright men, "it was God's visitation that preserved their spirits."[1] His character.

Brewster had retired from courts before he became known to the associate of his later eventful years. When Brewster died, Bradford was fifty-three years old. The boy, walking on Sundays along an English hedge-row path to seek unlicensed edification at the lips of Robinson and Clifton, had first looked on Brewster with the veneration which a neophyte feels for the veteran who may soon be a martyr. Then, in a company of men and women devoted like themselves, they had passed

[1] Bradford, 408 – 415. — Brewster's library was the principal part of the estate which he left. It consisted of two hundred and seventy-five volumes, sixty-four of them being in the learned languages.

over the sea, through and towards many sufferings, and for ten years had earned a hard livelihood by unaccustomed labor. Next, coming to this "outside of the world," they had survived cold, famine, and a pestilence which through three months had employed them in nursing and burying as many of their associates as it left alive. With others worthy of confidence and esteem, they had given their harmonious direction to the common counsels, — themselves the most trusted and revered of all, — and had lived to see the issue of their generous cares in the establishment of an humble but prosperous commonwealth. All that had happened between the first meeting at Scrooby Manor and the present hour rose to the mind of the writer, who, from laying in the earth the form longer familiar to his eyes than any they could ever look upon again, turned back to duties thenceforward to be fulfilled with less experienced companionship.

All this time New Haven and Connecticut lay secure from England behind the shield of Massachusetts. What relations they in their obscurity and remoteness sustained to the parent country were subject to the influences of a transmission through the older colony.

Extension and consolidation of New Haven colony.

The settlers at New Haven had intended to employ themselves in the commercial industry to which they had been used, and had chosen their site with reference to its convenience for this pursuit. With the same view, they also purchased lands and established a plantation on Delaware Bay,[1] near to a fort which had been erected by some Swedes. But their commercial undertakings did not prosper; and as, one after another, agricultural communities grew up around them, their employments came to assimilate themselves to those of the rest of

1641. Aug. 30.

[1] N. H. Col. Rec., 57, 106.

the country.[1] They had obtained their lands of the natives by a payment of clothes, tools, and utensils, added to a promise of protection from hostile tribes; — a process which was repeated from time to time, in successive extensions to the immediate neighborhood, and in detached settlements. Thus, under the auspices of the government at New Haven, Southhold was established near the eastern end of Long Island, by a company from Norfolk in England; Stamford was founded, fifteen miles west of the Connecticut town of Fairfield, chiefly by a party who had taken offence at Wethersfield; and an attempt was made at Greenwich, still nearer to the New-Netherland border. This frontier town was, however, for some time in revolt. Captain Patrick, from Watertown,[2] the principal person among its settlers, took advantage of an alarm which prevailed of a rising of the Indians, to induce his neighbors to submit themselves to the Dutch; and, going to Fort Amsterdam, he, for himself and them, took an oath of allegiance to the States-General.[3]

1638. Nov. 24. Dec. 11. Southhold. 1640. October. Stamford. 1641. Greenwich. 1640. April 9.

It was ordered that semiannual General Courts in April and in October should be "held at New Haven for the plantations in combination with this town," [4] which as yet (if indeed Greenwich is to be

1642. April 6.

[1] "They laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein they, at the first, outdid the rest of the country." (Hubbard, 334.)

[2] See above, pp. 319, 464.

[3] Brodhead, History of New York, 330. — Patrick had lived in the Netherlands, where he married a Dutch wife. Winthrop says (II. 151): "This captain was entertained by us out of Holland (where he was a common soldier of the Prince's guard) to exercise our men. We made him a captain and maintained him. After, he was admitted a member of the church of Watertown and a freeman. But he grew very proud and vicious. . . . . And, perceiving that he was discovered, and that such evil courses would not be endured here, and being withal of a vain and unsettled disposition, he went from us, and sat down within twenty miles of the Dutch, and put himself under their protection." He did not live there long. In 1643, a Dutchman shot him dead, in a quarrel, in Underhill's house at Stamford. (Ibid.)

[4] N. H. Col. Rec., 70.

included) were only the three that have been just mentioned. The next year Guilford determined to renounce an independence which experience had shown to be more dignified than convenient, and was received into the "combination"; and, in the record, the description of the General Court as being held "for the plantations within this *jurisdiction*" now first occurs.[1]

1643. July 6.

Three months later, Milford annexed itself, and the colony of New Haven was fully constituted. On this occasion a difficulty occurred. Milford had "formerly taken in, as free burgesses, six planters who were not in church-fellowship." New Haven could consent to no alliance on such a basis. She agreed that "the six freemen already admitted might continue to act in all proper particular town business wherein the combination was not interested," and might "vote in the election of Deputies to be sent to the General Courts for the combination or jurisdiction." But this was on condition that those Deputies should "always be church-members"; that "the six free burgesses who were not church-members should not at any time thereafter be chosen either Deputies, or into any public trust for the combination"; that they should "neither personally, nor by proxy, vote at any time in the election of Magistrates"; and that none should "be admitted freemen or free burgesses thereafter, at Milford, but church-members."[2] By the next "General Court for the jurisdiction" this arrangement was confirmed.

October.

Oct. 23.

Oct. 27.

At the same time, rulers were chosen for the newly constituted community. Theophilus Eaton was elected Governor, with Stephen Goodyeare, of New Haven, for Deputy-Governor, and Thomas Gregson of the same town, William Fowler and Edmund Tapp of Milford,

[1] N. H. Col. Rec., 96, 97. See above, p. 535.

[2] N. H. Col. Rec., 110.

and Thurston Rayner of Stamford, for Magistrates. A system of judicial administration was instituted. Each plantation was to choose for itself "ordinary judges, to hear and determine all inferior causes." From the "Plantation Courts" was to lie an appeal to the "Court of Magistrates" (consisting of the Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Assistants), who were also to have original jurisdiction in "weighty and capital cases, whether civil or criminal"; and from the latter tribunal appeals and complaints might be made, and brought to the General Court as the highest for the jurisdiction. In the determination of appeals, "with whatsoever else should fall within their cognizance or judicature," the Courts were to "proceed according to the Scriptures, which is the rule of all righteous laws and sentences."[1]

A list, taken in the same year, of "the planters" in the town of New Haven, exhibits the names of a hundred and twenty-two persons, including eight women. A reckoning of their family dependents swelled the number to four hundred and sixteen; but it is known that some of these never came to America. The aggregate property of the planters was rated at thirty-six thousand three hundred and thirty-seven pounds sterling.[2]

In Connecticut, whose constitution did not permit the immediate re-election of a Governor, the choice for that office in three successive years fell upon John Haynes, George Wyllys,[3] and John

Magistrates of Connecticut. 1641 - 1643.

1 N. H. Col. Rec., 112 - 116.

2 Ibid., 91 - 93. — De Vries romances on New Haven. In the Journal of his Third Voyage, he writes: "We arrived the next evening [June 4, 1639] at *Roodeberg* [*Red Hill*, New Haven], a fine harbor, and found that the English were building a fine town, having already erected upwards of three hundred houses and a handsome church." (Collections of the New York Historical Society, Second Series, I. 261.)

3 George Wyllys was the possessor of a good landed property in Warwickshire. In 1636 he sent over twenty servants, to prepare a residence for him at the place soon afterwards called Hartford. In 1638 he came over, and in the next two years was chosen a Magistrate. In 1641 he was Deputy-

Haynes again, while Wyllys, Ludlow, and Hopkins successively filled the second place. These four gentlemen were always Assistants when they occupied no higher position; and their colleagues in the magistracy were mostly the same from year to year. The connection of Pynchon's settlement[1] with the lower towns was of brief duration, and had not been well defined even while it lasted.[2] There had been disagreements with him from the first,[3] and Massachusetts had always regarded his plantation as lying within her territory as described by the charter.[4] At length, on a petition of Pynchon and his company to the General Court at Boston, Springfield (as it was now called, instead of *Agawam*, the Indian name which it had hitherto borne) was recognized as falling within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; and commissioners were appointed "to lay out the south line" of that Colony, to be joined by such as Connecticut might designate for the purpose.[5]

Separation of Springfield from Connecticut.

1641. June 2.

After three years, this loss to Connecticut was more than made up by two additions. A company consisting of "about forty families," from Lynn in Massachusetts, "finding themselves straitened,"[6] had bought land of the Indians on the south side of Long Island, near its eastern end, and there begun a plantation which they called *Southampton*. For a while they formed an independent community; but, learning from expe-

1640–1641.

Governor; in 1642, Governor; and in 1643 and 1644, a Magistrate again. March 9, 1645, he died, leaving a greatly honored name.

[1] See above, p. 454.

[2] For establishing the constitution in 1639, it was only "the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield" who came together. (Conn. Col. Rec., 21.)

[3] Ibid., 13, 19.

[4] Winthrop, I. 285.

[5] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 320, 323. I believe that the petition of Pynchon and his friends is the earliest document in which the name *Springfield* occurs. Hutchinson says (I. 95), that Pynchon's English home had been at Springfield, near Chelmsford, in Essex.

[6] Winthrop, II. 4.

rience the disadvantages of this condition, they entered into an agreement to "associate and join themselves to the jurisdiction of Connecticut"; and their Deputies were admitted to the General Court of that colony.[1] A more important accession was that of the settlement at Saybrook. On condition of receiving the avails, for ten years, of certain duties to be collected from all vessels passing out of the river, and of certain taxes on the domestic trade in beaver and on live stock, Fenwick conveyed the fort, with its armament and "appurtenances," and the "land upon the river," except such as was already private property, to "the jurisdiction of Connecticut."[2] He further covenanted to obtain for that jurisdiction the property of "all the lands from Narragansett River to the fort of Saybrook, mentioned in a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick to certain nobles and gentlemen, ... if it came into his power."[3]

Accession of Southampton. 1644. Oct. 25.

Of Saybrook. Dec. 5.

The government of Connecticut was not less tender than that of New Haven of the rights of the Indians. Strict laws protected them from ill treatment on the part of the whites; and, to disabuse them of imaginary grounds of dissatisfaction, purchases of the same tracts were often repeated. Still they were restless, and from time to time occasioned alarms. The Connecticut people were hardly dissuaded by those of New Haven from sending a hundred men to

The Connecticut Indians.

1639. August.

[1] Conn. Col. Rec., 112. For a "Copy of the Combination of Southampton with Hartford," see Ibid., 566.

[2] Ibid., 119, 266, 568.

[3] For this important clause of the agreement, see Conn. Col. Rec., 268. It has been greatly misunderstood. Trumbull, generally so exact, says (History, I. 150, comp. 118, 237): "The colony, on the whole, paid Mr. Fenwick sixteen hundred pounds sterling, merely for the jurisdiction right, or for the old patent of Connecticut." And in this statement he has been too confidingly followed by recent writers. Indeed, he had been preceded by Hutchinson, who says (I. 97, note): "The Connecticut people purchased the title of the Lords of Mr. Fenwick." The truth is, no such purchase was made; and that there was none, was the occasion of much subsequent inconvenience and litigation.

chastise some disorderly natives, complained of by the planters at Wethersfield.[1] Some Pequots, returning to their old home, were dispersed by Mason at the head of forty men, with a party of Mohegan allies; but he carefully abstained from bloodshed, contenting himself with destroying their wigwams and carrying off their corn.[2] The local disorders, which occurred afterwards, proved to be not too serious to be readily quelled by a due mixture of vigor and conciliation.

The plantations about Narragansett Bay were still but loosely organized. Their quarrels with each other, and those of the several plantations within themselves, had relations so large and durable, that the recital of them cannot be conveniently begun in this volume. It has been mentioned, that, the first fervor of indignation over, several of the Antinomian fugitives to Aquetnet returned to Massachusetts,[3] where some of them were to resume their natural position as influential citizens. Mrs. Hutchinson, having become a widow,[4] removed, with most of her family, to a spot within or near the Dutch border.[5] Coddington was rechosen Governor of the Island, and Brenton Deputy-Governor, from

Proceedings on Rhode Island.

1 Conn. Col. Rec., 31, 32.

2 Ibid. — Mason, History, &c., 18.

3 See above, p. 509. — Aspinwall, it seems, was no better satisfied with Hutchinson's government (see above, p. 514) than he had been with Coddington's. In October, 1641, he had "a safe-conduct granted him to come and satisfy the Council" of Massachusetts. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 338.) A few months after, "upon his petition and certificate of his good carriage," he was "restored again to his former liberty and freedom" (Ibid., II. 3), and was "reconciled to the church of Boston. He made a very free and full acknowledgment of his error and seducement, and that with much detestation of his sin." (Winthrop, II. 62.)

4 Governor Hutchinson (History, I. 72) says that William Hutchinson died "about the year 1642."

5 Her descendant says (Hutchinson, ibid.) that she removed from Rhode Island, because she was "dissatisfied with the people or place." — "Mistress Hutchinson, being weary of the Island, or rather the Island weary of her, departed from thence with all her family, her daughter and her children, to live under the Dutch, near a place called by seamen, and in the map, *Hell-Gate*." (Welde, Short Story, &c., Preface.) — Mr. Brodhead (History of New York, I. 334) supposes — I presume correctly — that he has identified the spot.

year to year.[1] General Courts were at first ordered to be holden in every March and October, alternating, as to place, between Newport and Portsmouth.[2] After two years' trial, one General Court in each year was thought sufficient.[3] It was "ordered, and unanimously agreed upon," as follows: "That the government which this body politic doth attend unto, in this island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our prince, is a democracy, or popular government; that is to say, it is in the power of the freemen orderly assembled, or the major part of them, to make or constitute just laws by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man."[4]

1640. Aug. 6.

1642. March.

1641.

The early laws for the most part related to matters of police, to the extirpation of noxious wild animals, and to military preparations for defence against the Indians.[5] It was ordered that the Colony seal should be "a sheaf of arrows bound up, and in the liess or bond this motto indented: *Amor vincet omnia*."[6] The provision for liberty of conscience was, "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established."[7] After the Long Parliament met, the loyalty of the Colony expressed itself less explicitly than it had before done, in the order "that, if any person or persons on this island, whether freeman or inhabitant, shall by any means, open or covert, endeavor to bring in any other

Sept. 17.

1 R. I. Col. Rec., I. 101, 112, 120, 126, 127.

2 Ibid., 106.

3 Ibid., 123.

4 Ibid., 112.

5 Yet Winthrop heard (II. 46) that "divers of them . . . . . would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among Christians." — The removal of Coddington and his friends to the southern end of the island had brought them into close proximity to the Narragansetts, whose dispositions they watched with solicitude.

6 R. I. Col. Rec., I. 115.

7 Ibid., 113; comp. 118.

power than what is now established, (except it be from our prince by lawful commission,) he shall be accounted a delinquent under the head of perjury."[1] By the end of another year, the hope that the time had come for obtaining Transatlantic protection for the infant settlement had revived,[2] and led to an order for the appointment of a committee "to consult about the procuration of a patent for this island and islands and the land adjacent, and to draw up petition or petitions, and to send letter or letters for the same end to Sir Henry Vane."[3]

1642. Sept. 19.

The planters at Providence entertained the same design. They too felt strongly the desirableness of a recognition in England, on account of their want of any title to their lands except what was derived from the natives, their dissensions among themselves, their isolation from the more flourishing colonies around them, and the distrust with which they felt themselves to be regarded by their compatriots in America. The character of Roger Williams, no less than his personal relations to Henry Vane, recommended him for employment in the service proposed; and he embarked for England, sailing from New Amsterdam because still under the sentence of banishment from Massachusetts. While awaiting the departure of the vessel that was to convey him, he is said to have found occasion for his distinctive office as a peacemaker with the Indians, and to have had the happiness to allay their fury against the Dutch settlers in that region.[4] He employed the leisure of his outward voyage in writing his "Key into the Language

1643. March.

[1] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 118. I am not sure that this was not a measure of precaution against apprehended encroachment from Massachusetts.

[2] See above, p. 514.

[3] R. I. Col. Rec., I. 125.

[4] Winthrop says (II. 97): "These, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, who was then there to go in a Dutch ship for England, were pacified, and peace re-established between the Dutch and them." — Williams, however, referring, in a Memorial to the General Court of Massachusetts, October 5, 1654, to this

of America." In England, whither he came just after the death of Hampden, he was well received in the high quarters to which his mission directed him, and was for a time the guest of Henry Vane. Here he immediately published his "Key," and his treatise entitled "Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, examined and answered." The views respecting freedom of conscience, which he so prized, now fell in with a current of thought in the elevated circles in which he moved,[1] and were sure of favorable attention; and his first publications were followed in the next year by that of his "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for Cause of Conscience."[2]

Roger Williams in England.

visit of his to New Amsterdam, speaks of the war with the Indians as going on when he sailed from that port, and says nothing of any mediation of his to arrest it. (R. I. Hist. Col., III. 155.) At all events, the strife was not composed; for in September, 1643, some six months after Williams's departure, Mrs. Hutchinson, in an inroad of the Indians into the Dutch country, lost her life. With her they murdered all of her household, except a daughter eight years of age, whom they carried into captivity. The General Court of Massachusetts took measures to recover the child, (Mass. Col. Rec., II. 52,) who, after four years, was obtained from the Indians by the Dutch, and restored to her friends in Boston. (Winthrop, II. 267.)

[1] "Mine own ears were glad and late witnesses of a heavenly speech of one of the most eminent of that high assembly of Parliament; viz. 'Why should the labors of any be suppressed, if sober, though never so different? We now profess to seek God; we desire to see light,' &c." (Williams, Preface to Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, &c.)

[2] See above, p. 415, note. The "Bloody Tenent of Persecution," first issued anonymously, was in answer to a reply by Cotton to a tract entitled, "Scriptures and Reasons written out long since by a Witness of Jesus Christ, close Prisoner in Newgate, against Persecution in Cause of Conscience."

CHAPTER XV.

Massachusetts was settling steadily on her well-laid foundations. The great decline in the value of property, incident to the discontinuance of immigration, bore heavily upon her people; but the habit of hard work and careful saving, which necessity had enforced in the earlier stages of the settlement, enabled them to live above want, while it sowed the seeds of a future affluence. And the lull, which succeeded to the storm of controversy lately so furious, was favorable to the dispassionate determination of the important practical questions which were constantly arising in the infancy of the state. It may even be thought, that the arrest of the increase of the colony by accessions from abroad was at this stage happily ordained to facilitate an orderly arrangement of its elements, already sufficient as they were, both in amount and variety, for the composition of a vigorous body politic.

In Dudley's second administration of the chief magistracy,[1] the scarcity of money was such as to lead to a law authorizing the satisfaction of debts by payment "in corn, cattle, fish, or other commodities, at such rates as the Court should set down from time to time, or, in default thereof, by appraisement of indifferent men." The law was not to have effect as to debts existing at the time of its passage, or contracted within the next three weeks.[2] But, so restricted, it was not thought to afford sufficient relief; and, by a further provision, creditors were com-

Relief law in Massachusetts.

1640. Oct. 7.

[1] See above, p. 554.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 304.

pelled to accept payment of all dues in personal property of the debtors, such as they should themselves select; and, if this should prove insufficient, then in real estate, at a valuation to be determined "by three understanding and indifferent men."[1]

At the expiration of Dudley's year of office, Richard Bellingham was chosen his successor,[2] with Endicott for Deputy-Governor, and a Board of Assistants composed of the other Magistrates of the last year.[3] The election of Bellingham, which was made by a majority of only six votes when there were some fourteen hundred voters, took the General Court by surprise, and was received by them with a displeasure which they testified significantly and without delay. The government was no sooner sworn in, than they passed a vote to repeal "the order formerly made for allowing a hundred pound *per annum* to the Governor."[4] This period of Bellingham's life was not the most creditable. He occasioned scandal by an unsuitable matrimonial contract, by neglecting to have it published according to law, and by performing the marriage ceremony himself; and, when called to account before the Board of Magistrates, he indulged himself in disrespectful and disorderly behavior.[5] The General Court "was full of uncomfortable agitations and contentions," by reason of his unfriendliness to "some other of the Magistrates." "He set himself in an opposite frame to them in all proceedings, which did much retard all business, and was occasion of grief to many godly minds,

Government of 1641–1642.

Unsatisfactory administration of Bellingham.

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 307. A law of the next year ordered *wampumpeag* to "pass current at six a penny for any sum under ten pounds," in payment of debts subsequently contracted. (Ibid., 329.)

[2] See above, pp. 307, note, 428.

[3] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 319.

[4] Ibid. — In recording Bellingham's election, Winthrop wrote, in the margin of his manuscript, "Mr. B. chosen unduly." "There had been much laboring," he says, "to have Mr. Bellingham chosen"; and some persons, he thought, were improperly denied the privilege of voting, because of alleged informality.

[5] Winthrop, II. 43.

and matter of reproach to the whole Court in the mouths of others, and brought himself low in the eyes of those with whom formerly he had been in honor." The candid Winthrop, who gives some instances of Bellingham's maladministration, found himself compelled to impute it to "an evil spirit of emulation and jealousy, through his melancholic disposition."[1] Dudley's disgust was such, that he could scarcely be prevailed upon not to withdraw from office. "Being a very wise and just man, and one that would not be trodden under foot of any man," he "took occasion (alleging his age, &c.) to tell the Court that he was resolved to leave his place. . . . . The Court was much affected, and entreated him, with manifestation of much affection and respect towards him, to leave off these thoughts. . . . . The Governor also made a speech, as if he desired to leave his place of magistracy also; but he was fain to make his own answer, for no man desired him to keep or to consider better of it."[2] Before his official year was out, he had so incurred the disapprobation of the Deputies, with which branch of the government he was commonly a favorite, that they proceeded to the extreme step of sending a committee "to give him a solemn admonition, which was never done to any Governor before."[3] Perhaps it was with a view to provide some check to what was apprehended from his overbearing disposition, that

June 2. an able man, John Humphrey, was advanced to the new trust of "Sergeant-Major-General" of all the military force of the colony.[4]

Whenever the ship of state was laboring, the natural resource was to call Winthrop to the helm; and he was

[1] Winthrop, II. 50.

[2] Ibid., 54, 55.

[3] Ibid., 52.

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., I. 329. — A motive to this step, independent of its public objects, may have been to soothe and gratify Humphrey, who had just now returned disappointed from the West Indies (see above, p. 550, note), and had met with grievous domestic misfortunes.

again made Governor at the end of Bellingham's year of office. Endicott was continued in the second place,[1] and probably the Board of Magistrates consisted of the same members as in the last year,[2] except that Thomas Flint of Concord[3] was substituted for Mr. Humphrey, who had taken his final departure for England,[4] and that the place usually filled by John Winthrop, the younger, was vacant.[5] In the following year, the same persons were invested again with the same trusts, and the Board of Assistants was enlarged by the accession of John Winthrop, Jr., William Pynchon, Samuel Symonds, and William Hibbens. Hibbens had eight months before returned from his mission to England.[6] Symonds, "a gentleman of an ancient and worshipful family, from Yeldham, in Essex,"[7] was now an inhabitant of Ipswich.[8] Pynchon's plantation at Springfield had lately been brought under the government of Massachusetts.[9] The sermon preached

Re-election of Governor Winthrop in 1642 and in 1643.

[1] Winthrop, II. 63. — The first volume of the Records of the Colony of Massachusetts closes with the proceedings of December 10, 1641. The first pages of the second volume, embracing that portion in which were recorded the elections of 1642, are lost.

[2] I gather this from the list of Assistants present at the Court of September 8, 1642. (Mass. Coll. Rec., II. 22.)

[3] Winthrop, II. 47. Thomas Flint had been made a freeman in 1637. (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 374.) He brought to New England a property amounting to £ 2,000, and died, at the end of sixteen years, after a "great decay of his estate." (Mass. Hist. Coll., XXI. 48.)

[4] Winthrop, II. 85, 86. Humphrey had gone away broken-hearted by reason of family troubles. (Ibid., 45, 46.)

[5] I infer this from a comparison of the list referred to above, in note 2, (which contains the names of nine Magistrates, and omits that of the younger Winthrop,) with the language of Governor Winthrop (II. 47): "There were now in all nine Magistrates." Possibly, however, by "Magistrates" in this place Winthrop meant Assistants, and then Pynchon and young Winthrop would make up the number. But I suppose the latter had not returned from Europe before the election. See above, p. 582, note 4; Winthrop, II. 76, 212.

[6] Winthrop, II. 76. See above, p. 582. Hibbens was in the colony as early as the spring of 1639. (Winthrop, I. 320.) He was admitted a freeman in May of the next year (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 377), and in the following autumn was a Deputy in the General Court (Ibid., 301).

[7] Hubbard, 372.

[8] He was admitted a freeman in March, 1638 (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 374), and took his place as a Deputy in the General Court two months afterward (Ibid., 227).

[9] See above, p. 604.

to the General Court before this election had proved as little persuasive as that in which Cotton, on the same occasion, nine years before, had enforced an opposite doctrine.[1] "Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, pastor of the church in Rowley, ... described how the man ought to be qualified whom they should choose for their Governor; yet dissuaded them earnestly from choosing the same man twice together."[2]

Disuse of the oath of allegiance.

At this time, "there arose a scruple about the oath which the Governor and the rest of the Magistrates were to take, viz. about the first part of it, 'You shall bear true faith and allegiance to our sovereign lord, King Charles,' seeing he had violated the privileges of Parliament, and made war upon them, and thereby had lost much of his kingdom and many of his subjects; whereupon it was thought fit to omit that part of it for the present."[3] And here was an end, for many years, to all public recognition of royal authority in Massachusetts.

Renewal of the question about a Council for Life.

1642. May.

The question which had been entertained respecting the Council for Life might seem, as to its practical bearings, to have been disposed of by the recent vote.[4] But it was to have another momentary revival. At the time when Winthrop succeeded Bellingham, "a book was brought into the Court, wherein the institution of the Standing Council was pretended to be a sinful innovation." It was a time of jealousy and irritation. Bellingham's party, which had scarcely prevailed the year before, was now defeated. He was a man who could not contentedly fill an inferior place. He was thought to be disgusted at "finding that some other of the Magistrates bare more sway with the people than himself, and that they were called to be of the Standing Council for Life, and himself passed by."[5] Richard Sal-

[1] See above, p. 373.
[2] Winthrop, II. 99.
[3] Ibid., I. 101.
[4] See above, p. 555.
[5] Winthrop, II. 50.

tonstall was his close friend and devoted adherent, and, in the disputes of the time, they together sided with the popular party against their brother Magistrates.

Now that the Council for Life had been disarmed by the order which deprived its members of all power except as they were also members of the government annually chosen, the interest felt in an argument against it must have been mainly due to the sensibility occasioned by the existing state of parties, and to animadversions, express or implied, on the eminent men who had accepted the obnoxious trust. But things so stood, that, on its being "brought into the Court," "the Governor moved to have the contents of the book examined, and then, if there appeared cause, to inquire after the author." The motion was opposed and defeated, "the greatest part of the Court having some intimation of the author, of whose honest intentions they were well persuaded." The majority, however, allowed a reading of the treatise, and an inquiry "how it came into the Court." It proved to have been written by Mr. Saltonstall; to have been communicated by him to a friend of his, Mr. Hathorne, a prominent Deputy; and to have been subsequently in the hands of Mr. Dudley, who had composed an answer to it.

The Governor now moved that the character of its contents should be taken into consideration; "but the Court could not agree to it, except Mr. Saltonstall were first acquit from any censure." "Upon that, some passages very offensive and unwarrantable were mentioned, about which also the Court being divided, the Governor moved to take the advice of the elders concerning the soundness of the propositions and arguments. This the Court would not allow neither, except the whole cause were referred." At last, "when no further proceeding was otherwise like to be had, it was agreed that — in regard the Court was not jealous of any evil intention in Mr. Saltonstall," and considered that in offering his advice to a Deputy he had

only used a freeman's right — he should be "discharged from any censure or further inquiry about the same." [1]

On the next consideration of the vexatious treatise, a disposition was evinced to heal the wounds which it had made. "It was voted by the Court to vindicate the office of the Standing Council, ... and the persons in whom it was vested, from all dishonor and reproach cast upon it or them in Mr. Saltonstall's book"; and "it was ordered, that the book now in Court, containing arguments against the Standing Council, should be commended to the elders, who were desired to return their judgment and advice about the matter thereof to the next Court." [2] Here was the end of the public proceedings on the subject.[3] The elders "took into consideration the book which was committed to them by the General Court," but "were much different in their judgment about it." The statement of the result, at which they arrived in a conference begun in this state of mind, was wordy and unimportant, and, if it was communicated to the General Court, it is not known to have at all engaged the attention of that body.[4]

June 14.

Oct. 18.

The second year of Winthrop's third service in the chief magistracy was signalized by the perfecting of the system of internal administration in two respects, and

[1] Winthrop, II. 64, 65; comp. Mass. Col. Rec., II. 5. — The reader of Winthrop finds some explanation of the resentment occasioned by this tract, when he is told of its having alleged "that the Council was instituted unwarily, to satisfy Mr. Vane's desire." "Other passages there were also, which were very unsound, reproachful, and dangerous," in Winthrop's judgment.

[2] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 20, 21.

[3] A counter-claim was before long set up by the Deputies (Winthrop, II. 167–169) to supersede the authority of the Board of Magistrates in certain vital particulars, and transfer it to a special commission. The difficulty which the chief men found in disposing of this must alone have satisfied them of the futility and danger of any further attempt to revive the offensive institution of the Standing Council.

[4] An abstract of it is preserved by Winthrop (II. 89, 90). — They operated to more purpose, however, in another way. "By the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, Mr. Saltonstall was brought to see his failings in that treatise, which he did ingenuously acknowledge and bewail, and so he was reconciled with the rest of the Magistrates." (Ibid., 116.)

by the maturing of a measure which materially changed, and fixed for a long period, the relations of the colonies of New England to one another, and to the world abroad.

One of the improvements now made was a distribution of the towns of Massachusetts, thirty in number, into four counties, which took their names, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Essex*, and *Middlesex*, from the English shires from which probably the greater number of immigrants had come.[1] A framework for this organization already existed in the institution of Quarterly Courts held at four principal places,[2] and in the organization of the military force into regiments according to a local division.[3] The armed levy of each county was presently after placed under the command of a "Lieutenant," an officer corresponding to the Lord-Lieutenant of an English shire, and inferior only to the Governor and the Sergeant-Major-General of the colony. In each county there was to be a sergeant-major, second in command to the Lieutenant.[4]

Division of Massachusetts into counties. 1643. May 10.

Sept. 7.

The same year witnessed the adoption of that great security of constitutional governments, which, late in the following century, was to be maintained by John Adams[5] against the argument of Turgot and the judgment of Franklin,[6] and which now makes a part of the organic law of each one of the United States of America, as well as of the federal government that unites them. A division

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 38. The counties were constituted as follows: *Suffolk*, of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, and Nantasket; *Essex*, of Salem, Lynn, Enon (Wenham), Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester, Cochickawick (Andover); *Middlesex*, of Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, and Reading; and *Norfolk*, of Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, and Strawberry Bank.

[2] See above, p. 431.

[3] See above, p. 443.

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 42.

[5] See Adams's Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, and Works of John Adams, Vols. IV., V., and VI., *passim*.

[6] See "Queries and Remarks," in Sparks's edition of Franklin, V. 165.

of the legislature into two co-ordinate branches terminated a controversy between the Magistrates and Deputies which had been running on for several years.[1]

Division of the legislative department.

"There fell out a great business," writes Winthrop, "upon a very small occasion," which he proceeds to relate. "There was a stray sow in Boston, which was brought to Captain Keayne," a man of property and consequence, but unpopular for alleged hardness in his dealings. He gave public notice of it by the town-crier and otherwise; but no claimant appeared "for near a year," nor till after he had killed a pig of his own, which had been kept along with the stray. Then a woman named Sherman came to see it, and, not being able to identify it with one which she had lost, alleged that the slaughtered pig was hers. The matter was examined into by the elders of the church of Boston, who, after hearing the parties and their witnesses, exonerated Captain Keayne. Mrs. Sherman was dissatisfied, and brought her case to trial before a jury, who took the same view of it, and gave the defendant "three pounds for his cost." Thus fortified, Keayne turned on the other party with a suit for defamation in charging him with theft, and recovered forty pounds' damages. Mrs. Sherman was not satisfied yet, and appealed to the General Court. Of that body, in which as yet Magistrates and Deputies sat and voted in the same chamber, the prejudices against Keayne had weight with the popular portion; and, after a re-hearing of the case, which occupied "the best part of seven days," two Magistrates and fifteen Deputies voted for a reversal of the previous decision, against the judgment of seven Magistrates and eight Deputies, who approved it, while "the other seven Deputies stood doubtful." Thus a large majority of the superior officials was

1636.

1642. June.

[1] See above, p. 448.

for one party, while on a joint vote the majority of the Court would be for the other. The division standing thus, the case "was not determined"; but, in circumstances which enlisted a popular feeling, it had brought up distinctly the fundamental question of the relation of the two classes of representatives to each other.

"Much contention and earnestness there was." The losing party was pertinacious, and labored to create an impression that injustice had been done out of respect to wealth and social standing. The affair "gave occasion to many to speak unreverently of the Court, especially of the Magistrates; and the report went, that their negative voice had hindered the course of justice, and that these Magistrates must be put out, that the power of the negative voice might be taken away. Thereupon it was thought fit by the Governor and other of the Magistrates to publish a declaration of the true state of the cause, that truth might not be condemned unknown."[1]

The elders, on "a view of all the evidence on both parties," approved the sentence of the Court; but the bilious Mr. Bellingham took actively the part of the unsuccessful suitor, and "would have the Magistrates lay down their negative voice." The complainant, "too much countenanced by some of the Court, preferred a petition at the Court of Elections for a new hearing," and obtained the report of a committee in favor of re-opening the question. To the disap- 1643. May.

[1] Winthrop, II. 69–71. — Accordingly "one of the Magistrates published a declaration." (Ibid, 72.) The paper thus circulated — probably in several copies — is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. It bears the title, "A Breaviate of the Case betwene Richard Sheareman [Mrs. Sherman's husband, who had been abroad at the beginning of the dispute] pl. by petition, and Capt. Robert Keayne, defen. aboute the title to a straye sowe supposed to be brought from Deare Island about 9ber, 1636." It covers six compactly written pages, of small size, and is in Winthrop's handwriting, with his signature at the end. It contains full minutes of the evidence and arguments, stated with lawyer-like precision. It is dated "at Boston, this 5 [July], 15, 1642." — Comp. Mass. Col. Rec., II. 12.

proving Governor "two things appeared to carry men on in this course, as it were in captivity. One was, the Deputies stood only upon this, that their towns were not satisfied in the cause (which, by the way, shows plainly the democratical spirit which acts over Deputies, &c.). The other was, the desire of the name of victory." A more generous, but not more defensible sentiment, prompted by a consideration of the respective circumstances of the defendant and the claimant, had, he thought, a more extensive influence. "He being accounted a rich man, and she a poor woman, this so wrought with the people, as, being blinded with unreasonable compassion, they could not see or not allow justice her reasonable course."[1] To satisfy this feeling, Keayne was advised to return a part of what had been adjudged him; and the question was once more dismissed.

The Governor, however, was informed that his exposition of it had occasioned displeasure, "which he being willing to remove," so as to "begin his year in a reconciled state with all," he made a speech upon the subject "so soon as he came into the General Court." As to "the matter," he said he was sustained by "the concurrence of his brethren, both Magistrates and Deputies," and "had examined it over and again by such light as God had afforded him from the rules of religion, reason, and common practice, and truly could find no ground to retract anything in that, and therefore he desired he might enjoy his liberty therein. . . . . For the manner, whatever he might allege for his justification before men, he now passed it over," and "set himself before another judgment-seat." He confessed he "was too prodigal of his brethren's reputation," and "did arrogate too much to himself, and ascribe too little to others." He "acknowledged his failings, and humbly entreated those who had been displeased

[1] It is surprising that Winthrop did not quote Exodus xxiii. 3, as pertinent to the case.

to pardon and pass them by"; and he hoped he "should be more wise and watchful thereafter."

So magnanimous a course could not but dispose of the personal complaint; but the question which had arisen, "about the Magistrates' negative vote in the General Court," was not to be so easily determined. "One of the Magistrates wrote a small treatise, ... showing thereby how it was fundamental to the government, which, if it were taken away, would be a mere democracy. He showed also the necessity and usefulness of it by many arguments from Scripture, reason, and common practice, &c. Yet this would not satisfy, but the Deputies and common people would have it taken away. ..... An answer also was written (by one of the Magistrates, as was conceived) to the said treatise." The Deputies "pressed earnestly" for an immediate decision; "but the Magistrates told them the matter was of great concernment, even to the very frame of the government." At length, it was agreed that there should be further opportunity for consideration, and "that the elders should be desired to give their advice before the next meeting of the Court. It was the Magistrates' only care to gain time, that so the people's heat might be abated, for then they knew they would hear reason."[1]

The Magistrates' confidence in the people was not misplaced. The people did hear reason; and, when the next action was had upon the subject, the negative vote was not "taken away," but duplicated.[2] Without opposition, so far as is known, the following preamble and vote were passed by the General Court. 1644. March 7.

[1] Winthrop, II. 115–119; comp. Mass. Col. Rec., II. 51.

[2] Winthrop had, in the mean time, written and circulated "A Reply to the Answer" mentioned above, which answer there can be no doubt that he understood to be from the pen of Bellingham. A copy of Winthrop's tract is in the Hutchinson collection of manuscripts in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society (pp. 59–66). It bears the date, 4 [June], 4, 1643, and is signed "Jo. Winthrop, Gov."

"Forasmuch as, after long experience, we find divers inconveniences in the manner of our proceeding in Courts by Magistrates and Deputies sitting together, and accounting it wisdom to follow the laudable practice of other states who have laid groundworks for government and order in the issuing of business of greatest and highest consequence, —

"It is therefore ordered, first, that the Magistrates may sit and act business by themselves, by drawing up bills and orders which they shall see good in their wisdom, which having agreed upon, they may present them to the Deputies to be considered of, how good and wholesome such orders are for the country, and accordingly to give their assent or dissent; the Deputies in like manner sitting apart by themselves, and consulting about such orders and laws as they in their discretion and experience shall find meet for common good, which, agreed upon by them, they may present to the Magistrates, who, according to their wisdom having seriously considered of them, may consent unto them or disallow them; and, when any orders have passed the approbation of both Magistrates and Deputies, then such orders to be engrossed, and in the last day of the Court to be read deliberately, and full assent to be given; provided, also, that all matters of judicature, which this Court shall take cognizance of, shall be issued in like manner."[1]

"This Order," not by hurtfully withdrawing a power

[1] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 58, 59; comp. Winthrop, II. 160. — The original draft of this important Order is in the archives of the Commonwealth. In this draft, as it was first made, between the words "given" and "provided," in the last line but two of the Order as printed above, stood the following words, viz. "without alteration by the major vote of both, of Magistrates and Deputies together, which vote shall issue and confirm all laws and orders of this Commonwealth as authentic, and to be obeyed by all the country." After the word "manner," at the end, the following words are added, in Winthrop's handwriting, viz. "Nor shall this order hinder but that both Magistrates and Deputies may sometimes meet together to consult upon any special case or affair, when either party shall desire it." Both these clauses are crossed out with a pen.

from the Magistrates, as had been attempted, but by beneficially conferring an equal power upon the Deputies, "determined the great contention about the negative voice," [1] and completed the frame of the internal government of Massachusetts, destined to undergo no further organic change for forty years.

A measure of still greater moment had been consummated some months earlier. This was no less than a political confederation of the four principal Colonies of New England.

Confederation of four Colonies.

This measure, the scheme of which had perhaps been derived from the Confederacy of the Low Countries, had been conceived several years before. Such of the reasons finally availing for its adoption, as seemed fit to be committed to a formal record, are set forth in the preamble to the Articles [2]: —

"Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity with peace; — and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon the sea-coasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desire, with convenience communicate in one government and jurisdiction; — and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us, or our posterity; — and forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry insolences and outrages upon several plantations of the English, and have of late combined themselves against us; — and seeing by reason of those sad distractions in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice, or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection, which at other times we might well expect: — We

[1] Winthrop, II. 160.

[2] The instrument is in Hazard, II. 1 – 6.

therefore do conceive it our bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments; that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one."

Of the five specifications here made, it was the third particularly that expressed the original occasion of the movement. The "people of several nations and strange languages" were the French upon the eastern frontier of the English colonists, the Dutch upon the western, and the Swedes on Delaware Bay. Six years after the fall of Gustavus Adolphus on the field of Lützen, a small company of this nation, following up a plan of colonization in America which had been favored by that hero, planted what proved to be the germ of the present State of Delaware. They were too distant and too few to be formidable to New England. The French did not seem likely for the present to attempt the use of any force, beyond what Massachusetts, which alone was exposed to it, was amply competent to cope with. But Connecticut and New Haven, from the first, had suffered annoyance from the Dutch settlement at the mouth of the Hudson.

1638.

When Minuit[1] was superseded as Director-General of the colony of New Netherland, it did not continue to thrive as before. But under the administration of his successor, Walter Van Twiller, a trading-house was erected on the Delaware, or *South River*, five years before the arrival of the Swedes; while another,

1633.

[1] See above, p. 237. — Minuit, on his way back to Holland, in 1632, was driven by stress of weather into the English port of Plymouth. Here Captain Mason had his ship libelled, for carrying on an unlawful trade in a country belonging to the king of England, and followed up that step by a representation to Sir John Coke, Secretary of State. The Dutch ambassador remonstrated, and a correspondence took place, in which the English government peremptorily maintained its right to the territory about Hudson's River, though, as an act of favor, Minuit's vessel was released.

established by him on the Connecticut, gave occasion to the disputes which have been mentioned, with the Plymouth people in the first instance, and afterwards with the planters from Massachusetts.[1]

Van Twiller, after an administration of four years, was succeeded by William Kieft, a man of resolution and ability, though not worthy of esteem. When New Haven came to be planted, the settlements of English and Dutch, with fickle Indians between them, were drawing too close to each other for mutual satisfaction; and Kieft protested against the approach of his new neighbors, as an intrusion upon his masters' domain. There was a standing feud between the few Dutchmen at Hartford, and the later comers by whom they were surrounded; and it sometimes led to blows, in which the Dutch were worsted. Kieft drove off a party of English who attempted to plant at the western end of Long Island.[2] He broke up a factory which the New Haven people had established on the Delaware, destroying the property and making prisoners of the people. Various other proceedings of his were thought to indicate a wide reach of unfriendly designs, and a purpose to rouse the hostility of the natives. He neglected complaints made against the Dutch for harboring fugitives from justice and runaway servants; for furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition; and for dealing with them for goods stolen from the English.

1637.

1638.

1642.

1 See above, pp. 340, 451.

2 This was the party, from Lynn in Massachusetts, which ultimately, near the east end of the island, founded the town of Southampton (see above, p. 604). They had obtained a tract at the west end, on the north side, by purchase from the Indians and from one Forrett, who pretended to authority to sell it as agent for the Earl of Stirling, patentee of the Council for New England. "The Dutch ..... sent men to take possession of the place, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange upon a tree. The Lynn men sent ten or twelve men with provisions, &c., who began to build, and took down the Prince's arms, &c., and, in place thereof, an Indian had drawn an unhandsome face. The Dutch took this in high displeasure, and sent soldiers and fetched away their men," &c. (Winthrop, II. 6.)

The original movement towards a confederation proceeded from the western colonies; and this harassing state of their relations with their Dutch neighbors is recorded as its cause. The first proposal came from Connecticut, before the planting of New Haven. The people of that colony were right in withdrawing from subjection to Massachusetts; they were equally right in desiring the continued protection of her alliance. "Some

1637. Aug. 31. of the Magistrates and ministers of Connecticut being" at Boston, "there was a day of meeting appointed to agree upon some articles of confederation, and notice was given to Plymouth that they might join in it; but their warning was so short as they could not come."[1] When next the scheme obtained a formal consid-

1638. June. eration, it was thought by Massachusetts that the apprehensions of Connecticut dictated such extreme reserve in relation to grants of power to the proposed confederacy, as to make its further prosecution

1639. May. undesirable.[2] It was revived in Connecticut when the vigorous policy of Kieft disclosed itself.

1 Winthrop, I. 237.

2 "The ground of all was, their shyness of coming under our government," says Winthrop (Ibid., 284). He adds, however, that "the differences between us and those of Connecticut were diverse." Massachusetts at this time (Ibid., 285, comp. Mass. Col. Rec., I. 321) reclaimed Springfield, with the privilege of passing from it down the river to the Sound. Winthrop wrote to Connecticut on this subject, and, "after a long time, Mr. Ludlow, in the name of their Court, returned answer, which was very harsh." It was so harsh, the Massachusetts Magistrates thought, as to have "tied their hands, in a manner, from replying"; and Winthrop was fain to write "a private letter to Mr. Haynes, wherein he laid open their mistakes, as he called them, and the apparent causes of offence which they had given." Winthrop also wrote (August 28, 1638) a letter to Hooker, of which he has preserved an abstract (Winthrop, II. 349). He conceived the "miscarriages in point of correspondence" of the Connecticut people "to arise from two errors in their government"; namely, their elections to office of "men who had no learning nor judgment which might fit them for those affairs, though otherwise men holy and religious"; and their allowing "the main burden for managing of state business" to fall "upon some one or other of their ministers, ... who, though they were men of singular wisdom and godliness, yet, stepping out of their course, their actions wanted that blessing, which otherwise might have been expected." (Ibid., I. 286.)

Haynes and Hooker "came into the Bay, and stayed near a month," to confer upon it;[1] and the Connecticut Court sent a committee from Hartford to Saybrook to engage the good offices of Mr. Fenwick.[2] Aug. 8.

Hitherto, and for a considerable time later, Massachusetts seems to have been indifferent to the measure; — perhaps from unwillingness to be invested with a share in the joint administration equal only to that claimed by sister communities less populous and powerful. At length, her course in respect to it was changed. A concurrence of circumstances at that point of time deserves notice. "The propositions sent from Connecticut about a combination, &c. were read, and referred to a committee to consider of after the Court." The Court, "with advice of the elders," had just "ordered a general fast," of which the specified occasions were, — "second, the danger of the Indians; third, the unseasonable weather"; but first and chiefly, "the ill news we had out of England concerning the breach between the king and Parliament."[3] The war that had begun in England in the previous month had been impending through all the summer. Puritanism and civil liberty were to try their issue at the sword's point against despotism and prelacy. If the right were doomed to be stricken down on the other side of the water, it would only the more need a refuge upon this; and, as long as the balance was trembling, the encouragement of friendship, though neither powerful nor near, might add a weight to determine which way it should incline. At all events, when tyrannical king and patriotic Parliament were in arms against each other, it was prudent for distant Englishmen to be likewise in panoply to meet all occasions;[4] 1642. Sept. 27.

[1] Winthrop, I. 299.

[2] Conn. Col. Rec., 30, 31.

[3] Winthrop, II. 85; comp. Mass. Col. Rec., II. 16, 31.

[4] Mass. Col. Rec., II. 61; comp. Winthrop, II. 160. — Virginia "was like to rise in parties, some for the king, and others for the Parliament." (Ibid.)

when their numbers were lessened by the drawing off of reinforcements to a remote field, it was wise in those who were left to fortify themselves with the strength of union; and he reads the avowed reasons for the New-England confederacy with superficial observation, who does not single out from the rest "those sad distractions in England" as having had a special efficacy in bringing about the measure.

At the next General Court, commissioners presented themselves at Boston from each of the three colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven.[1] Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook was a party to the consultations.[2] The Governor, with two Magistrates and three

1643. May 10.

[1] Plymouth was represented by Winslow and Collier (Plym. Col. Rec., II. 53, 56); Connecticut by Haynes and Hopkins (Conn. Col. Rec., 82, 91); and New Haven by Eaton and Gregson (N. H. Col. Rec., 87, 96).

[2] Winthrop says (II. 99): "At this Court came the Commissioners ..... from Connecticut, Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins, with whom Mr. Fenwick of Saybrook joined." I was perplexed by the relation of Mr. Fenwick to this business, and applied to Mr. Trumbull, of Hartford, for an explanation. That with which he was so good as to furnish me is so lucid, that I should do it injustice if I gave it in any other than his own words. Mr. Trumbull writes as follows:

"Mr. Fenwick's position was a peculiar one, — and it would perhaps have been very difficult for himself to decide how far he was to be regarded as a separate party; yet I think he came to discuss the proposed Confederacy as the representative of his employers, 'the lords and gentlemen' interested at Saybrook under the Earl of Warwick's grant. These, however, had already abandoned their purpose of emigration, and, with it, all real interest in Connecticut. In 1641, Mr. Fenwick proposed to wait 'one year longer, in expectation of his company, at least some of them.' The time had long since elapsed, and there remained only a possibility of their coming. There was now a good understanding between him and Connecticut, and he was perhaps already negotiating the sale of the fort, &c., which he concluded the next year.

"But, to preserve this understanding, it was necessary to waive any present examination of *titles*. The Court could hardly admit the validity of the Saybrook patent, without abandoning its own claim to jurisdiction, — as against Massachusetts for instance, or the Dutch; and there were strong reasons for not openly calling in question the authority of the patent, — which they were about purchasing, and looked to as the safeguard of their own authority. So Mr. Fenwick took just so much part in the proceedings as to enable him to interpose a *salvo jure* for the patentees. In proof of this, though Haynes and Hopkins were sent by the Court 'to conclude a union' (March 27, 1643, Conn. Col. Rec., I. 82), the

Deputies, was authorized to treat on the part of Massachusetts.[1] "These, coming to consultation, encountered some difficulties; but, being all desirous of union and studious of peace, they readily yielded to each other in such things as tended to common utility, &c., so as in some two or three meetings they lovingly accorded."[2] Their deliberations issued in an agreement upon twelve articles, and created what, for important purposes, was for many years a Federal Government of the New England Colonies. Receiving at once the signatures of all the commissioners except those of Plymouth, who had not brought authority to sign, they were soon ratified by the government of that Colony also.

1643. May 19. Aug. 29.

The settlements of Gorges, and the plantations about Narragansett Bay, were denied admission to the Confederacy; the former, says Winthrop, "because they ran a different course from us, both in their ministry and civil administration."[3] Neither had yet been able to institute a government, such as could be relied on for the fulfilment of the stipulations mutually made by the four Colonies. The Narragansett settlers were at such variance among themselves, that three years passed after they had obtained an advantageous charter from the Parliamentary Commissioners, before they could come to a sufficiently good understanding to put it in operation; and even that system in their hands speedily came to the

articles were *signed*, in May, by Hopkins and *Fenwick*, and the records of the Commissioners (Hazard, II. 7) refer to an order of the Connecticut Court of July 5th, appointing them Commissioners for Connecticut. But by referring to the Court records (I. 90) it appears that 'Mr. Hopkins is desired to perform the service to be *one* of the committee for this river,' &c., nothing being said of the other. Mr. Fenwick went as Mr. Hopkins's colleague, with the assent, but not by the appointment, of the Court."

[1] Winthrop, II. 99. Mass. Col. Rec., II. 35. The persons delegated to this trust, on the part of Massachusetts, were "the Governor, and Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradstreet, being of the Magistrates; and of the Deputies, Captain Gibbons, Mr. Tyng (the Treasurer), and Mr. Hathorn."

[2] Winthrop, II. 99.

[3] Ibid., 101.

ground, and had to be renewed. The people of Providence were united by an association the most lax that can possibly assert a title to the name; those of an outlying settlement, which had become detached from it, were in the most disorderly condition; and even those of Rhode Island were in such bad credit, not only in Massachusetts, but with the quiet people of Plymouth, who had no quarrel with them, as to cause the kind and candid Brewster to write, "Concerning the Islanders, we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, further than necessity or humanity may require."[1] The oath taken by the freemen of Rhode Island contained an engagement of fealty to the king[2]; and Gorges, the proprietary of Maine, was in arms for him. It was by no influence proceeding from such sources, that the objects of the confederacy were to be carried out.

1642. May 17.

The confederation was no less than an act of absolute sovereignty on the part of the contracting states. The first two articles bound together the four Colonies and their dependencies, under the name of "*The United Colonies of New England*," in "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The third provided, that, for purposes of internal administration, each Colony should retain its independence, and that no new member should be received

[1] Bradford, 388.—The feeling against them in Massachusetts was such, that the General Court, in October, 1640, having considered a letter from the authorities of New Haven, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, ordered "that the answer should be directed to Mr. Eaton, Mr. Hopkins, and Mr. Haynes, only excluding Mr. Coddington and Mr. Brenton, as men not to be capitulated withal by us, either for themselves or the people of the island where they inhabit, as their case standeth." (Mass. Col. Rec., I. 305.)

[2] It is true that also in Plymouth oaths of allegiance to the king were in use. (See above, p. 546.) But no unfriendliness to the Puritan establishments of New England could be apprehended from the people there.

into the league, nor any two present members be consolidated into one jurisdiction, without "consent of the rest."

By the fourth, levies of men, money, and supplies for war, were to be assessed on the respective Colonies, in proportion to the male population of each between the ages of sixteen and sixty, as ascertained by a census to be made from time to time for each Colony by its Commissioners; and the spoils of war were to be distributed to the several Colonies on the same principle.

According to the fifth, upon notice, by three Magistrates, of an existing invasion of any Colony, the rest were forthwith to send it relief; — Massachusetts to the number of a hundred men, if so many were needed, and each of the others to the number of forty-five, "sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey." The nearest confederate alone was to be summoned, if the occasion required no more; and then the men were "to be victualled, and supplied with powder and shot for their journey, (if there were need,) by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them." If more than the whole stipulated amount of aid was demanded, then the whole body of Commissioners was to be convened, to order a further enlistment, should they see cause; or, if in their judgment the invaded Colony was in fault, then to condemn it to give satisfaction to the invader, and to defray the charges incurred. In the case of "danger of any invasion approaching," three Magistrates (or if in the threatened jurisdiction there were no more than three, then two) might summon a meeting of the Commissioners.

By the sixth, a board was constituted for the management of the business of the Confederacy, to consist of two Commissioners from each Colony, all of them church-members, with power to "determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for

war, division of spoils, and whatsoever was gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantations into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of like nature which were the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederation for amity, offence, and defence." The concurrence of six Commissioners was to be conclusive; in fault of this, the matter was to be referred to the General Courts of the several Colonies, and the concurrence of them all was to be binding. The Commissioners were to meet once a year, on the first Thursday of September, and as much oftener as occasion should require; the meetings, until some permanent place of meeting should be agreed upon, were to be held in succession at the principal towns of the Colonies respectively, except that two meetings out of five were to be at Boston.

The seventh authorized the Commissioners, or six of them, at each meeting, to choose a President from their own number, who was to be "invested with no power or respect," except "to take care and direct for order, and a comely carrying on of all proceedings."

The eighth directed the Commissioners to "endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders, in general cases of a civil nature wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, as much as might be, all occasions of war or difference with others," as by the securing of justice to citizens of different jurisdictions, and a firm and equitable course of proceeding towards the Indians; and it stipulated the extradition of runaway servants and fugitives from justice.

By the ninth, the confederates mutually engaged themselves to abstain from all war not inevitable, and from all claim to reimbursement for military charges, except with the approbation of the Commissioners.

The tenth permitted a preliminary action by four Com-

missioners, in cases of exigency, when a larger number could not be convened.

The eleventh, in case of any breach of the terms of the alliance by any Colony, invested the Commissioners of the other Colonies with authority to determine the offence and the remedy.

And the twelfth was a ratification of the eleven preceding, which were to go into effect either with or without the expected concurrence of Plymouth,[1] whose representatives had brought "no commission to conclude."

Of this confederation, which "offers the first example of coalition in colonial story, and showed to party leaders in after times the advantages of concert,"[2] it was not without apparent reason that an unfriendly historian remarked, that its "principles were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported by any other."[3] It had scarcely been formed, when the English Parliament, turning its attention to the American colonies,[4] and assuming the same authority over them that had been pretended by the king, instituted a commission for their government, consisting of six lords

Parliamentary commission for colonial government. 1643. Nov. 2.

[1] Hazard, II. 1.

[2] Chalmers, Revolt of the American Colonies, 87. "From the era of that famous league, Masssachusetts acted merely in pursuance of her principles, when she conducted herself wholly as an independent state." Ibid., 88.

[3] Chalmers, Annals, 178. — There would seem to have been a vague scheme, about the same time, for a still further consolidation. "A proposition was made this Court [1644, March] for all the English within the United Colonies to enter into a civil agreement for the maintenance of religion and our civil liberties, and for yielding some more of the freeman's privileges to such as were no church-members that should join in this government. But nothing was concluded, but referred to next Court, and, in the mean time, that letters should be written to the other Colonies to advise with them about it." (Winthrop, II. 160.) — "The general covenant for matters of religion and civil liberties was [March 7, 1644] taken into consideration, and ordered that letters should be written to the other United Colonies to advise with them about it." (Mass. Col. Rec., II. 61.)

[4] The government of the English colonies was first lodged in the Privy Council. The machinery next devised for the purpose was that of the commission of which Laud was the head. (See above, p. 391.) The next was the authority now instituted by Parliament.

and twelve commoners, with the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Admiral, at its head. The commissioners were authorized "to provide for, order, and dispose all things which they should from time to time find most fit and advantageous to the well governing, securing, strengthening, and preserving of the said plantations," and especially to appoint and remove "subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, and agents."[1] The Ordinance of Parliament was too late for New England, if indeed it was intended for anything more than to provide for the suppression of the king's party in the other dependencies of the empire. The New-England Colonies had taken their affairs into their own hands. By the counsels of brave men, and by the progress of events, a self-governing association of self-governing English commonwealths had been founded in America; and the manifestation which they had just now made of confidence in themselves and in one another may well have had its place, along with the sympathies which allied them to those who had come into power in the parent country, in preventing interference from abroad with the local administration.

[1] The Commission is in Hazard (I. 533). Lord Say and Sele, Sir Arthur Hazelrigg, Henry Vane the younger, Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Pym, Cromwell, and Samuel Vassall were members of the Board. The ordinance establishing it refers to petitions from some of the plantations, that "they might have some such governor and governments as should be approved of, and confirmed by, the authority of both Houses of Parliament." I know not whence those petitions could have been sent. I think, not from New England, unless it were from some of the Maine or Narragansett settlers. Perhaps they went from Clayborne's discomfited party in Maryland, or from those Virginians who were disaffected to the government of Sir William Berkeley. (Winthrop, II. 159, 160.) A law of Virginia, banishing Non-conformist ministers from that colony, had been passed in March of the same year.

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APPENDIX.

MAGISTRATES OF THE NEW-ENGLAND COLONIES.

The fifth New-England Colony, that of the "Providence Plantations," was not organized till after the time with which this volume closes, though its constituent parts had an earlier date, like several settlements in New Hampshire and Maine. Accordingly, no names of its rulers are here inserted. So the lists of Magistrates in the jurisdictions of Massachusetts and of New Haven begin with the permanent organization. — The figures in the following table indicate the times of the election of Magistrates.

PLYMOUTH.

In this Colony there was no Deputy-Governor. At first there was only one Assistant, the office being filled (for precisely how many years is not known) by Isaac Allerton. In 1624, the number of Assistants was increased to five, and in 1633 to seven; and at this latter time the record of the names of Assistants begins. In this Colony, till 1637, the elections took place in January, and afterwards in March.

Governors.

1620, 1621. John Carver.
1621 – 1632. William Bradford.
1633. Edward Winslow.
1634. Thomas Prince.
1635. William Bradford.
1636. Edward Winslow.
1637. William Bradford.
1638. Thomas Prince.
1639 – 1643. William Bradford.

Assistants.

William Bradford, 1633, 1634, 1636, 1638.
Miles Standish, 1633 – 1635, 1637 – 1641.
John Howland, 1633 – 1635.
John Alden, 1633 – 1639.
John Doane, 1633.
Stephen Hopkins, 1633 – 1636.
William Gilson, 1633.
Edward Winslow, 1634, 1635, 1637, 1638, 1641 – 1643.
Isaac Allerton, 1634.
William Collier, 1634 – 1637, 1639 – 1643.
Thomas Prince, 1635 – 1637, 1639 – 1643.
Timothy Hatherly, 1636, 1637, 1639 – 1643.
John Brown, 1636, 1638 – 1643.
John Jenny, 1637 – 1640.
John Atwood, 1638.
Edmund Freeman, 1640 – 1643.
William Thomas, 1642, 1643.

MASSACHUSETTS.

In this Colony the annual elections took place in May.

Governors.

1630 – 1633. John Winthrop.
1634. Thomas Dudley.
1635. John Haynes.
1636. Henry Vane.
1637 – 1639. John Winthrop.
1640. Thomas Dudley.
1641. Richard Bellingham.
1642, 1643. John Winthrop.

Deputy-Governors.

1630 – 1633. Thomas Dudley.
1634. Roger Ludlow.
1635. Richard Bellingham.
1636. John Winthrop.
1637 – 1639. Thomas Dudley.
1640. Richard Bellingham.
1641 – 1643. John Endicott.

Assistants.

Simon Bradstreet, 1630 – 1643.
William Coddington, 1630 – 1636.
John Endicott, 1630 – 1634, 1637, 1639, 1640.
Isaac Johnson, 1630.
Roger Ludlow, 1630 – 1633.
Increase Nowell, 1630 – 1643.
William Pynchon, 1630 – 1636, 1643.
Edward Rossiter, 1630.
Richard Saltonstall, 1630, 1631, 1633.
Thomas Sharpe, 1630.
William Vassall, 1630.
John Humphrey, 1632 – 1641.
John Winthrop, Jr., 1632 – 1641, 1643.
John Haynes, 1634, 1636.
John Winthrop, 1634, 1635, 1640, 1641.
Atherton Hough, 1635.
Richard Dummer, 1635, 1636.
Thomas Dudley, 1635, 1636, 1641 – 1643.
Richard Bellingham, 1636 – 1639, 1642,
Roger Harlakenden, 1636 – 1638. [1643.
Israel Stoughton, 1637 – 1643.
Richard Saltonstall, Jr., 1637 – 1643.
Thomas Flint, 1642, 1643.
Samuel Symonds, 1643.
William Hibbens, 1643.

CONNECTICUT.

In this Colony the elections took place in April.

Governors.

1639. John Haynes.
1640. Edward Hopkins.
1641. John Haynes.
1642. George Wyllys.
1643. John Haynes.

Deputy-Governors.

1639. Roger Ludlow.
1640. John Haynes.
1641. George Wyllys.
1642. Roger Ludlow.
1643. Edward Hopkins.

Magistrates.

Edward Hopkins, 1639, 1641, 1642.
William Phelps, 1639 – 1642.
George Wyllys, 1639, 1640, 1643.
Thomas Wells, 1639 – 1643.
John Webster, 1639 – 1643.
Roger Ludlow, 1640, 1641, 1643.
William Hopkins, 1641, 1642.
John Haynes, 1642.
William Whiting, 1641 – 1643.
John Mason, 1642, 1643.
Henry Wolcott, 1643.
Samuel Swayne, 1643.

NEW HAVEN.

In this Colony the elections took place in October.

Governor.

1643. Theophilus Eaton.

Deputy-Governor.

1643. Stephen Goodyeare.

Magistrates.

Thomas Gregson, 1643.
William Fowler, 1643.
Edmund Tapp, 1643.
Thurston Rayner, 1643.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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